Marino Sanudo Torsello, The Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross

Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis

Translated by

Peter Lock



Crusade Texts in Translation 21

CRUSADE TEXTS IN TRANSLATION

Volume 21

About the volume

This is the first full translation of Marino Sanudo Torsello's *Secreta fidelium Crucis* to be made into English. The work itself is a piece of crusading propaganda following the fall of Acre in 1291, written between 1300 and 1321, but it includes much of historical relevance along with interesting observations on the early history of Jerusalem and the Crusader Kingdom. The translation is based upon the text edited by Jacques Bongars in 1611. There is an introduction that contextualises the book, its author, his sources and his audience. The notes provide essential information to clarify internal textual references and allusions, as well as the role of Biblical references in Sanudo's grand design. The index is designed to make this detailed text usable and accessible.

In this, his major work, Sanudo advocated the conquest of Egypt as the means to regain Jerusalem for the Latins and worked through his points with considerable detail alongside references to 13th-century Mediterranean history, especially involving Louis IX of France and Charles of Anjou, king of Naples. Books I and II give considerable detailed discussion of the concept, plan and costs of his proposed crusade. Book III provides an outline history of the crusades and the crusader states. It is derived from a wide-reading of other sources especially of William of Tyre, and, for events after 1184 on the *Eracles*, the letters of James of Vitry, and Sanudo's own experiences in the east. Throughout, the work contains a staggering amount of cartographical, ethnographical, geographical, and nautical information, as well as numerous unique insights into historical events and personalities of the late 13th century, not only in Outremer but in Western Europe.

About the translator

Peter Lock was Professor of Medieval History, now retired, at York St John University, UK.

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Introduction

The Family of Sanudo or Sanuto

The Sanudo or Sanuto was a patrician family that had risen to prominence in Venice in the twelfth century, when they were regarded as one of the noblest families in Venice. In the seventeenth century they were thought to be descended from Cassia the wife of the historian Titus Livius, who gave her name to the Cassiani or Candiani.[1] This story may be mythical but the Sanudi do seem to have had close links with the Candiani. In the mid-fourteenth century the doge and chronicler Andrea Dandolo (1306–54) noted: '*Candiani que hodie secundum plurimos Sanuti vocati sunt*.'[2] Whether Sanudi was an alternative name for Candiani is unclear but they were ranked among the 'casa vecchia' or old families of Venice, which are families supposed to be descended from the ancient tribunes that had first moved to the Rialto from Heraclea in the early fifth century. The Candiani were certainly one of the founding families of Venice and there is a chronological concurrence between their disappearance from the record and the first occurrence of the name Sanudo. J.K. Fotheringham suggests that the Sanudi belonged to a collateral branch of the family and that the belief that the Sanudi were descended from the Candiani was at least as old as the twelfth century. However, no explanation for this change of name was or is forthcoming.[3]

The Sanudi were wealthy and well-connected. This was demonstrated sometime around the mid-twelfth century when a Sanudo son, probably Pietro but possibly a Marco, married a sister of the future doge Enrico Dandolo (r.1192–1205) and thereby unknowingly laid the foundations of the duchy of the Archipelago for the son or grandson of that marriage. The Sanudi had extensive estates on the mainland and by the late twelfth century, and possibly a century earlier, had commercial interests in the trade with Constantinople. There were several branches of the

[1] Giacomo Zabarella, *Historia della gente Livia Romana e Padovana* (Padua, 1669).

[2] Chronicon Venetum in L.A. Muratori, ed., *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, XII (Milan, 1728), 156. 'Today the Candiani are called the Sanudi by many people.' This expression may imply some doubt or it may mean simply that it was the usual appellation.

[3] J.K. Fotheringham, *Marco Sanudo Conqueror of the Archipelago* (Oxford, 1915), 1–16, esp. 1–3, and 12, footnotes 3 and 4, on which this paragraph is based. The best modern accounts in English are to be found in two unpublished doctoral theses: Sherman Roddy, 'The Correspondence of Marino Sanudo Torsello', (Unpub. PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1971), 15–55 and Frank Frankfort, 'Marino Sanudo Torsello: A Social Biography', (Unpub. PhD thesis, University of Cincinnati, 1974), 3–51.

family living in San Severo, San Giacomo dell'Orio, San Polo, San Matteo in Rialto and Nasso. Marino Sanudo Torsello the elder was descended from the San Polo branch – a branch that died out in 1852 with Francisco Livio – and he tells us that he was born and lived in the parish of Sanseverino the Confessor in the Rialto.

From generation to generation members of the family were regularly recorded as members of the Senate and of the Great Council until its abolition in 1297. Marino's father Marco sat on the Great Council for the district of Castello in 1279–80 and again in 1283–4. As such they were certainly numbered amongst the most prominent people in Venice but failed to be included in the *Signoria* or government of the city proper.[1] Some of them were galley captains (*sopracomiti delle galie*), such as Bernardo during the Fourth Crusade, and ambassadors to Constantinople such as two Marcos, one in the late eleventh century and the other in the mid-twelfth. Carl Hopf has asserted that they were members of the Venetian colony there but this remains unproven.[2] Whereas the Candiani had provided five doges and two patriarchs of Grado by the tenth century, the Sanudi provided no holders of these prestigious offices, unless, as is common today and has been the case since the fourteenth century, all the Candiani doges are called by the alternative name of Sanudo. Apart from their social connectivity and their landed wealth they were also merchants of Venice, familiar with commodities and markets, arranging and making loans, ships and sea travel to the principal ports of the eastern Mediterranean. It was this knowledge and experience that Marino Sanudo was to draw on so effectively in his writings.

Four individual family members rose above the obscurity of official listings and are much better known; three of them for their literary works. They are: Marco I Sanudo (d.c.1230) the founder of the dukedom of the Archipelago in 1207, which remained in the hands of his descendants until 1343 when they were ousted by a coup of Francisco Crispo; the crusade propagandist and geographer Marino Sanudo Torsello il Vecchio[3] (c.1270–c.1343) whose main work is translated here; his namesake Marino Sanudo the Younger (1466–1536), the diarist and historian; and Livio Sanudo (1530–80) the geographer whose unfinished twelve-volume *Geography* was posthumously published in 1588. Most of the anecdotes and discussion of the Sanudo family come from or are in relation to these four individuals. There does seem to be a literary and bibliophile element to the Sanudo. As is evident throughout this text, Marino the Elder was remarkably well-read. In the Bodleian Library the arms of the Sanudo family may be seen at the beginning of a fifteenth-century Latin manuscript containing Cicero's *De amicitia*,

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1 F.C. Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore, 1973), 95–6.

2 For the forgoing and the reference to Hopf in Ersch and Gruber, *Allgemeine Encyklopädie, vol. 85: Griechenland* (1867), 222, see Fotheringham, *op.cit*., 13.

3 From the mid-nineteenth century he was often dubbed *il Vecchio* or the Elder to distinguish him from his later namesake.

De senectute, and *Paradoxa;* presumably from the library of an unknown member of the family of humanistic bent in the 1420s.[1]

Marino Sanudo the Elder was sufficiently confident in his heritage not to concern himself with the history and origins of his family. All he tells us about his family concerns Marco I Sanudo, the founder of the duchy of the Archipelago whom he described as '*Fiol de Miser Marco Sanudo de Constantinopolei*' at the beginning of his *Istoria del Regno di Romania* along with a rudimentary family tree of the dukes down to his own time.[2] The latter is chronologically serial but no dates are given whilst, as Fotheringham has pointed out, Marco I may have been the grandson of a Marco Sanudo, who gained his office in Venice not as a resident of Constantinople.[3]

Marino Sanudo called Torsello (c.1270–c.1334)[4]

All that is known about him comes from his two major works, *Secreta fidelium crucis* (1307–21)[5] and *Istoria del regno di Romania* (c.1326–33),[6] and from 42 surviving letters or fragments of letters to various prominent figures concerned with crusading from the years 1323 to 1337.[7]

He was one of five sons of Marco Sanudo (c.1241–c.1318–23), patrician of Venice. He always described himself as 'Marinus Sanuto dictus Torsellus' a

[1] Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS canon. Class. Lat.209. The Sanudo family crest was 'a simple silver shield with a broad diagonal azure blue band' (Frankfort, *op.cit*., 16).

[2] C. Hopf, *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes* (Berlin, 1873), 99 and 100 for the table and 480 for Hopf's genealogy of the Sanudo dukes of the Archipelago that should be used with caution.

[3] Fotherigham, *op.cit*., 13–15.

[4] The best modern accounts in English are the two doctoral theses cited in note 3, page 1 above, both of which have been used extensively throughout.

[5] J. Bongars, ed., *Gesta Dei per Francos, sive orientalium expeditionem et regni Francorum Hierosolymitani historia* (2 vols, Hannover, 1611), vol. 2, 1–281 reproduced photographically with an introduction by Joshua Prawer (Toronto, 1972).

[6] This history, originally written in Latin, survives only in an Italian translation dating from the eighteenth century. It is printed in C. Hopf, *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes* (Berlin, 1873), 99–170 and most recently with a modern Greek translation in Eutukia Papadopolou, *Μαρίνος Σανουδος Τορσελλο, Ιστορια της Ρομανιας* (Athens, 2000).

[7] J. Bongars, *op.cit*., II, 286–316; Friedrich Kunstmann, *Studien über Marino Sanudo den Aelteren* (Munich, 1855), 58 (754)–123 (819); Ch. De la Roncière and L.Dorez, 'Lettres inédites et mémoires de Marino Sanudo l'Ancien (1334–1337)' in *Bibliothèque de L'École des Chartes*, 56 (1893), 34–36, 38–39, 43-44; A. Cerlini, "Nuove lettere di Marino Sanudo il Vecchio," *in La Bibliofilia, Rivista di storia del libro e delle arti grafiche di bibliografia ed erudizione,* 42 (1940), 348–359. All the letters have been translated into English in Sherman Roddy, 'The Correspondence of Marino Sanudo Torsello', (Unpub. PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1971).

surname, which he tells us, he received from his father Marco.[1] The name seems not to have been confined to Marino's immediate family but to have been used by the Sanudi living in the wards of San Paolo and Castello. Its meaning has provoked much speculation but remains obscure.[2]

His year of birth, let alone the exact date, is not known having been variously given between 1260 and 1277.[3] Most modern writers like Evelyn Edson, Angeliki Laiou, Joshua Prawer and Christopher Tyerman follow the standard biographical study of Arturo Magnocavallo, *Marin Sanudo il Vecchio e il sue progetto di Crociata* (Bergamo, 1901) and accept c.1270 as his year of birth.[4] His year of death is generally taken to be c.1343. This is based upon the date of his will which was drawn up by the notary Pietro of Santa Maria Formmosa on 9 March 1343 and witnessed by two priests from his parish of Sanseverino.[5] Presumably he felt his end to be near. His last known surviving letter was written between October 1336 and March 1337, and was addressed to the lord William, Count of Hainault.[6]

It is not known when, where or how he received his education. The formal part of his education in Venice would have ended by 1281 when he made his first trip to his cousins on Naxos and certainly by 1285 when he made his first trip to Acre as part of his introduction to the commercial interests of his family. He may well have benefited from the distinctive approach to Latin teaching that Robert Black has noted emerging in the increasingly secularized and urbanized Italy of the thirteenth century designed to produce educated lay Latinists. Grammars in prose replaced the typical north European verse grammars as Latin ceased to be the preserve of the clerical elite, which it remained in northern Europe.[7] It may well have been that

[1] At the beginning of the *Istoria del Regno di Romania*, see Hopf, *op.cit*., 99.

[2] See discussion in Frankfort*, op.cit*., 54–71.

[3] F. Kunstmann*, op.cit.,* 2 (698), J. Delaville Le Roulx, *La France en orient au XIVe siècle*, I (Paris, 1886), 32 and A.S. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1938), 116, where he follows Magnacavallo and his *Crusade, Commerce and Culture* (Oxford, 1962), 98, where he adopts 1274. His biographical account in the 1938 volume has many errors and must be used with caution. Zabarella, *op. cit*., 73 gives 1277.

[4] Magnacavallo, 22, where the various dates are discussed; A. Laiou, 'Marino Sanudo Torsello, Byzantium and the Turks: The Background to the Anti-Turkish League of 1332–1334', *Speculum*, 45 (1970), 374-392; J. Prawer, introduction to the reprint of *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis* (Toronto, 1972), v–xvii; C. Tyerman, 'Marino Sanudo Torsello and the Lost Crusade: Lobbying in the Fourteenth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Series, 32 (1982), 57–73; Evelyn Edson, 'Reviving the Crusade: Sanudo's Schemes and Vesconti's Maps', in Rosamond Allen, ed., *Eastward Bound, Travel and Travellers 1050–1550* (Manchester, 2004), 131–155.

[5] See Magnacavallo, 150–154 and Appendix B; it is further discussed by Frankfort, *op.cit*., 130–131.

[6] Printed in Dorez and Roncière*, op.. cit*., 43–4 and translated in Roddy*, op.cit*., 307–9.

[7] Robert Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge, 2001), 82–90.

in some of the moral sayings in these grammar books that Sanudo first came across some of the anecdotes that formed a central part of the fifteenth Part of Book III of the *Secreta*.[1] He clearly felt comfortable using the Bible, Augustine, Cicero and Seneca. His Latin education had certainly been effective, since as the author of such a large and structured book he seemed completely at home reading and writing Latin, and possessed a wide, and sometimes very technical, vocabulary in that language. His grammar is excellent and his Latin style very effective and almost always very clear in its meaning. This is evident from a perusal of any page of the Latin text of the *Secreta*. He also knew French and in 1322–23 he spent much time in the courts and noble households of France where he conducted several complex discussions on crusading matters. He may well have known some Greek. However, as there were no real opportunities to learn Greek until Manuel Chrysoloras (1350–1415) came to Florence in 1397[2] it is likely that Sanudo's Greek was not classical Greek but was picked up during his extensive sojourn in Romania or, like that of his near contemporary Petrarch (1304–74), from Greek sailors in Venice. It is just not known. It is evident from his rudimentary comments on the orthography and the sounds of that language that his knowledge was not profound.[3] Although he mentions Aristotle, Plato and Plutarch by name in his text and was familiar with a few of the deeds, Themistocles, Pericles and Alexander, he does not give any Greek quotations. Indeed, all of these references could have come and probably did come from Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum historiale*, which he tells us he had consulted.

For a laymen his knowledge of the Bible borders on the profound, the numerous marginal notes inserted by Jacques Bongars in 1611 bear testimony to this.[4] His reading of secondary Latin literature was also extensive, far greater than is usually thought to have been available to a medieval layman. Sanudo is never thought of in terms of an important early humanist, such as his near contemporary Florentine writers Dante Alighieri (c.1268–1321), Francesco Petrarch (1304–74) and Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–75). He did not contribute to the development of the Italian language as they did nor did he break any new ground in the recovery of classical antiquity. But his approach to knowledge and his verbal presentation of information, in which he used illustrative tables to summarize his points,[5] and in particular, his sourcing and selection of the well-known set of maps that accompanied at least nine of the presentation copies of his text,[6] should earn him a place amongst the early humanists rather than being classed as just another crusade

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1 Paul Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy* (Baltimore, 1989), 111–124.

2 Grendler, *op.cit*., 124–5.

3 See text, 255, 275, 276.

4 Bongars' marginal references have been placed as footnotes to the text. Even he was not above mistakes in the numerous citations.

5 See text, 163, 165, 168, 171, 179, 238, 251.

6 Oswald and Margaret Dilke, 'Marin Sanudo – Was he a Great Cartographer?' *The Map Collector*, June 1987, 30–32, for a short summary of his travels and maps.

propagandist. It was these skills that made the *Secreta* at once the most practical of the crusade treatises of the fourteenth century and one that was anchored in some realistic appraisal of the contemporary situation and economic possibilities.

His reading for the compilation of the *Secreta* was diverse and is surprising for one who was not part of the clerical elite. It shows what could be accessed by a wealthy individual with time, motivation and interest. Apart from the *Vulgate Bible* he tells us in various places in the text, or occasionally by inference, that he consulted the following authors and/or books:

Author and/or book:	**Reference in text:**
Anonymous*, de Armis*	137
Augustine, *De civitate Dei*	160, 179, 182
Bede, *de locis sanctis*	278
Bede, On Matthew	183
Boethius, *de consolatione philosophiae*	204, 441
Burchard of Mount Sion, 1280	262
Cicero (Tullius), *Paradoxa Stoicorum*	439
Claudian	277, 435,438, 444
Clement, Book of,	160
Estoires d'Eracles (collective name for the various French continuations of William of Tyre)	82, 83, 127, 321
Eusebius*, Ecclesiastica historia*	196, 275
Frontinus, *Stratagems**	Book III, Part 15
Gregory the Great, *Moralia*	445
Hayton of Corycus*, La Flor des Estoires d'Orient*.*	Book III, Part 13 material on Armenia and Cyprus
Hugo Floriacensis (Hugh of Fleury)	193
Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae**	Book III, Parts 1 and 2
Jaques de Vitry, *Historia Hierosolimitana**	Book III, Parts 3-11
Josephus, *de bello Judaico*	163, 170, 181, 191, 402, 407
Pedotas (?)	423
Petrus Alfonsi, *Dialogus contra Iudaeos*	201, 203, 206, 207
Seneca, *de clementia*	436, 442, 443, 444
William of Tyre, *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum*	82, 209, 213, 216, 217, 241, 258, 290
Vegetius*, Epitoma rei militaris*	103, 417, 418
Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*	89, 345

*These works were used extensively by Sanudo but were not specifically cited by him.

He also refers in passing to Aristotle, Seneca and Plutarch as tutors to Alexander, Nero and Trajan respectively and to Aristotle's *Politics* and *Ethics* 3, to Plato, to (Pseudo-)Plutarch's *Instituto Traiani* and to the law codes of the Byzantine

emperors Theodosius, Justinian and Leo.[1] References to all these authors and works are contained in Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum historiale*. However, in Book 3, Part 15, Sanudo gives many illustrative anecdotes of military stratagems taken from classical antiquity. Some of these tales might have come from Vincent of Beauvais (c.1190–c.1264) but by no means all of them. Others were included by John of Salisbury (c.1113–1180) in his *Policraticus,* that was much used by Italian jurists in the fourteenth century and would have been available to him.[2] However, Sanudo never referred to either John of Salisbury or his *Policraticus* in his text. He does name many of the works that were known to him and on which he drew but by no means all; thus Hayton of Corycus, Isidore of Seville and Jacques de Vitry, although used extensively in Book III are not mentioned by name. Might John of Salisbury have fallen into this category? In addition to some anecdotes that might have been copied from *Policraticus* Book V and the fact that *Policraticus* was the only source of quotations from Pseudo-Plutarch,[3] he may well have followed John's use of the human body as a metaphor to describe royal government, when he employed his own metaphors of the tree and the castle to describe the resources and defences of Egypt.[4] Equally, Sanudo's precepts for the virtuous and just king that should rule in Jerusalem[5] may also have come directly from John of Salisbury Book IV. Both John of Salisbury and Vincent of Beauvais took their military anecdotes from Vegetius and from Frontinus' *Stratagems*, a text that was more generally available in northern Europe than in Italy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. However, neither John of Salisbury nor Vincent of Beauvais include the tale of Amutius (Minucius) Rufus and the Dacians.[6] This Sanudo must have culled directly from the *Stratagems*. Without precluding his use of Vincent of Beauvais and his possible use of John of Salisbury, it seems certain that Sanudo consulted a manuscript of Frontinus (c.35–103) and extracted his anecdotes directly from this primary source. A manuscript had been copied at Montecassino by Peter the Deacon c.1132–3 and the text was becoming more commonly available in Italy in the fourteenth century.[7] Indeed, not all of Sanudo's anecdotes can be found in either Vincent of Beauvais or in John of Salisbury, but as soon as the possibility of the direct use of Frontinus' *Stratagems* is allowed then all the stories, except one, have

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1 See text, 441–2.

2 W. Ullman, 'The Influence of John of Salisbury on Medieval Italian Jurists', *English Historical Review*, 59 (1944), 384–392. A good modern English translation is Carl Nederman, *John of Salisbury Policraticus* (Cambridge, 1990).

3 Walter Berschin, *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages* (Washington DC., 1988), 266.

4 See text, 77–86.

5 See text, 434–45

6 See text, 417, 425.

7 L.D. Reynolds, ed., *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics* (Oxford, 1983), 166–172. See C.E. Bennett, trans., *Frontinus Stratagems and Aqueducts* (Loeb Classics, 174, London, 1926).

a source. To compare the relevant pages of the *Secreta*[1] with Frontinus is to tick off one anecdote after another. The one exception is a story concerning Alexander and his advance towards India which has a citation to a certain Pedotas.[2] It would be convenient to identify Pedotas with Frontinus but the story does not come from the *Stratagems*, and Pedotas remains otherwise unknown. Just as he did not make any reference to John of Salisbury whom he almost certainly consulted, he does not cite Frontinus whom he definitely read. The only vague acknowledgement is to 'certain other writers' like Vegetius who should be studied in Sanudo's proposed military academies.[3] In his sections on sailing routes and harbours, he must have used portolans, but the details of these are unknown.[4]

Sanudo never once referred to his contemporary fellow Venetian, merchant and traveller, Marco Polo (c.1254–1324), in the text of the *Secreta* or in his surviving letters. Neither he nor Pietro Vesconte (see below) used any information from Polo's travels in their maps or in any other way. Although Polo is said to have given a copy of his travels to Thibaud de Chépoix Vicar General to the titular Latin Emperor Charles de Valois in Venice in 1307, and although the book enjoyed considerable contemporary fame,[5] there is no direct evidence that Sanudo ever read it. Sanudo's information on the Caucasus region came from the Dominican and Franciscan friars who had travelled through that area in the 1240s and 1250s, and whose reports were summarized at length by Vincent of Beauvais in his *Speculum historiale*.

We have no idea of what specific texts he used or if they have survived to this day. Probably his text of William of Tyre is no longer extant. Did he own copies of some of these books and take them with him in a chest on his travels? If not, as seems more likely, how did he consult the material that he needed when he was completing Book II in Glarenza? Did he use the resources of the Mendicant Orders in that town? All of this can only remain as questions but it is perhaps suggestive of the obligation that he felt to the Mendicant Orders that he bequeathed his papers and maps to the Dominicans of Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Venice in his will of 1343.

Sanudo was well-educated and well-read. He was also well-travelled. He tells us, 'I shall have passed over the sea five times in Cyprus, in Alexandria, in Armenia and indeed in Rhodes… I have been many times in Alexandria and Acre… indeed in Romania I spent the greater part of my life wherefore the condition and state [of that region], especially the principality of Achaea I can claim to know well', and

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1 See text, 420–32.

2 See text, 423.

3 See text, 417.

4 See text, 142–9.

5 John Larmer, *Marco Polo and the Discovery of the World* (New Haven, 1999), 44. For the length of time that Polo's new material took to be accepted, see Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West, 1210–1420* (London, 2005), 362.

again that he went from Venice to Bruges in an armed galley.[1] In 1281 he visited his relatives on Naxos and four years later he was in Acre and possibly visited it a second time before 1291. In 1289 he sailed to Negroponte (modern Chalkis in Euboea, Greece) with the newly appointed bailo or governor, Marco Michiel, and from 1293 to 1296 he was in Naxos, engaged with financial dealings with his cousins, the Sanudi of the Archipelago on behalf of his father. Here he successfully negotiated with Duke Marco II (c.1262–1303) that the outstanding debt of 1,800 hyperpera owed to his father should be repaid in eight equal annual instalments, but the debt seems never to have been repaid.[2] After 1300 he was in Palermo, possibly accredited to the court as a Venetian representative, and then in Rome, apparently in the household of Cardinal Riccardo Petroni of Siena (d.1313/14) whom he described as his patron. He may have participated in the war between Venice and Padua in 1304. On 15 March, 1311 he tells us that he was an eye-witness of the decisive battle of Halmyros at which the Catalan Company seized control of the Duchy of Athens and Thebes having slaughtered the duke Gautier I de Brienne and most of his knightly following. Indeed it was his description of the battle as being in the vicinity of Halmyros that led to its renaming from the battle of the Cephissus.[3] In 1312 he was in Glarenza in Elis in western Greece and between then and 1318 when his father's death brought him back to Venice he visited Cyprus, Rhodes, Alexandria and Armenia, but precise dates are not known. In 1318, or soon after, he made his voyage to Bruges from where he visited the Hanseatic ports between Hamburg and Stettin.[4] He tells us that he travelled by state galley from Venice to Bruges and then travelled overland to the papal court at Avignon where he presented two copies of the *Secreta*, one bound in red the other in yellow, to John XXII on 24 September 1321.[5] This was followed by a 20-month stay in Avignon and France more generally from September 1321 to May 1323. There may have been visits to the Catalans in Greece and to Naples in 1327, but these are uncertain. Apart from a visit to Constantinople in 1333, he seems to have spent most of his time after 1323 in Venice writing the letters that sought to reinforce his perceived position of crusade expert and adviser. In a letter

1 Text, 23 and 124.

2 Frankfort, *ibid*., 49. Two *hyperpera* or *perperi* were equivalent to one Venetian gold ducat.

3 In a letter of 1327 to Ingramo archbishop of Capua he wrote: 'When the duke of Athens...waged war with the aforesaid [Catalan] company near Halmyros, I was there, a captain of seamen for Venice and for the bailie of Negroponte.' (Roddy, *op.cit*., 178). For its significance see David Jacoby, 'Catalans, Turcs et Vénitiens en Romanie (1305–1332): un noveau tèmoignage de Marino Sanudo Torsello', *Studi medievali*, 15 (1974), 217–261, reprinted in D. Jacoby, *Recherches sur la Méditerranèe orientale du XIIe au XVe siècle* (London, 1979).

4 His travels are recounted in Prawer's introduction to the *Secreta* (1972), vi–vii; Tyerman, *art.cit*., 59; Dilke, *art.cit*., 30.

5 See text, 21 and 124.

of October 1334 he complains of poverty and the need for financial support if he is to make any more journeys. His enthusiasm for his crusade project seems to have used up his inheritance and his income.[1]

He was clearly a keen observer and questioner. What he saw, heard or learned in some other way he used, as, for example, his comments on the different types of galleys and ships, remedies for ships' worms, weapons and catapults. The whole *Secreta* is one great source of information on the history, ethnography, commerce and geography of his day. Some of it, like his information on the death of Ezzalino da Romano and the condition of the Latin Empire under Baldwin II, was a primary source in its own right, not to be found elsewhere.[2]

Despite his Venetian mercantile background the inspiration for the writing of the *Secreta* seems to have been solely religious. It is unclear why he started writing in 1306. Tyerman has suggested that it may have been at the suggestion of Cardinal Petroni, to who's household in Rome he was attached at the time. Petroni was at the centre of a group of men, both clerical and lay, with crusading interests and through him Sanudo may have had contact with some of his fellow propagandists.[3] The whole text may be read in English, in the translation offered below; whilst a summary of his arguments may be conveniently examined and their ordering and import quickly grasped in his own contents list.[4]

From his views in the *Secreta* it is clear that he was very pro-Venetian and very proud to be a citizen of Venice. For him the Venetians were essential participants in his proposed crusades, both from their history, their geographical location and their considerable naval ability.[5] He admired professionalism in both his fellow Venetians and in the use of professional soldiers or mercenaries in his crusading army. There would be room for the traditional crusader, but the bulk of the forces were to be professionals. He was a deeply religious man, a convinced and well-informed Latin Christian who seems to have placed unqualified trust and reliance in the desire and ability of the pope to summon, finance and direct the new crusade. Those who disobeyed the precepts of the pope for a trade embargo were to be classed as schismatics and expelled from the community of Christians by excommunication. He was genuinely offended by the views and practices of Greek Orthodox Christians and of other Christian minorities in the East. He is particularly hostile to Islam and its prophet Muhammad, whom he variously spells as Machumet, Machomet and Mahomet.[6] He was exceptionally diligent in his search for examples and on occasion might be accused of being unselective and of over-egging the cake. Indeed, he may have been something of an obsessive pedant, perhaps deliberately emphasising his learning and never happier than when

1 Kunstmann, *op. cit*., 807–8; Roddy, *op. cit*., 292.

2 See text, 97 and 125.

3 Tyerman, *art.cit*., 59–60.

4 See text, 28–44.

5 See text, 70–71.

6 See text, 22, 56, 84, 202. These variants are retained in the text wherever they occur.

talking of his crusade project. He follows an argumentative and repetitive style when trying to convince his readers of a new, or as yet unpopular, approach. He presumably learned this method of argument during his schooling. As a merchant he knew the value of money and of reliable information. This may account for his scrupulous and thorough approach in his costing of the proposed crusade. The large sums that he arrived at may seem odd today for someone trying to sell an idea. He was, however, realistic and his mathematical workings in Roman numerals were always correct and show to anyone who may have doubts, that workings in Roman numerals were entirely possible for someone well-versed in accounts. He was alert and questioning on his travels, noting all manner of details in sailing and fighting on galleys. It was presumably just this quality that made him so acceptable to the Venetian government and its representatives in Negroponte as an observer and reporter of events. In the last two decades of his life, when he stayed almost permanently in Venice, he took care to establish and maintain a network of influential correspondents and took pains to be well-informed and to establish himself as something of an expert on the affairs of the Aegean. As such, over time and in the light of a developing Catalan and Turkish threat, he did modify some of his views from those expressed in the *Secreta*. This should come as no surprise since the *Secreta* itself was an evolving book reflecting the changing concerns and emphases of the 15-year period of its composition. Both Angeliki Laiou and Christopher Tyerman have amply shown this through his support for the union of the Latin and Greek churches and the need to contain the Ottoman threat in the Aegean.[1]

Of his personal family life little is known. Like other Venetian nobles he almost certainly lived both as a child, youth and married man under his father's roof in Sanseverino. It was there that he wrote his will in 1343. He was married twice and had four sons, two from each marriage. At least one daughter, Biriola, is known but there may well have been others. The name of his first wife is unknown. He married her sometime around 1303. His two sons by this marriage, Marco and Marinello seemingly died before he did since they were not mentioned in his will of 1343. In a letter to the bishop of Caffa, dated 1323, he reports that he was a widower and had been for some time but was looking to marry again. By 1328 he reports that he had done so and had new family commitments. His second wife, Andrea Cornaro, also gave him two sons, Giovanni and Bernardo; all three were mentioned in his will, as was a grandson, Marinello.[2]

[1] Laiou, *art.cit.*, passim and Tyerman, *art.cit.*, passim.

[2] Magnacavallo, 151; Roddy, *op.cit.*, 38, 50–1, 119, 207.

The Manuscripts of the *Secreta*[1]

Sanudo was one of a number of his contemporaries that were concerned with proposals for new crusades in the wake of the Council of Lyons and Gregory X's appeal for advice in 1274 and a similar appeal by Nicholas IV (r.1288–92) after the fall of Acre on 18 May 1291. Leopold has counted almost 30 recovery treatises and has shown the direct involvement of these two popes in the organization and direction of crusades as beginning this trend in recovery literature that was to persist into the fifteenth century.[2] Atiya has listed and discussed many of them from the years 1300 to 1360.[3] Some of the better known were: Humbert of Romans (c.1200–77), *Opus tripartitum*; Fidenzio of Padua, *Liber recuperationis Terrae Sanctae* (1291), Pierre Dubois (c.1260–1321), *De Recuperatione Terre Sancte* (1306–08), Ramon Lull (1232–1315), *Libellus de fine* (1305), *Liber de conquisitione Terrae sanctae* (1309) and Burcard, *Directorium ad Philippum regem* (1332). All in one way or another considered trade embargoes, alliances with the Mongols, routes by sea and land, resources, missionary work and the teaching of oriental languages in the west. It is clear that Sanudo was neither unique nor even original in his strategy and approach. His treatise is, however, one of, if not the, longest, the fullest, the most practically worked out, budgeted and discussed. In terms of the economic blockade it explores for the first time why and how this policy would be effective.

Sanudo revised his manuscript at least three times, during which he developed a sound system of internal referencing. He added fine maps to his presentation copies and remained on the scene as crusade expert, for which he promoted himself by his letters to prominent correspondents, his numerous presentation copies, and his up-to-date information on affairs in the Levant. Through his gifts of the *Secreta* he solicited not just the papacy but a wide range of interested rulers. In a letter to John, Duke of Lorraine and Limburg, written from Venice in 1326 he reports that I have presented that book [the *Secreta*] to our lord the supreme pontiff, to the lord kings of France, England and Sicily, to the lord cardinals and to many other prelates. I have presented it to the lord count of Hainault and to certain other counts of France…I am sending to you the prologue, the titles, and the chapters of

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1 These are listed and discussed by Arturo Magnacavallo, '*I cociici del Liber secretorum fidelium crucis di Marin Sanudo il Vecchio*', Rendiconti *dell'istituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere*, s.II, XXXI (1898), 1113–27. This is followed by all later writers such as Edson, *art. cit.*, 151–2, Prawer, *op.cit.*, xv–xvi, and Roddy, *op.cit.*, 59–62. Both they and Magnacavallo are followed here.

2 Antony Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land* (Aldershot, 2000), 8–24, and 203–7.

3 A.S. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1938), 47–154. Despite its many errors, it was a pioneering work.

the said book..I am prepared to send you the whole book complete with maps of the world if your eminent goodness desires to possess it.'[1]

Sanudo brought out three editions or revisions of the *Secreta*, the full title of which was *Liber secretorum fidelium Crucis qui est tam pro conservatione fidelium, quam pro conversione et consumptione infidelium: quamquam etiam propter acquierendum et tenendum Terram Sanctam et alias multas terras in bona statu pacific e et quieto*. He began to write what later became Book I of the expanded *Secreta* in 1306 in the household of cardinal Riccardo Petroni in Rome and seems to have finished it at the beginning of 1307, but 1309 is also possible. This first book was entitled *Conditiones Terre Sancte* and seems to have been originally intended as a work in its own right.

Two manuscripts of the *Conditiones* as a discrete work exist:

1. Codex Zanetti lat.547, Biblioteca Marciana, Venice (summary of events up to 1308–9)
2. Codex lat.14621 Staatsbibliothek, Munich (summary of events up to 1314, despite a date of 1307 given in the text)

The first edition of the complete *Secreta* contains the *Conditiones* as Book I. Book II was begun at Glarenza in December 1312 and was finished during 1313. The third book, which originally contained eight parts, was written between 1319 and 1321. This was the edition presented to John XXII in September 1321. It contained numerous marginal notes added by Sanudo in Avignon and at this stage there were no synoptic tables of Hebrew Kings, judges and high priests. This version exists in six manuscripts:

1. Codex D 203, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan
2. Codex V.F. 35, Bibliotheca Nazionale, Naples (one map)
3. Codex Vatican lat. 2972, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome (six maps)[2]
4. Codex Vatican lat. 2003, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome
5. Codex Vatican lat.7315, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome
6. Codex Zanetti, 410, Biblioteca Marciana, Venice

Sometime in or after 1323 Sanudo produced a second edition of the S*ecreta*. All the marginal notes of the first edition became incorporated in the text, but two new marginal notes were created.[3] In addition, six synoptic tables and a short

[1] Roddy translation, *op.cit*., 154.

[2] According to Konrad Kretschmer, *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittalalters* (Berlin, 1910, reprinted Hildesheim, 1962), 113, this was the manuscript presented to John XXII by Sanudo in September 1321.

[3] See text, 62–3 and 126–7.

genealogical table were added to the text.[1] It was one of the texts from this group that was edited by Jacques Bongars in 1611 and the text that is translated below. It exists in four manuscripts:

1. Codex Vatican lat. 2971, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome
2. Codex Reginae Cristiae 548, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome (five maps)[2]
3. Codex Plut. XXI, 23, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence (four maps)*
4. Codex 237, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence (four unfinished maps)

Sanudo, at some unknown date, produced a third edition of the *Secreta* in which the two marginal notes of the second edition were incorporated in the body of the text. This version survives in seven manuscripts:

1. Codex 9347, Bibliothèque royale, Brussels (five maps)*
2. Codex 9404, Bibliothèque royale, Brussels (same five maps)*
3. Codex Magliabecchi, II-II.169, Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence
4. Codex Add. Ms. 27376. British Library, London (nine maps)
5. Codex Tanner Collection, 190, Bodleian Library, Oxford (five maps)
6. Codex Ottob., lat 906 Vatican, Rome (five maps)[3]
7. Codex D.4.10 (505), Valenciennes Public Library[4]

Note: Those codices marked * contain letters by Sanudo published by Bongars and Kunstmann.

In addition to these 19 surviving manuscripts that are complete texts, there are 4 fragments:

1. Codex Add.Ms. 19531, British Library, London, contains only Book III, Part 14
2. Codex lat.5949a, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, contains diverse fragments from Book III (five maps)[5]
3. Codex class XI-64. Vol.IV, Miscellanea di Apostolo Zeno, Biblioteca Marciana, Venice, Book III, Part 8, chapter 6[6]

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[1] See text, 163–79. There is also a family tree of the early Latin Kings of Jerusalem on 238, 250.

[2] This was the main text used and reproduced by Bongars.

[3] Edson does not follow Magnacavallo, who is followed here, and cites this manuscript as Ms lat. 1960. This manuscript was also used by Bongars to supplement his main text, making a few inserts in square brackets, as noted in the text.

[4] This manuscript is available online from the library's website.

[5] This map is cited as MS lat. 4939 by Edson, but not by Magnacavallo who is followed here.

[6] Cited by Edson as Ms lat. Z.399.

4. Codex 276, class VI italiano, Biblioteca Marciana, Venice, an Italian translation of Book I attributed to Marino Sanudo the younger

Of the 19 complete texts, all of which date from Sanudo's lifetime, 9 contain maps. Frankfort suggests that the number of extant manuscripts represents only a small fraction of the total number distributed by Sanudo.[1]

The Maps[2]

Coloured maps accompany 9 of the surviving 19 complete texts, presumably presentation copies. They were designed specifically with the subject matter of the *Secreta* in mind and so Sanudo, as the author, made some contribution in selecting the illustrative material to his treatise, even if he did not draw the maps himself. In the nineteenth century it was assumed that Sanudo made his own maps and was thus a very able and original cartographer.[3] However, the maps were of a very high standard of execution indeed and must have been produced by a master cartographer. Working from this observation, Konrad Kretschmer showed that the Genoese cartographer Pietro Vesconte (fl.1310–30), who was working in Venice by 1318, was the maker of Sanudo's maps.[4] These maps were selected from the atlas of 1320 produced and signed by Vesconte.[5] This stylistic similarity and the match between the atlas and the so-called *mappae Sanudae* has been convincing and has been accepted by most scholars. The nature of the Sanudo-Vesconte collaboration and their working relationship is, however, unknown. Above all none of the maps reproduced in the *Secreta* were signed by Vesconte and this has left some room for debate and disagreement. In particular the Dilkes have argued that the map of Palestine and the associated town-plans were in a different style to the other maps and that Sanudo adapted the map of Palestine from a Florentine original and produced the associated town plans of Jerusalem from Burchard of Mount Sion and the plan of Acre from his own memory of his visits there in the 1280s. This

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1 Frankfort, *op.cit*., 213; Tyerman, *art.cit*., 68.

2 In what follows I have relied upon Evelyn Edson, 'Reviving the Crusade: Sanudo's Schemes and Vesconte's Maps', in Rosamund Allen, ed., *Eastward Bound, Travel and Travellers 1050–1550* (Manchester, 2004), 131–155, esp. pages 137 and 151–2; Oswald and Margaret Dilke, 'Marin Sanudo – Was He a Great Cartographer?' *The Map Collector*, June, 1987, 30–32, and 'Mapping a Crusade', *History Today*, 39 (1989), 31–35; C.R. Conder, 'Note on the Maps', in Aubrey Stewart's translation of Part XIV of Book III (Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, London, 1896), ix–xii. All produce some maps from Sanudo's *Secreta*. Prawer's photostat reproduction of the *Secreta* (Toronto, 1972) reproduces five maps in colour.

3 See A. Atiya, *The Crusades in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1938), 149, note 5.

4 Kretschmer, *op.cit*., 113–116.

5 Codex Vatican Pal. Lat. 1362a, *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*.

is in part conjecture and in part based upon the observations of Claude Conder who noted that the map of Palestine 'is a rude sketch, quite out of scale, and very inaccurate.' In the text and on the map of Palestine Sanudo has imposed a division into 83 by 28 squares (which he called 'spaces and squares'),[1] which are there for ease of reference only and have no connection with degrees and meridians. In his letter to John of Limburg in 1324 Sanudo suggested that he had maps to hand to send to him or could procure them in some way. The maps were produced within Sanudo's life-time and all are consistent from copy to copy. Whether he had copyists in his own house in Venice or could commission copies from Vesconte at will is not known. Nor is it known which maps appeared in the original. Sanudo says that there were four,[2] but the manuscript thought to have been presented by him to the Pope has six. Judging from his letter to the Duke of Limburg, it may have been up to the recipient how many maps he received. Some of the maps have individual dedications on them and this might support this suggestion.[3] The maps are beautiful artefacts and were clearly intended by Sanudo as an important and integral part of his text.

Jacques Bongars and his Edition of the *Secreta*

Only one printed Latin version of the *Secreta* has ever appeared in the bookshops and that is the edition edited by Jacques Bongars in 1611 in volume 2 of his *Gesta Dei per Francos* (Hanover). It has often been said, even before the late Joshua Prawer produced his photographic version of the text in 1972, that the Bongers edition is inadequate for modern scholarship. Most recently Norman Housley has reiterated this: '...the treatise that most scholars would regard as the finest, the [*Secreta* by Sanudo], has to be consulted in an edition that will soon be 400 years old.'[4] There is most definitely a need for a modern scholarly edition. However, this would be an enormous task, requiring a careful study and comparison of the 19 extant manuscripts, most of which were not known or not available to Bongars. The costs in time and money would be high. The various Research Assessment Exercises, commercially-driven publishing, threatened library budgets in the universities and a general withering of the Latinophone population at large has meant that readers must be content with the Prawer reprint and will have to do so for some time to come.

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1 See text, 392–8.

2 See text, 21.

3 See the world map in Edson, *art.cit.*, 40–41, dedicated to Robert VII count of Boulogne and Auvergne (r.1313–1324).

4 Norman Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (Blackwell, Oxford, 2006), 123.

Jacques Bongars (1554–1612)[1] was born in Orléans into a Huguenot household. He was extensively educated at the universities of Marburg, Jena, Orlèans and Bourges. He then spent time in Rome studying Eusebius and the authors of the *Scriptores historiae Augusti*. In 1581 he published an edition of *Justinus, Trogi Pompeii Historiarum Philippicarum epitome de manuscriptis codicibus emendatior et prologis auctior* (Paris) and three years later visited the famous Dutch philologist and humanist, Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) in Leiden. In 1585 he entered the service of Henry of Navarre (b.1553), who became Henry IV of France in 1589. In the same year he travelled from Vienna to Constantinople through Hungary and Dacia, noting Roman inscriptions en route. In 1587 he went on a diplomatic mission to the courts of northern Europe, visiting the court of Elizabeth I. He spent a great deal of time from 1593, until his retirement, following Henry IV's assassination in May 1610, in the princely courts of central Germany. This explains the publication of his two major works, *Rerum Hungaricarum scriptores varii* (Frankfurt, 1600) and *Gesta Dei per Francos* (Hanover, 1611), by German printers. He was unmarried and had no direct heirs. On his death in Paris in 1612 he bequeathed his large library of 3,000 books and 500 manuscripts to Jacques Graviseth, the son of his close friend René Graviseth, a banker of Strasbourg. The Graviseth family moved to Berne in 1615 and as a token of gratitude for his citizenship Jacques donated the library to Berne, where it has remained since 1632 as the Codex Bongarsiana. Bongars was thus a practical man with scholarly literary tastes and some experience of working with and publishing old manuscripts.

As an editor, then, Bongars was not inexperienced. His collection and edition of crusade chronicles and other texts from unpublished sources has been described by Atiya as a pioneering work in the publishing of original sources and a work of high calibre for its age.[2] This is true and Bongars had a sound appreciation of the texts that would be of interest. Volume 1 of the *Gesta Dei per Franco*s contained most of the important chronicles of the First Crusade alongside Jacques de Vitry and William of Tyre, both excellent complements to Sanudo's Secreta that formed the bulk of volume 2. In that second volume he also published twenty-three letters written by Sanudo between 1325 and 1329[3] as well as Pierre Dubois, De recuperatione Terre Sancte, which he attributed to an anonymous author.

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[1] There is no biography of Bongars. What is here comes from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and *Das Historische Lexikon der Schweiz* (Berne, 1999) under 'Bongars, Jacques' by Barbara Braun-Bucher. Bongars' notes from his journey to Constantinople in 1585 were published in Hermann Hagen*, Jacobus Bongartius: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Gelehrten Studien des 16 und 17 Jahrhunderts* (Berne, 1874). This book is the closest study there is to a biography but it is very difficult to find a copy and I have not been able to consult it.

[2] A.S. Atiya, *The Crusade: Historiography and Bibliography* (Oxford, 1962), 19, 60–1.

[3] Regrettably these letters were not printed by Prawer in 1972, who confined himself to the text of the *Secreta*. All Sanudo's extant letters, however, may be read in translation

Just why a Huguenot scholar should choose this theme when he did is not clear. At one level it would seem to cast Bongars in an ecumenical light so at odds with his times. At another level, was it just a blatant celebration of former French achievements overseas, almost 70 years before the ambitions of Louis XIV made such historical enterprises fashionable, or was there something more? Bongars had spent most of his diplomatic career in north German courts that feared the aggrandizement of the House of Habsburg. He had certainly been in the Rhine Palatinate. Should the *Gesta Dei per Francos* be seen as part of the Rosicrucian movement that flourished in the anti-Habsburg parts of Germany in the early seventeenth century?[1] What Frances Yates dubbed the Rosicrucian Enlightenment sprang to prominence in the scholarly world of Protestantism with the publication in Kassel in 1614 and 1615 of two anonymous allegorical tracts, *Fama Fraternitatis RC* and the *Confessio Fraternitatis*, collectively known as the 'Rosicrucian Manifestos'. Almost certainly the author was the Lutheran theologian Johannes Valentinus Andreae (1586–1654). The tracts proposed a universal moral and religious reform based upon ancient wisdom culled from alchemy, Neo-Platonic and Hermetic philosophy and Cabbalistic numerology.[2] It had strong Protestant antecedents, whilst the manifestos themselves were produced in the context of the proposed seizure of the Crown of Bohemia by Frederick V (1596–1632), the Elector of the Rhine Palatinate and son-in-law of James I of England. His failure following his military defeat by the Habsburgs at the battle of the White Mountain on 8 November 1620 led to his by-name, 'the Winter King', and the end of this so-called Rosicrucian Enlightenment. Bongars was certainly part of this thought-world. But before he is cast in the role of a seventeenth-century Protestant Sanudo, it must be emphasised that these are just thoughts with no hard evidence to make any sound conclusion as to why Bongars took on this project when he did.

His editing was good for its day, but as a pioneer he had to forge his own tools and lacked proper bibliographical facilities. He was aware of the need to compare manuscripts for variant readings, however, he used, or only had available to him, three manuscripts for this purpose.[3] This is the major reason why a new edition is so urgently required. Two of the manuscripts Bongars used have been noted in the list above. Both came from the fourteenth century, but his third text was a fragment. His transcription was generally thorough. He made a few minor amendments to his master text, enclosing the inserted material in square brackets

in Roddy, *op.cit.*, 109–309.

[1] Frances Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London, 1972), passim, but especially 1–95. Bongars' alchemical interests within the Protestant milieu of the north German courts is touched upon by the late Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Europe's Physician: The Various Life of Sir Theodore de Mayerne* (New Haven, 2006), 88, 93–94.

[2] In this summary I have followed the wording of Peter Marshall, *The Theatre of the World* (London, 2006),111–2.

[3] Joshua Prawer, photostat version of the *Secreta* (1972), xv.

as appropriate.[1] Bongars' square brackets are marked by footnotes to distinguish them from my own bracketed insertions. For the convenience of his readers he inserted marginal notes that gave the years Sanudo had used in the body of his text in Roman numerals, highlighted in the margins in Arabic numerals together with the chapter numbers. He also provided full Biblical references, chapter and verse, for Sanudo's citations, both direct and oblique.[2] However, he did not extend this to the classical material cited by Sanudo. Not surprisingly in such a large text he was not beyond omissions and inconsistencies. He does make a number of slips in the verses and sometimes chapters in this process.[3] On three occasions he has left Sanudo's internal referencing incomplete, but this is as likely to be an omission by Sanudo as of Bongars.[4] He is inconsistent in his capitalisation of the name of God, Christ, the saints, and some major historical figures with periods when several pages omit such capitalisation altogether. As a Huguenot this would not have been to his taste but it does reflect the practice within his sources. His references to the Bible are taken from the Vulgate version. The Bongars text, then, is a sound piece of work for its age. Today, it is work in progress awaiting a modern edition with the appropriate critical apparatus, but it has served scholars well for four centuries and, I hope, will continue to do so in this English translation.

Information regarding the printers of the *Gesta* has not been forthcoming. On the title page they appear as 'Hanoviae/ Typis Wechelianis apud heredes Ioanis Aubrii/ Cum Privilegia S.Caes Romanorum Maiestatis, & Regiae Francorum'.

The whole work is a vast cornucopia of commodities, trade relations, trade-routes and transport, religious perspectives and biblical interpretations, crusading outlook and crusading history, as well as the history and polemics of the early fourteenth century more generally; the whole filtered through the concerns of the time and of its author. It is, therefore, an important text in its own right and not just for its crusade plan. It deserves a wider readership and I hope that this translation will make this possible. I hope, too, that the reader will enjoy it on many levels and as they read it not only reach some conclusion as to whether Sanudo's plan was well-conceived but also feel that they better understand fourteenth-century perceptions and attitudes, which still saw conquest of the Holy Land as both desirable and achievable.

[1] See text, 390–3, 425, and 447.

[2] For these references Bongars used the Latin Vulgate. In this mass of references three stand out as referring to 1 or 2 Samuel instead of 1 or 2 Kings. See text, 164–6 **(103–5)**. Why this eccentric usage in this place is not at all clear.

[3] These are indicated in the footnotes to the text.

[4] See text, 431–2, 435.

Notes on the Translation

The text on which this translation is based is that edited by Jacques Bongars in 1611 and more specifically that text as reproduced photographically by Joshua Prawer in 1972.

To provide an accurate, clear translation adhering to Sanudo's words as closely as possible has been the aim. At times the translation has been freer where his Latin has led to tautology. In several places in the text the meaning of a word or a phrase has not been clear. Whenever this occurs I have rendered a translation with an explanatory footnote.[1] Occasional prepositions and conjunctions have been inserted in the translation in square brackets when they do not exist in the original, if it makes the reading easier. As noted above Bongars also introduced material into his text in square brackets. These are distinguished from the former by a note.

In the main the place names and personal names as used by Sanudo have been retained, with, wherever possible, an explanatory note on that individual. Where the name of the same individual has varied in spelling through the text this has also been retained and not standardized.

All Biblical references have been checked against *The Holy Bible Translated from the Latin Vulgate: Revised by Bishop Richard Chaloner AD 1749–1752* (Baronius Press, London, 2007), and quotations when translated have been taken from that edition. Both Sanudo and Bongars used the Vulgate and this seems appropriate.

Two systems of page numbering have been used. Each page in this volume has its own number and this is used in the index and in this introduction to guide the reader to the appropriate place. In the main document itself the page numbers of the Bongars' edition may be found thus **(p. 49),** should readers wish to give a reference to that edition or consult a page in Bongars with this translation in hand.

The *Secreta* is so wide-reaching in its scope and content, both chronologically and geographically, that a complete bibliography of works used would be too disparate to be of use. Instead, the footnotes are designed to serve as a bibliographic guide for the relevant sections.

The Latin dictionaries used are:

Du Cange, C., *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, 7 vols (Paris, 1840–50)
Glare, P.G.W., *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1982)
Latham, R.E., *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List* (Oxford, 1965)
Lewis, C.T. and Short, C., *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1969)
Maigne D'Arnis, W.H., *Lexicon manual e ad scriptores mediae et infimae Latinitatis* (Paris, 1866)
Niermeyer, J.F., *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden, 1984).

[1] See text,103, 114, 115, 121, 136, 141, 153, 190, 282, 289, 296, 314, 385 and 442.

Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross, that is both for the preservation of the faithful and for the conversion and destruction of the infidel: also for the recovery and retention of the Holy Land and many other lands in a sound, peaceful and quiet state (p. 1).

Author MARINUS SANUTO, called TORSELLO, of the town of RIVO ALTI, of the parish of Saint Severus the Confessor, Venice.

Prologue

In the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the Living God, Amen

In the year of the Lord 1321, 24 September, I, Marino Sanuto, called Torxellus of Venice, by the grace of God, had an audience with our most Holy Father the Pope[1] to whom I presented two books on the recovery of the Holy Land and the conservation of the faithful there present: of whom one part was bound in red and the other in yellow. In the same books I have published four maps of the world: one of the Mediterranean Sea the second of the sea and the land, the third of the Holy Land the fourth of the land of Egypt, and what I had been ordered to say verbally I have given him all this in writing as is set out below. The Holy Father received the aforesaid writings well and gratefully and ordered the reading of the letter, a great part of the prologue and a part of the rubric in my presence: and not only that but by questioning he sought me out again to know many things and I responded to the questions. Finally he said 'I wish that these books should be examined'; to which I replied reverently that that would please me much provided the readers were faithful Christians. He replied 'Of this you should have no doubts' and he added, 'it is necessary to keep them quiet for as long as we shall lead you.' At this point I withdrew. Later that same day he himself sent diligently for the brothers listed below: Boentio de Ast, Dominican and Vicar of the province of Armenia, Iacobo de Cammerino, a Franciscan who had a beard and who had come to the

[1] John XXII (Jacques Dueze), Pope at Avignon, 1310–34.

Curia on behalf of the brothers of Persia **(p. 2)**, Matthew of Cyprus, and Paulinus the Venetian, [the Pope's] confessor, both of whom were Franciscans. He gave the yellow book to them and asked them to examine it diligently and to report to him personally. The aforementioned brothers retired to the house of brother Paulinus and there examined the book diligently and faithfully and in complete agreement they submitted their joint report. On the thirtieth day after the examination on a Sunday at Vespers he [the Pope] came up to me affably and before the aforesaid brothers and he asked many things of the brothers, 'You are all in agreement in fact'; and they with all reverence replied, 'Holy Father on this matter we write with complete agreement what we feel. 'Many questions followed with the brothers and me speaking. At last, the lord Pope said, 'The hour is late. You shall submit this report in writing; we will read it and afterwards we will send for you': and in this way they left the book and their report with it.

Dedicatory Material

In the Name of OurLord Jesus Christ, Son of the Living God, Amen

I, Marino Sanuto, called Torxellus from Venice, kneel before Your Holiness humbly and with devotion because my petition has come to the feet of Your Holiness, mainly for the common good of the whole of Christendom, present and yet to come. For I am not directed to you by any king, prince or commonwealth or by any other special person, but entirely at my own free will for considering for a long time that Your Holiness can achieve enormous good and benefit with little, indeed with no cost and expense in crushing and annihilating the principal enemies of the Catholic faith, first the Sultan of Babylon, and the Emperor of the Tartars who dwells in the north, called Husbecho,[1] he is reputed to wield power over many peoples: also the Turks, who persistently and continually oppress the islands of Romania and the principality of the Morea, both of which belong to the Latins. In singling out the Emperor of the Tartars, who rules in Torisio and Persia[2] and who is the chief enemy of the aforementioned Sultan and the Emperor of the North and who protects the kingdom of Armenia from Saracen treachery when his strength permits: considering that Your Holiness, in crushing and destroying that most evil sect that the wicked Mahumet has spread, can follow what is set out in these books and that, God willing, you can possess the Holy Land of Promise along with neighbouring lands, freely and peacefully: also the obedience and return to the bosom of the pious mother of the Greeks and other schismatics. Truly I can say that my soul has thirsted for the day at hand, in which I shall have the strength to present all the books, as promised, at the feet of Your Holiness; in

1 Özbeg. Ninth Khan of the Golden Horde, 1313–41.

2 Abu Sa'id (1316–35), the ninth and last Ilkhan of Persia of the family of Hülegü (d.1265). Torisio is Tabriz.

order to produce them, I shall have passed over the sea five times, in Cyprus, in Alexandria, in Armenia and indeed in Rhodes **(p. 3)**. Nonetheless, before I began to write on the said matters I have been many times in Alexandria and Acre:[1] but not against the restraint of ecclesiastical sanction; indeed in Romania I spent the greater part of my time, wherefore the condition and state [of that region], especially the principality of Achaea, I can claim to know well. Now, however, in order that I may bring the said books safely to the eminence of Your Holiness, sailing from Venice as far as Bruge and thence by land I came to your court. And so Your Holiness will see them or cause them to be seen as it shall please him. And I trust in the highest Creator, in the well-known knowledge and goodness of Your Holiness, talked about everywhere, you will do those things that are good and useful in this matter. Holy Father, I have prayed and I pray to the Author of all things that Your Holiness may be long thought worthy to serve in His Holy Church and especially I thank you for pursuing those things that are to the praise, glory and increase of the Christian faith. I am always ready to follow your commands as befits a faithful Christian.

Summary

Concerning the First Book of the Work of the Holy Land

Holy Father, diligently perusing the work, it seems to us that from the contents of the first book there should be general support for a crusade: and that the revenues of the Sultan should be reduced and that his strength and power should be weakened: and that the profits and goods that we have from the lands subjected to the Sultan we can have from elsewhere. And it seems to us that through these things that were done before are being carried on in similar fashion today. For goods are being carried from Taurisio[2] and Baldach[3] through the great sea[4] and by land as far as Lesser Armenia, only doubt remains regarding cinnamon[5] which we do not know to exist elsewhere than Egypt. For the prosecution of these things three conditions are essential. First, that the restraints of the Church should be stronger than usual, so that [these things] seem much more serious, but efficacious. When, however, it says Part 4, Chapter 2 that transgressors should be punished as if they were heretics and Chapter 7 that their aiders and abettors should undergo punishment as

1 Throughout, with few exceptions, Sanudo uses Acon for Acre.

2 Tabriz (Tauris).

3 Baghdad.

4 The Black Sea.

5 *Cassia fistula*. Here Sanudo seems to confuse *cassia*, the bark from the *Cinnamonum aromaticum* from Arabia and Ethiopia, with true cinnamon (*Cinnmonum zeylanicum*) from Ceylon (Sri Lanka). The latter was meant. It had been imported into Egypt since about 2,000BC. Its true source was kept a secret.

if they were aiders of heretics: to complete this business inquisitors and inflictors of punishment should be given [powers] against such:

- Item: when it says in Chapter 5 that the same punishment should apply to anyone who should buy goods which they might presume or that they know to have come from lands subject to the Sultan. It seems to us that this should be cleared away that which often harms and afflicts the conscience of many, especially after it has happened.
- Item: it says in the short summary that a ruler, a lord or a commune should be held under pain of greater excommunication[1] to follow the violators of ecclesiastical ruling. It seems to us that a commune should be cleared [of this charge] because the whole commune is not guilty and it is not usual to excommunicate a commune.
- Item: it says in the same place that all informants who know of transgressors should be under pain of excommunication to make accusations. It seems to us very harsh that no person of status or condition should be excepted.

The second point is that ten galleys should be assigned to the keeping of the sea, on patrol for eight months of the year (Part 4, Chapter 7). Later this number could be reduced to seven. It seems to us that ten are both necessary and sufficient. But it is right that during the whole year they should watch the sea **(p. 4)** because today voyages take place in winter more than usual.

The third point is that a captain should be appointed, a man just, prudent and courageous. It seems to us that because of the many difficulties that will confront this man almost every day that noble advisers should be given to him, men good and expert in the business of the sea and accustomed to trade and with whose advice he can act. Otherwise if the captain [acts] from pride, avarice or from any other unjust motive he will harm honest merchants unduly and can easily destroy commerce. And this matter is touched upon in Book 2, Chapter 1. Each galley should have an experienced man as its captain.

Concerning Book 2

Book 2 is the sum and extenuation of Part 1, because the captain of the second army consisting of 15,000 men and 300 horse shall establish a beach head on the shores of Egypt to receive a crusade.[2] Concerning this we say that we have not seen that shore, however, we have heard it to be of such a condition as we have described it in the book. And then the whole Part 1 pleased us except when it is said in Chapter

[1] Excommunication is of two kinds: Lesser excommunication excludes the excommunicate from the sacraments. Greater excommunication, which is imposed by a church court, excludes not only from the sacraments but also from the company of all Christians.

[2] *Passagium generale*.

3 that the crusade should be proclaimed in the second or third year; it seemed to us that it must be said that necessary preparations should be done immediately. The sum and conclusion of Part 2 is that the army of the lord should not be led by land or by any other route but directly to the said shores of Egypt. Here to that which was said there it seems to us additionally that Saint Louis,[1] who in his first crusade crossed via Cyprus, in his second, being now experienced, wished to go directly to Egypt. On the way he landed in Tunis where he passed from the earth to heaven and the cause of his failure was first and foremost the difficulty of supplying victuals. Also the Lord Edward, who was King of England,[2] after he had had experience of the places and conditions of Outremer is said to have thought as follows: first to invade Egypt, second to recover the Holy Land and third to gain the empire and crown of Constantinople. The sum and conclusion of Part 3 is this: because Christian warriors can be landed and supplied there, they can establish themselves safely. This seems true to us taking into account what has been said above, especially about the coast of Egypt. Part 4 contains the means and weapons for waging war and certain ships about which we admit ignorance; we are not fit to judge these things but it seems to us to have been well and clearly said.

Concerning Book 3

Book 3 is historical and records past events as a warning for future generations. In the penultimate part it records the disposition of the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt and especially of the Holy Land. At the end it provides clear examples about the army and the dangers of war and finally examines the rule of the kings of Jerusalem. These [tales] teach us to preserve the lands that we have conquered and which are widely spread out. In consequence we do not examine all things in order. However, it seems to us skilfully and well set out.

In the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the Living God, Amen **(p. 5)** [3]

Remembrance to his royal majesty made humbly by Marin Sanud, called Torxel of Venice who presents to you the books and the *mappamundis* to conquer and to hold the Holy Land and the lands roundabout it. This will be a very joyful thing for your Majesty to have the lordship of the world and to win Paradise, which was not granted to Alexander who was master of the world, by following the recommendations and methods that follow.

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[1] Louis IX of France (1214–70), King from 1226; canonized by Boniface VIII in 1299.

[2] Edward I (1272–1307).

[3] The remainder of this petition to King Philip V (1316–22) is in French. Independently, Philip subscribed to much that Sanudo was proposing and planned a crusade to help the Armenians and in 1319 tried to impose a blockade on Mamluk ports, but all to no avail. See *New Cambridge Medieval History*, VI (2000), 868.

First, let Your Highness undertakes a journey to Outremer in the manner that is set out or in a manner that shall please your Majesty. If there are not the men for such a grand undertaking at the moment then provide 10 galleys, well-armed with 250 men for each galley, to guard the sea, and 300 knights and 1,000 foot soldiers of good birth to guard the land of Armenia for great harm and shame would come to Christendom if this land were lost.

Secondly, that you seek the support of Our Holy Father the Pope who will send his letters together with yours throughout Christendom that as the Holy Land should lie in Christian hands each of them should be asked: that according to what each sends he will have a share of the land there and that all the money that should have been collected, should be kept safe and sound so that it may only be spent on the Crusade.

Thirdly, that it please your Majesty to have peace and understanding with the doge and commune of Venice.

Fourthly, that you appoint for your captain of the east whoever seems to be best and that he follows the recommendations of the books that I have sent to you.

And if Your Highness makes this choice, I have no doubt, with the assistance of God, that King Robert,[1] King Frederick of Sicily[2] and the Emperor of Constantinople,[3] will agree with you in all that seems reasonable. And by this means you could conquer the Holy Land and the other lands around it and the remainder of the world could not defend itself against Your Highness according to what you can see in the books and *mappamundis* mentioned above.

To the first article Marin Sanud replies that if any shall say the armament is too small say that with the aid of God, it will be sufficient for this action. For there is to be found in Cyprus, in Rhodes and in the other isles of Romania, up to ten galleys well armed, that will take part with yours. And again the islands aforementioned can provide aid beyond the ten galleys for a short period **(p. 6)**. Again many times at sea there are a great number of merchant ships that could reinforce the ten galleys. Specifically order well the merchants: if with the aid of God the sea shall be well guarded. The islands of Cyprus and Rhodes could well succour Armenia continuously with 350 knights and many other Christians who will be aiders and abettors of this thing. For which reason, the land of Armenia, of Cyprus and of Rhodes should be well defended and guarded. The Sultan's power of access will be much weakened and he will suffer much damage by it. And all the people of Christian France, who despair of anything that they do not do themselves, should comfort themselves and give as much as they can for the relief and aid of the Holy Land. And if something is not done urgently the Christian peoples will despair and all Christendom will be in great peril. And especially the Christians in that part if Your Highness and benignity does not send help and assistance urgently.

[1] Robert the Wise, King of Naples (1309–43).

[2] Frederick II or III as he dubbed himself, King of Sicily (1295–1337).

[3] Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–1328).

In the name of Jesus Christ, Son of the Living God, Amen **(p. 7)**

Three things that are essential and current for the common good of Christendom

First, that the province of Armenia should be secured. Second, that there should be procedures on land and likewise inquisitors of which one acts alone and the other comes behind to secure things. Third, that galleys should be armed for keeping the sea. And in these issues one should proceed as set out in the order of this book:

What if anyone should ask how many armed men are needed to safeguard the province of Armenia? I reply reverently, I Marino Sanudo, called Torsellus, from Venice, that with 300 horse and 1,000 foot soldiers and 10 galleys, well-equipped, and they should be manned by stipendaries by the Roman Church. And not only by it but also by the kingdom of Cyprus and the islands of Romania. For the guarding of the sea may be kept by the aforesaid galleys and by others that are in those parts. The kingdom of Cyprus can send continuous help to the said Armenia with 200 knights. The Hospital with a diminution of the guards of the island of Rhodes as well as from the revenues they receive in Cyprus and Armenia can easily aid the kingdom of Armenia with 150 armed horsemen. And several other Catholics there will hurry to help the Church when they hear of it. And the Armenians themselves both from the tribute that they pay to the Sultan as well as by their own ability should try to maintain an armed people. And perhaps there should be hope and not mistrust placed in the favour and the help of the Tartars, who rule in Persia and Chaldea, although for the most part they are mixed with the pestilential Saracen sect. Although it must be believed that they would prefer to follow their own rather than foreign ways. For all of which proceedings the Church would lay out 150,000 florins and it would damage the Sultan by more than 1,000,000 florins in a year: apart from other inconveniences which he and the people subject to him exact, so long as the Church carries on the processes of the inquisitors with the foresaid.

Item: If it is asked why the Sultan of Babylon raids the whole province of Armenia when an imposed tribute is paid to him by the Armenians; and the returns from the tribute is greater to the Sultan and his subjects than from his whole kingdom, in respect of the burden and the expenses it incurs. I reply because of three things. The first is that he might bring, by seizing it, a great flow of merchandise from Armenia to his own lands. The second is that Armenia lies in the middle between Turkey, which is called Asia Minor, and the land subject to the Sultan. It reaches out to the power of the Sultan and of the Turks and of other Saracens living in those parts and they feel protected in turn. And then they believe that they can resist the Tartars, who rule in Persia and in Chaldea; on account of which many Saracens, wisely, are keen to bring about a union and some Tartars and Armenians too. The third is that in the parts beyond the sea the power of the Christians is almost extinguished. If there is no opposition, as is suggested, the said Armenia will not long be able to continue under Christian rule. And not only that, but the kingdom of Cyprus, Rhodes and the rump of Romania will come under great danger. And if the Sultan and the said Turks, as is suggested, join

together they might then have the help of the Tartars who are in Gaza and other southern parts so that he will have the union of their will and it is to be feared that after this they will pour themselves to areas beyond. And so your holy providence may choose a remedy to these things as it will please you.

This is the Title Given to the Sultan of Babylon by His Subjects **(p. 8)**

To the most serene, most powerful and most excellent Lord Sultan Nasit,[1] Lord of the World, just Judge, and courageous revealer of hidden affairs, Lord of the Saracens and the Mussulmen, chooser of justice for the world, Judge of those forgotten by the impious and heir of kingdoms, Sultan of the Arabs, the Azimor and the Turks, opener of provinces, expeller of the army of the Tartars, the present-day Alexander, lord of good things, King of the two seas, showing honour to the honourable and generous, despot of Kings and Sultans, Belphet, Mahumet son of Sultans, acknowledged King of Mazut, sword of the King of Chalaon.

Contents

In the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the Living God, Amen

Here begin the Secrets for the Protection of the Faithful as well as for the conversion or consumption of the infidels, also for acquiring and keeping the Holy Land and many other lands, With God's grace in good, peaceful and quiet condition.

To the most Holy Father and Lord, Lord J.,[2] high priest of the sacrosanct and universal Roman Church, Marino Sanudo, called Torsello, from the town of Rivoalto, from the parish of San Severus in Venice with humble reverence and kisses of the blessed feet. To the honour, glory and exaltation of the all-powerful God and of our Lord Jesus Christ and also of his faith and of the name of Christian. I took on this work of hard labour and sleeplessness for the recovery and more sure retention of the Holy Land of Promise where, it is written, the creation and redemption of the human race occurred and where the judgement of the worthy is expected to take place at the end of time. For in Ebron, Adam, the first father of the world of the earth was formed. In Jerusalem the Lord God was crucified for the redemption of the slave; innocent of sin; for a sacrifice. Nearby, Joel testified that the Lord will bring together all peoples and lead them to the valley of Josaphat and will judge them.[3] Then for love, searching for and visiting the elect and that Holy Land, so that the heart might be moved to faith, love of father and of country, blessing and reverence of the Divine Majesty; fear and trembling of judgement and

[1] An-Nasir Nasir-ad-Din Muhammad, first reign 1294–5, second reign 1299–1309, third reign 1309–40.

[2] John XXII, Pope at Avignon, 1310–34.

[3] Joel 3:12.

of the last judgement. Indeed, love of the first prince attracts; just as the new-born lamb immediately seeks its mother and her teat; and the rivers go down thence to the sea and are immediately turned back; just as a magnet attracts iron, because the strength of its original attraction is found more nobly in a magnet. Therefore, the faithful hears with a deaf ear what Jacob said in Genesis 31. 'Return to the land of your fathers and to your generation'.[1] The crooked generation and the perverse generation will return there, which had not directed its heart nor entrusted its spirit to God and like a viper made deaf up to the present Christian generation **(p. 9)**. Deservedly let the blessing of grace and the reverence of the redeemer move; that while there he ascended the Cross like a ship. He showed the necessity of buying the redemption with his blood and of mounting the Cross when he said (Luke 14) 'And whosoever doth not carry his cross and come after me, cannot be my disciple.'[2] And so, beautiful in form, going up in a ship, his disciples followed him (Matthew 8). Thus Jesus ascended the ship in the following chapter and came to his city, to which we could not cross without the ship of his cross. Then fear and trembling at a strict examination should move us, where [there is] a severe Judge to whom all things are laid bare and open even as 'Jerusalem (Sophonias 1) was searched with lamps.'[3] What do you think will be safe in Babylon when in Jerusalem; lest anything be concealed a spot is searched with light? The voice of an archangel will summon to the valley of Josaphat, 'Arise O dead and come to judgement'. We will hurry to cross thither either in our own body or with the benefit of help because it is better to come before than to be overtaken: we are keen to have a part of that land, either by right of war or purchase, so that we are found there on the day of judgement, not as guests or newcomers, but as a citizen of the saints and of the household God. 'For who (Zacharias 15) shall not go up of the families of the land to Jerusalem, to adore the King, the lord of hosts, there shall be no rain upon them';[4] that is of Divine benediction. Therefore, moved by just consideration of these things I have taken care to shape the present work of the Holy Land of Promise: appropriately divided into books and parts and chapters and to present them to the pinnacle of the Most Holy Apostolic See so that any defect, if any appears, may be corrected and useful things promoted for the honour of God and of his holy Church. The whole work is divided into three books in honour of the Holy Trinity. For so we take care with the greatest diligence to provide three remedies to the infirm body. First, syrup for a favourable disposition, because there are no actions of the active unless in an open frame of mind. Second, an agreeable medicine which expels the disease and induces health. Third a life-style that ought to ensure health. We guard against harm also some delights; we adopt healthy things even bitter things. In line with this the Book 1 contains an approach like syrup for liberating and, so to speak, cleansing the Holy Land of

[1] Genesis 31:3.
[2] Luke 14:27.
[3] Sophonias 1:12
[4] In fact, it is Zacharias 14:17.

Promise, which for a long time has been as if paralyzed and infirm, lying under the rule of a perfidious race. Book 2 induces health and perfect freedom. Book 3 teaches how to conserve it perfectly lest it be subjected to the rule of the infidels again. The books are divided into general parts so that the ideas can be understood briefly and summarily. The parts are split into chapters so that each one reveals deliberately and clearly what it is about. So that in each [section] of the whole first ought to come the part of doctors. The rubrics of the aforesaid books, parts, and chapters are followed in this manner

Book 1: The Disposition and Preparation for the Recovery of the Holy Land

Here begins Book 1 of the work of the Holy Land, containing the disposition and preparation for the recovery of the Holy land, having 5 parts **(p. 10)**.

Part 1 contains the manner of diminishing the power of the Sultan by showing how faithful Christians can carry on the trade necessary to them without having access to the lands subject to the Sultan**;** by revealing the huge injuries and evils that those infidels subject to the Sultan will suffer if [goods] are not carried to them through our sea: having 6 chapters:

- Chapter 1: The causes and advantages coming to the Sultan and his people from the trade from India; the names of the ports from which it comes and the means by which it can be diverted from the hands of the Sultan.
- Chapter 2: How those things that are necessary for us and that come from the Sultan's dominions can be had from Christian lands.
- Chapter 3: Concerning the dates, flax, wild cinnamon and associated products that should not be carried in the Mediterranean from which the Sultan and his subjects derive much benefit.
- Chapter 4: Concerning the damage consequent on the Sultan and his subjects if gold, silver, iron and other metals were not carried to them.
- Chapter 5: The hurt that would come to the Saracens if provisions were not brought to them from the lands of the Christians.
- Chapter 6: The damage that would come to the Egyptians if wood and other material for shipbuilding were not exported to them with a description of the land of Egypt.

Part 2 contains certain experience how there is already some weakness in the land subject to the Sultan, having 2 chapters:

- Chapter 1: How the lands of the Sultan beyond the desert towards Armenia and in the countryside of Syria are reduced in riches.
- Chapter 2: How in the aforesaid lands of the Sultan there has been a reduction in inhabitants and a great reduction in armed men.

Part 3 contains certain essentials very pertinent to acquiring these lands from the Saracens and from others, having 2 chapters:

- Chapter 1: The cause of prohibiting those things like wood and other naval supplies that ought not to be carried to the land of the Saracens or to Egypt.
- Chapter 2: How the Saracens of the land of Egypt procure and transport boys and girls from other parts for the defence of the region.

Part 4 shows how it is essential that a new means of [commercial] boycott be found and considered thoroughly and by showing just how this can be drawn tight so that scarcely anything is carried over the Mediterranean Sea land subject to the Sultan and that certain galleys should be prepared for the protection of the faithful overseas at the expense of the Saracens, having 7 chapters:

- Chapter 1: How all trade and all access to the Saracens subject to the Sultan should be prohibited.
- Chapter 2: How transgressors of the divine mandate should be prosecuted on land and sea by all faithful Christians.
- Chapter 3: The necessity of removing the course of trade which is accustomed to be carried from the lands subject to the Sultan, and from the whole of Africa and of Spain where the Agarenes dwell.
- Chapter 4: The reasons why the same prohibition should be in place towards the southern lands that is from the river Saleph to Anneias.
- Chapter 5: The cause of the prohibition, why no Christian should purchase any goods whatsoever brought from the lands of the Sultan.
- Chapter 6: Concerning the punishment of the lords and governors of lands and those communities that receive banned goods into their ports and territories.
- Chapter 7: Concerning the custody of the sea and the initial preparation for arming a Christian army and the expense.

Part 5 contains reasons why the Church should be concerned with the foresaid, having 3 chapters **(p. 11)**:

- Chapter 1: An enticement for performing the aforesaid by reason of unfinished business.
- Chapter 2: A pious appeal for help for the lands and kingdoms of the Christians overseas.
- Chapter 3: A summary of the foregoing and the whole of Book 1 with a conclusion.

Book 2: The Ways and Means by Which the Holy Land can be Recovered

Here begins Book 2 of the same work containing the ways and means by which the Holy Land can be duly and practically recovered, having 4 parts.

Part 1 contains the shape and organization of the second Christian army, having 4 chapters:

- Chapter 1: In what manner a captain should be appointed and what brief he should have, how many colleagues he should have and when he should set to work.
- Chapter 2: How it will be more appropriate for a maritime state to carry out this business.
- Chapter 3: The preparation of the ships and other essentials for prosecuting the universal crusade and also the preparation of supplies and gaining the friendship of the Tartars.
- Chapter 4: The costs of maintaining the aforesaid army of 15,000 foot and 300 horse, and its reasonable advance.

Part 2 contains both the rejection which seems to be made by some means of the fleet of the Church and a clear reason why the sea route from Egypt should be chosen, having 10 chapters:

- Chapter 1: Explains that the expedition of the Church must not be led by land.
- Chapter 2: Against the advice of some saying that the aforesaid expedition should descend upon the land of Armenia, of Syria or of Jerusalem of the Holy Land.
- Chapter 3: The inappropriateness of arguing that the said crusade should be based in Cyprus.
- Chapter 4: Concerning a certain allegory adapted to a certain fortification.
- Chapter 5: Another metaphor applied to a certain tree.
- Chapter 6: Clarification of the aforesaid fortification and other things relevant.
- Chapter 7: An explanation of the tree and what relates to it.
- Chapter 8: An illustration from those things that were done between the Venetians and the Lord Patriarch of Aquileia for the taking of Istria, [and] of what the first battle in Egypt against the Saracens might be like.
- Chapter 9: Evidence demonstrating the proposition, based upon the achievements in Egypt of Saint Louis, King of the French and of two kings of Jerusalem.
- Chapter 10: The issues that must be addressed so that what is related above may emerge with the help of Jesus Christ.

Part 3 contains the safe state of building in coastal Egypt and the special quality of fighting against the Saracens with clear examples, having 4 chapters:

- Chapter 1: How the Christians can be safe by staying in fortifications on the coast of Egypt; by comparison with the Venetian coast, which were a surety under the tempestuous storms of Gauls, Africans, Cypriots, Atila and of the Lombards and of others, and has remained unharmed.
- Chapter 2: How the Christians should go openly to the coast of Egypt and how they can protect themselves from the neighbouring Saracens by example of the Venetian people.
- Chapter 3: How the crusaders can harm the Egyptians by example of how the Venetians waged war against the towns and places on their lakes and rivers.
- Chapter 4: Convincing answers to doubts that may arise.

Part 4 contains the form, method and order as well as commendable arguments on warlike events and other things touching on carrying out the said business of the land successfully and how the Agarenes and the schismatics are not able to defend the land against the power of the Church, having 29 chapters **(p. 12)**:

- Chapter 1: Arguments that may be advanced against the power of the Christian army, lest it should come to an unprofitable end and the solutions of the same.
- Chapter 2: In which certain other arguments are advanced that the Sultan can be engaged on the Nile and an explanation of the same.
- Chapter 3: Certain examples of Cyrus, King of the Persians, and concerning certain lessons for the Christian army.
- Chapter 4: A certain question that asks whether the Saracens, on account of the large number of ships that they have on the river Nile, can hold up the army of the Christians and the answer to the same.
- Chapter 5: The provision, safety and setting out of the ships of the Christian army.
- Chapter 6: What shape ships ought to be which can be useful for crossing the sea as well as commendable in the business of the land of Egypt.
- Chapter 7: Ships that are suitable for conveying foodstuffs and other supplies to the army both by sea and by river, and of the forms of ships for fresh water useful for pursuing the business in hand.
- Chapter 8: The different types of weapons that the Christians will need, both for defending themselves and attacking the enemy.
- Chapter 9: The sort of people that the captain ought to choose and what sort of food ought to be distributed to them so that good discipline and right order should be maintained.
- Chapter 10: The amount of food and what means the Venetians use to distribute food to their galley crews and of the number of men, the times,

weights and measures, and how they can be accurately valued.

- Chapter 11: The number of ships and their shape in which the Christian army will go to the coast of Egypt to capture the land and how they should be ordered by the captain.
- Chapter 12: The time, order and effort of cutting wood for shipbuilding; of keeping the same and that this may be more speedily and greatly done for the oars of the common ships.
- Chapter 13: Other ships that the army will need for carrying supplies and other things necessary for the crusading venture: concerning the names of places and the quality of victuals that can be had and brought away from them; by showing reasonably that the fleet which belongs to the Holy Church of God may be proved neither opportune nor useful.
- Chapter 14: In which it will be shown in what way the clarity and goodness of the air will be known in crossing to the coast of Egypt; and how the goodness of the air is established by taking up the established example of filberts and concerning the goodness of the waters.
- Chapter 15: What sort of condition of people for admittance to the stipend of the Holy Roman Church for the purpose of finishing this business.
- Chapter 16: The mode and manner of replenishing the people of the army, the hospital of the same and the provisioning of all: and also of women joined in marriage, the widowhood of the same and their heirs and of provision to be made for others.
- Chapter 17: Places and areas from which good sailors may be had for steering ships through fresh and salt waters.
- Chapter 18: The sailors living in the extremities of Germany who ought to be good and useful for advising and assisting the aforesaid [enterprise].
- Chapter 19: The taking of the Cross and the different sorts of armed men that the army needs for the conquering the land of Egypt.
- Chapter 20: The number of men that each galley needs so that it is suitably protected; and the officers of the same, the craftsmen and pay day; and concerning the supplies and pay for 300 cavalry.
- Chapter 21: Certain declarations, memoranda, and ordinances and precautions for the fleet.
- Chapter 22: The production of weapons and the most powerful catapults and crossbows; and the manufacture and precautions for the perfection of all things that are considered to have a bearing on the same.
- Chapter 23: In what ways the stipendaries of Holy Mother Church, after they have seized the coast of Egypt and before the arrival of the crusaders, should attack schismatics and infidels with their galleys and timber and inflict as much injury as possible **(p. 13)**.
- Chapter 24: Certain provisions, orders and precautions that are relevant to a naval force.
- Chapter 25: A description of the coastline subject to the Sultan and the sailors' names of these lands, ports and islands and the distances and miles

that separate them one from another, together with the same for those parts belonging to the King of Tunisia that border on them.

- Chapter 26: The coast controlled by the King of Armenia from the borders with the Sultan to the lands of the Turks in the north.
- Chapter 27: The paid crusaders of the Holy Roman Church that will join the Christian army concerning Egypt, how the river Nile ought to be controlled; in which it is shown how the island of Raxetus can be occupied; and concerning the numbers of the aforesaid and how many can stand together; by showing how the infidels can be forced to hand over the land of Egypt to the faithful of Christ.
- Chapter 28: In which certain questions and arguments against the power of the Christians are advanced; namely once the land of Egypt is conquered the Christians can take possession of the land of Jerusalem and Syria against the power of the Sultan and of the Tartars and other infidels; and concerning the cost of gaining Jerusalem and Syria and the justification of the friendship of the Tartars.
- Chapter 29: Certain observations for the lords who will oversee these deeds of war wisely and prudently, and to certain notables too.

Book 3: Keeping, Holding and Possessing the Holy Land of Promise

Here begins Book 3 of the same work containing infallible and true teaching for keeping, holding and possessing the Holy Land of Promise against the attacks of any infidels, after it has been conquered from the hands of the Saracens, having 15 Parts.
Part 1 tells how the Promised Land has been ruled by various peoples, having 14 chapters:

- Chapter 1: Explains why the Promised Land is attractive to every nation and why the inhabitants are so often oppressed or thrown from the land.
- Chapter 2: How the sons of Ham first inhabited the Promised Land and why they were expelled.
- Chapter 3: How the people of Israel descended from Sem through Abraham, having expelled the sons of Cham or reduced them to slavery, dwelt in the Promised Land.
- Chapter 4: How the said sons of Sem conducted themselves under 14 judges.
- Chapter 5: When the people began to have kings; and when the kingdom was divided into two, Juda and the ten tribes; and the end of the second kingdom.
- Chapter 6: The course and end of the Kingdom of Juda and Jerusalem.
- Chapter 7: The death of Jeremias and Ezechiel; and the captivity of the rump of Juda in Egypt and how Cyrus gained Babylon.
- Chapter 8: The relaxation of the captivity under Jesus the chief priest; the

rebuilding of the ruined temple.
- Chapter 9: The deeds of Judith, Esdra, Nehemia and Esther under the priests Ioachim, Eliasib and Iuda.
- Chapter 10: The evil against Johannes the priest and his successor Iuda; the death of Oxia at the time of Alexander and Ptolemy's persecution of the Jews; the translation of the Divine law by 70 interpreters at the time of Eleazar the priest.
- Chapter 11: The division of the Jews under Onia against those warring against them in Syria and Egypt; and the persecution of the Kings of Syria, Seleuchus and Antiochus, against the Jews; and the deposition and death of the other Onia; also the wonderful deeds of Machabeus.
- Chapter 12: How kings began to rule again in the Promised land.
- Chapter 13: The cruel and impious persecution against Christ and the Apostles.
- Chapter 14: The destruction of Jerusalem; the expulsion of the Jews from the area by the sons of Japhet, namely the Romans.

Part 2 contains the beginning of the Eastern Church, having 4 chapters:

- Chapter 1: The glorious progress of the eastern Church.
- Chapter 2: The cooling of the former fervour of the Church and its consequent affliction by Cosroe.
- Chapter 3: The victory of Heraclius against Cosroe **(p. 14)**.
- Chapter 4: The return of Heraclius and the restoration of the Holy Cross to Jerusalem.

Part 3 contains the Muslim persecution of the Eastern Church and its anxious condition up to the first crusade of Godfrey and Peter the Hermit, having 8 chapters:

- Chapter 1: The lapse of Heraclius into heresy and the devastation of the Holy Land by Humar and Mahumet.
- Chapter 2: The vile beginnings of the seducer Mahumet.
- Chapter 3: The brigandage and carnal sins of Mahumet.
- Chapter 4: Other abuses of the law of Mahumet.
- Chapter 5: How he was a false prophet; his death and how his rule was shared among many.
- Chapter 6: How Charlemagne set out to help the Promised Land.
- Chapter 7: The return of Charles and the bringing back of relics.
- Chapter 8: The deteriorating condition of the Promised Land, largely due to the devastation of the empire of Constantinople.

Part 4 contains the wondrous movement of the western peoples to free the Holy Land at the time of Peter the Hermit, having 14 chapters:

- Chapter 1: The pious request for help and the beginning of a possible salvation.
- Chapter 2: The swift gathering of the crusade.
- Chapter 3: The journey of Walter and his band to Constantinople.
- Chapter 4: The journey of Peter the Hermit with a huge host of people to Constantinople.
- Chapter 5: The deeds of the said pilgrims beyond the Hellespont that is called the Arm of Saint George.
- Chapter 6: The inordinate destruction of a host of Germans making the pilgrimage under the priest Condescauco.
- Chapter 7: The confusion of popular multitudes of pilgrims with no particular leader.
- Chapter 8: The pilgrimage and captivity of Hugh the Great, and the manner in which Bohemond decided to go on pilgrimage.
- Chapter 9: The pilgrimage of Godfrey and the freeing of Hugh the Great.
- Chapter 10: The disputes and agreement of the Pilgrims with the Emperor.
- Chapter 11: The journey of Bohemond to Constantinople and his reception by the Emperor.
- Chapter 12: The journey of the count of Toulouse and his men and how the Emperor dealt with them.
- Chapter 13: The capture of Nicaea and the arrival of the last barons.
- Chapter 14: The division of the Pilgrims by turns and the Turkish attack on them.

Part 5 contains the victories of the pilgrims in the Kingdom of Jerusalem and their discussions up to the times of the kings, having 8 chapters:

- Chapter 1: The victories of Tancred and Baldwin while they were ahead of all the others, their discord and agreement.
- Chapter 2: The favourable achievements of Baldwin in the north.
- Chapter 3: The march of the great army to Antioch.
- Chapter 4: A description of the city of Antioch and its siege.
- Chapter 5: The various trials and tribulations of the besiegers and the besieged.
- Chapter 6: The capture of Antioch, the finding of the Lance of Salvator, and the defeat of Corbagat.
- Chapter 7: The march of the pilgrims against Jerusalem.
- Chapter 8: The siege of Jerusalem and how it was captured.

Part 6 contains the full liberation of the Holy Land and the setting up of the Kingdom of Jerusalem under the Latin kings, having 24 chapters:

- Chapter 1: How Godfrey was chosen King of Jerusalem and his piety concerning the worship of God.
- Chapter 2: A victory given to the pilgrims by God against a vast number of Persians.
- Chapter 3: The return of the pilgrims; the wonderful courage of the remaining few in seizing Joppa, Ramula and Porphyra, and how the Patriarch gained jurisdiction over a quarter of the holy city.
- Chapter 4: The coronation of Baldwin I, the capture of Arsuf and Caesarea, and the double victory over the Egyptians.
- Chapter 5: Events in the county of Edessa and the principalities of Antioch and Galilee.
- Chapter 6: The capture of Bibylos and Tripoli; Baldwin's story, and the death of Tancred and Beltrand.
- Chapter 7: The fortune of Joscellin and the victory of Roger against the Turks **(p. 15)**.
- Chapter 8: The building and provisioning of Mount Royal that is called Scandelium; and the death of the King.
- Chapter 9: The election of King Baldwin II.
- Chapter 10: The victory of the King over the Turks and the capture of him and count Joscellin.
- Chapter 11: A victory over the Turks and the treaty of [the Latins in]Syria with the doge of Venice.
- Chapter 12: The conditions, situation and capture of Tyre.
- Chapter 13: The liberation of the King and great victories over the Turks.
- Chapter 14: The death of Bohemond and of the King, and the elevation of Fulk as third King of Jerusalem.
- Chapter 15: The honourable death of Joscellin, a great victory for the King and the building of two castles.
- Chapter 16: The death of the Count of Tripoli and the expedition of the Emperor of Constantinople against Antioch.
- Chapter 17: The journey of the Emperor and his death; and the recovery of the city of Bellina.
- Chapter 18:Praise of the kings and victories, the ordering of the whole coastal region and the death of King Fulk.
- Chapter 19: The deeds of Baldwin the fourth King of Jerusalem and the crusade of the Emperor Conrad and Louis, King of France, and the labour in vain.
- Chapter 20: The death of the Princes of Antioch and of Tripoli and of King Baldwin, and of many attacks by the Turks.
- Chapter 21: The victory of Almeric against the Babylonians; then the alliance with them against Saladin of Damascus; certain events in Antioch

and the glory of the caliph of Egypt.
- Chapter 22: The siege of Cairo and also of Damietta.
- Chapter 23: The ardour of King Almeric for the safety of the kingdom and his death, and how the Arsasidae wished to be converted to the faith.
- Chapter 24: The deeds of Baldwin the sixth King of Jerusalem; the death of Baldwin the child the seventh King and the occasion of dissent in the kingdom on account of the creation of Guy the eighth King.

Part 7 contains the flowering condition of the Land of Promise at the time of the Latin kings, having 3 chapters:

- Chapter 1: How the Land of Promise flourished under the Princes and Barons.
- Chapter 2: How the Holy Land of Promise flourished in clerks and prelates and a description of the Holy City of Jerusalem.
- Chapter 3: How the Holy Land of Promise flourished in religious who performed works of penitence and contemplation.

Part 8 contains the causes of the decline and loss of the Holy Land of Promise at the time of Saladin, having 6 chapters:

- Chapter 1: The rite of the Greeks and Syrians living in the Land of Promise.
- Chapter 2: The customs of those called Pulani and Maronites.
- Chapter 3: The rites and customs of those called Armenians and Georgians.
- Chapter 4: The rites and customs of the Jacobites, Nestorians and Mozarabs.
- Chapter 5: The depravity of the multitude of Westerners coming to the Holy Land.
- Chapter 6: The depravity of the regular and clerical estates.

Part 9 contains the loss of the Holy Land at the time of Saladin, having 8 chapters:

- Chapter 1: The evenness of Divine justice against the unworthy inhabitants of the Holy Land.
- Chapter 2: The county of Edessa and the capture of the unfortunate count and also of the castle of Harenc and the city of Paneadis.
- Chapter 3: The manner in which Saladin ruled over two kingdoms, namely that of Egypt and that of Damascus.
- Chapter 4: The prohibition of the Lateran Council against exporting weapons and such like to the Saracens and the doleful slaughter of the Christian people brought about by Saladin.

- Chapter 5: The loss of almost the whole of the coastal region.
- Chapter 6: The loss of the Holy City of Jerusalem and of Ascalon.
- Chapter 7: Lamentations on the loss of the Holy City of Jerusalem.
- Chapter 8: How Saladin besieged Tyre.
- [Chapter 9: In what manner the cities of Tripoli and Antioch together with other fortifications were saved from Saladin's attack.][1]

Part 10 contains the help proffered to the Holy Land from the West at the time of Saladin, having 9 chapters:

- Chapter 1: The wonderful response of the western peoples and the care of the Supreme Pontiff in organizing the crusade.
- Chapter 2: The journey and death of the Emperor of the Romans, also the siege of Acre by Guy, King of Jerusalem.
- Chapter 3: The arrival of aid for both Christians and pagans and serious happenings **(p. 16)**.
- Chapter 4: The arrival of the Kings of France and England and the capture of Acre.
- Chapter 5: The condition of the coastal region; the unfortunate dispute of the Christian kings and the departure of the King of France.
- Chapter 6: How the Christian people advanced to the siege of Jerusalem and why they abandoned this plan; and the rebuilding of Ascalon and Durus.
- Chapter 7: The appointment of Guy to the lordship of Cyprus.
- Chapter 8: The return of the King of England; the coronation of the first King of Armenia; the crusade of the Germans and the death of Saladin; also the rule of the Holy Land comes to Almeric, King of Cyprus.
- Chapter 9: The division and schism of the Saracen people; and the renegotiation of the truce.

Part 11 contains the crusades and the various states and lordships of the Land of Promise from the death of Saladin to the coming of Saint Louis, having 16 chapters:

- Chapter 1: How many crusaders went to sea under the above-mentioned Fulk.
- Chapter 2: The breaking of the treaties caused by the Saracens.
- Chapter 3: The weakening of the Christian army; and the form of truces and the death of King Almeric and the meeting held concerning the marriage of the girl to whom the kingdom descended.
- Chapter 4: The marriage contract between the Queen of Jerusalem and John, Count of Brienne and that between the King of Cyprus and Marie the

[1] This chapter is not listed in the contents page of the printed work; perhaps an oversight by Bongars.

daughter of Isabelle, and the breaking of the truces.

- Chapter 5: The arrival and coronation of Count John of Brienne; the attack of the Saracens on Acre, and the resistance of the Christians.
- Chapter 6: The gathering of a crusade at Acre and what they did in the Land of Promise.
- Chapter 7: The siege of Damietta, the strife between the legate and the King, and the loss of the Holy City of Jerusalem.
- Chapter 8: The capture of Damietta and the rapid lapse of the of the Christian people into vice and sin.
- Chapter 9: Certain incidents; the confusion of the Christian people and the loss of Damietta.
- Chapter 10: The favourable disposition of the supreme Pontiff and the cardinals to help for the Holy Land, the handover of the kingdom to Conrad, son of the Emperor Frederick.
- Chapter 11: The passage of the Emperor against the will of the Church and what he did in Cyprus.
- Chapter 12: The deeds of the Emperor in the Land of Promise and the form of the truces.
- Chapter 13: The request to the Emperor to send his son Conrad to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and the dispatch of a vicious bailie.
- Chapter 14: The revocation of the agreement made between them and the Emperor Frederick concerning the Kingdom of Jerusalem.
- Chapter 15: The crossing of the King of Navarre and the renegotiation of the truces.
- Chapter 16: The crossing of Richard, Count of Cornwall and the handing over of the Kingdom of Jerusalem to Queen Alice.

Part 12 contains the crusades of Saint Louis, King of France, and also the various and continued troubles of the Holy Land until the Christians were removed from it, having 22 chapters:

- Chapter 1: How Louis, King of France took the Cross, the campaign of the pilgrims in the Holy Land and the loss of the Holy City of Jerusalem.
- Chapter 2: The crossing of Louis and the capture of Damietta.
- Chapter 3: The capture of King Louis and how Damietta was handed over to the Saracens.
- Chapter 4: The state of the Land of Promise at the time when King Louis was there.
- Chapter 5: The dispute of the Genoese with the Venetians and Pisans in Outremer.
- Chapter 6: Wars of the Tartars, Saracens and Christians.
- Chapter 7: The petition to Isabelle from the bailiwick of the Kingdom of Jerusalem; the destruction of various places by both Christians and Saracens.

- Chapter 8: Various attacks of the Sultan of Babylon against the Christians and the treacheries of the Genoese and Venetians against each other.
- Chapter 9: Various attacks by Bendocdar against the Christians and the loss of the city of Antioch.
- Chapter 10: The crusade and death of Saint Louis King of France in Tunis and the form of peace between Charles King of Sicily and the King of Tunis **(p. 17)**.
- Chapter 11: The attack of Bendocdar against the Christians; how the Christians persuaded the Tartars against him and the wretched making of the truce.
- Chapter 12: The departure of the Lord Edward from the Holy Land; the help sent by the Church and by the King of France, and certain incidents.
- Chapter 13: The concern of the Council of Lyons for aid to the Holy Land.
- Chapter 14: A disturbance of the faithful in Outremer, both external and internal, and certain help sent to them.
- Chapter 15: The end of the lawsuit in the Roman Curia between the King of Cyprus and the lady Maria, and how the said Maria gave her rights to Charles, King of Sicily.
- Chapter 16: The arrival in Acre of the baillie of King Charles and how the citizens paid homage to him.
- Chapter 17: The defeat and death of Sultan Bendocdar and the dispute of the Prince of Antioch with the Templars, and how the King of Cyprus wished to occupy Acre.
- Chapter 18: The clash of Christians and Saracens in the countryside around Margath.
- Chapter 19: How Hugh, King of Cyprus died having reached Tyre and how his son Henry gained Acre.
- Chapter 20: The loss of the castle of Licia and of Tripoli.
- Chapter 21: The loss of the city of Acre.
- Chapter 22: The loss of the remaining parts of the Holy Land.

Part 13 contains certain contingencies after the complete loss of the Holy Land, having 11 chapters:

- Chapter 1: The heavenly vengeance against the undutiful Saracens.
- Chapter 2: The disagreement of the remaining emirs.
- Chapter 3: The base origins of the Tartar warriors.
- Chapter 4: How the Tartars achieved victory against the Indians.
- Chapter 5: How the Tartars extended their rule to the west and the north.
- Chapter 6: How, through the sponsorship of the King of Armenia, Mango, Emperor of the Tartars was baptized and how he sent his brother Haloanis against the Saracens.
- Chapter 7: How Halao conquered Persia and killed the Caliph of

Baghdad.
- Chapter 8: How the successors of Halao dealt with the Christians and the Saracens.
- Chapter 9: The customs of the Tartars and their ability at fighting.
- Chapter 10: Certain deeds of the Cypriotes against the Saracens, the display of Gazan against them and his difficulty.
- Chapter 11: The governance of the island of Cyprus unduly passed to King Henry.

Part 14 contains the location of places, especially of the Holy Land, having 12 chapters:

- Chapter 1: The position of the provinces which adjoin the Holy Land.
- Chapter 2: The coastal region of the whole of Syria.
- Chapter 3: The situation of notable places in the Holy Land of Promise.
- Chapter 4: The position of the area of mountains beyond the Jordan to the east.
- Chapter 5: The site of the principal mountains this side of Jordan.
- Chapter 6: The course of the waters and rivers of the Holy Land.
- Chapter 7: A pilgrimage from Acre through Nazareth to Jerusalem.
- Chapter 8: A pilgrimage of the Holy City of Jerusalem and of Mount Syon.
- Chapter 9: A pilgrimage to the places around Jerusalem.
- Chapter 10: A pilgrimage to places missed in the city of Jerusalem.
- Chapter 11: A pilgrimage to Bethlehem and Ebron.
- Chapter 12: The position of the kingdom of Egypt.

Part 15 contains opportune remedies for keeping the Holy Land, avoiding the many defects and mistakes discussed above, having 25 chapters:

- Chapter 1: What is necessary to maintain the study of military discipline and the continuous exercise of arms.
- Chapter 2: What may be useful for keeping secret plans for advancing against the enemy.
- Chapter 3: How they ought to be with the plans of their enemies by taking pains.
- Chapter 4: Several precautionary examples to avoid many dangers which often befall an army on the march.
- Chapter 5: The means of siting camps.
- Chapter 6: Information and examples to show that battle is not joined at a time convenient to the enemy **(p. 18)**.
- Chapter 7: The suitability of a place for fighting.
- Chapter 8: Advice about advancing battle lines.
- Chapter 9: Some examples and advice on breaking the battlelines of the

enemy.

- Chapter 10: Certain examples and advice on reforming a battleline when it waivers.
- Chapter 11: Certain examples and advice on laying ambushes.
- Chapter 12: Examples and advice in case escape is denied to the enemy.
- Chapter 13: Various advice and examples for concealing adversity.
- Chapter 14: Some observations after a battle, if it had gone well and advice to those fleeing.
- Chapter 15: Various examples and advice about the siege.
- Chapter 16: Timely advice and clear rules of fighting.
- Chapter 17: How one king should be installed in the recovered Land of Promise.
- Chapter 18: The king should abstain from whatever is excessive or vain.
- Chapter 19: How much danger the kingdom is in when the king has a reputation for bad behaviour.
- Chapter 20: How the king, through temperance, should restrain lust under the command of reason and how much [should be left] to desire.
- Chapter 21: How he should rein in lust [and] to what extent he should follow pleasures or excess of treasure.
- Chapter 22: The diligent study of Divine law by the king and the observance of its commandments.
- Chapter 23: The pious gentleness and mercy for his subjects [suitable] for royal excellence.
- Chapter 24: The rightness of royal justice and the impartiality of judgement.
- Chapter 25: A short summary of the things said for keeping the Holy Land.

The Beginning of the Holy Gospels (p. 19)

According to John

In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him; and without him was made nothing that was made. In him was life and the life was the light of men. And the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness did not comprehend it. There was a man sent from God whose name was John. This man came for a witness, to give testimony to the light that all men might believe through him. He was not that light, but was to give testimony of the light. That was the true light, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world. He was in the world and the world was made by him and the world knew him not. He came into his own and his own received him not. But, as many as received he gave them power to be made the sons of God, to them that believe in his name. Who are born

not of blood nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man but of God. And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us and we saw his glory, the glory as it were of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.[1]

According to Mark

At that time Jesus said to his disciples, Have the faith of God. Amen I say to you, that whoever shall say to this mountain, be thou removed and be cast into the sea, and shall not stagger in his heart, but believe, that whatsoever you ask when you pray, believe that you shall receive; and they shall come unto you. And when you shall stand to pray, forgive, if you have aught against any man; that your Father also, who is in heaven, may forgive you your sins.[2]

According to Luke

At that time Jesus said to his disciples. Ask and it shall be given you, seek and you shall find; knock and it shall be opened to you. For everyone that asketh receiveth; and he that seeketh, findeth; and to him that knocketh, it shall be opened.[3]

According to Matthew

At that time Jesus came into the quarters of Caesarea Philippi: and he asked his disciples, saying: Whom do men say that the Son of man is? But they said: Some John the Baptist and some Elias, and others Jeremias, or one of the prophets. Jesus saith to them: But whom do you say that I am? Simon Peter answered and said: Thou art, Christ, the Son of the living God. And Jesus answering said to him: Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona: because flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but my Father who is in heaven. And I say to thee: That thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church **(p. 20)**, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give to thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven.[4]

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1 John 1:1–14.

2 Mark 11:22–26.

3 Luke 11:9–10.

4 Matthew 16:14–19.

Credo. Kyrieelesydon Christel Kyriel – Pater noster.
Look down O Lord from your Holy seat and think of us; my God incline your ear, and hear: open your eyes and see our tribulation.
Look down O Lord, because a city full of riches has been made desolate: a lady sits in the sadness of lamenting; there is no one to console her except you our God.[1]
O Lord hear: O Lord be appeased: hearken and do: delay not for thy own sake, O my God: because thy name is invocated upon thy city and upon thy people, O my Lord God.[2]

In the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, Amen

In the year of the incarnation of our most sweet Lord Jesus Christ, who is our Light and Life, 1307, in the month of January, this most Holy work and the short summary of the first book of the business of the Holy Land, was started, because the truth should be said by someone, that is by the Holy Spirit.

To destroy the power of the Sultan and the people subject to him a prohibition should be made or rather carefully considered that no one should go to the areas subject to the Sultan: see below the Part 4, Chapter 1, and let this take effect not only at sea but also on land: as the following chapter shows. The severest proceedings should be taken as if against heretics against the miscreants and even those assisting them in trading.

- Item: Anyone should receive the same censure who deals in spices from parts of Africa and even from those parts of Spain where the Saracens live.
- Item: A similar prohibition against anyone who buys the aforesaid goods from parts of the south, from the confines of the kingdom of Armenia up to Annia: as is shown in Part 4, Chapter 4.
- Item: It should be banned in like manner that no-one buys or accepts goods in the parts and islands of Romania or any other part of the world that are known to have passed through places subject to the Sultan: as Part 4, Chapter 5 explains.
- Item: It should be banned under sure and heavy penalty that the lords of lands and communities should not be breakers of this law of the Church. They should be pursued and held in this matter as if they were heretics. Help, advice and encouragement should be offered to those wishing to pursue them: as is said in Part 4, Chapter 6.
- Item: It should be laid down under pain of sentence of excommunication that anyone knowing a person or persons to have broken these precepts should detain him or them to be accused as quickly as he can in good order.

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[1] Marginal note by Bongars to Daniel 9:18 but it is a free citation here.

[2] Daniel 9:19 which is here followed except for the addition of the last three words.

> On no account should the accuser be revealed to the accused or others. Or if it appears that excommunication will not result, the accuser should not be carried off through his accusation to the accused **(p. 21)**. A third part should be assigned to him and he should be held, as said above, in secret.

And if it is pleasing to the Most Holy Supreme Pontiff that the statutes, the precept of the Church hitherto neglected, should be made to be strictly observed and as a result the intent and due put into effect, so that in all coastal cities on Sundays and feast days the sentence should be published. For we see as a fact that when the old sentences of the Councils as of the Popes are not made public in churches they fall into oblivion so that many literate men think that open trade may be carried on with lands subject to the Sultan.

The aforesaid publication is most appropriate and seems to be more effective after the singing of the Gospels and before the beginning of the preface, for then the people are better settled and gathered together as a congregation in Church.

For all these things to be done, a number of galleys are necessary: as Part 4, Chapter 7 of this book shows. Also essential are strict inquisitors to inflict punishments on the said transgressors.

In the Name of the Eternal God, Amen.[1]

In the 1306th year from the nativity of Jesus Christ, in the month of March, to the praise of the All-powerful God and the glory and honour of his Most Holy name, and to the most celebrated providence of our Most Holy father, the Pope, and the exaltation of the orthodox faith and to the confusion of the Sultan and of those following the law of Mahumet and their return to the precepts of Holy Mother Church and their conversion and to the salubrious worship of the most pious faith of the Crucified one, this work was begun by Marino Sanudo, otherwise known as Torsello, son of the Lord Marco Sanudo, of the parish of Saint Severus of the town of Rivoalto, Venice, devoted to his family and his house, formerly of good memory of his venerable father in Christ and his lord, Lord Richard, by divine pity Cardinal Deacon of Saint Eustathius;[2] who for the whole of his life wished to investigate the conditions of the Holy Land of Promise and of other lands beyond

[1] This is the Prologue to the original work, then called *Conditiones Terrae Sanctae,* here enlarged and revised as Book I, presented to Pope Clement V (r.1305–14) in March 1307. Book 2, which was begun in Glarentza in 1312, and Book 3, which dealt with events up to 1313, was written, revised and added between 1313 and 1321.

[2] Cardinal Ricardo Peroni of Siena in whose household Sanudo served in Rome from 1304. See Evelyn Edson, ‘Reviving the Crusade: Sanudo’s Schemes and Vesconte’s Maps’, in R. Allen, ed., *Eastward Bound, Travel and Travellers,1050–1550* (Manchester, 2004),131–55, esp. 132–5.

the sea, as well on land as on the sea. With all due diligence and humbly on bended knee he writes as a faithful Christian.

Book 1
The Disposition and Preparation for the Recovery of the Holy Land

Here begins Book 1 of the work of the Holy Land containing the disposition and preparation for the recovery of the Holy Land, having 5 parts **(p. 22)**.

Part 1

Part 1 contains the manner of diminishing the power of the sultan, by showing how faithful Christians can carry on the trade necessary to them without having access to the lands subject to the Sultan; by revealing the huge injuries and evils that those infidels, subject to the Sultan, will suffer if [goods] are not carried to them through our sea, having 6 chapters.

Chapter 1: The causes of the advantages coming to the Sultan and his people from the trade from India; the names of the ports from which it comes and the means by which it can be diverted from the lands of the Sultan

A great part of the honour, revenue, profit and reputation of the Sultan and his subjects derives not from spices and other goods that originate in the lands subject to the Sultan but rather from India and are brought westward across the sea of the Ocean and are transferred from one sea to the other. In that part [India] there are two main ports on the Ocean Sea, which are called Mahabar[1] and Cambeth,[2] Most of the goods of India are collected in these ports and from there loaded and transported westwards across the ocean sea to four principal ports. Three of these are in the lands and on the river banks of the Tartars who rule Persia. Of these three ports, one is on terra firma and is called Hormus, another is an island called Kis[3] and the third is on a waterway that flows out [to the sea] from Baldac.[4] In antiquity the greater part of the spices and goods that were brought to the west made their way to Baldac and from thence were brought to the Mediterranean via Antioch and Lycea, and then these goods were available more abundantly and more cheaply

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1 Malabar.

2 Kambayat or Cambay, the principal port of Gujarat.

3 Kish, Ghes or Kem, an island in the Persian Gulf.

4 Balduc/Baldac/Baldach is Baghdad. The port is Basra.

than at present. The fourth port is called Ahaden.[1] It is on a sort of islet that is virtually terra firma and is in the land of the Saracens. Those spices and goods from India that come to that port are transported through Saracen lands to the Nile on the backs of camels in nine days to a place called Chus[2] and thence by boat in 15 days to Babylon.[3] In October and thereabouts, that river overflows to such an extent that those spices and goods descending from Babylon via the Nile enter a long canal and are brought the 200 miles that separates Babylon from Alexandria **(p. 23)**. Through the large number of ships or the skill that the Saracens have, the greater part of spices and goods intended for the west from India use this route. From this the Sultan takes in various places such great tolls that it makes up a third of his cash income. From this amassing of treasure a huge benefit is passed on to his merchants and people.

At present only a small proportion of the spices and goods brought to the west passes through the three first-named ports and come to Tartar territory at Balduc and Thorisium;[4] from whence the goods can come down to the Mediterranean by many routes and every day are being transported without once touching harbours, shores and lands subject to the Sultan of the Saracens. Thus, if the persons who [presently] gather in the land of the Sultan to purchase spices and other goods for distribution around the Mediterranean should exercise some restraint along the lines of the preceding summary, then the flow of the said goods through lands subject to the Sultan would cease altogether and all the aforesaid goods would come from the side of and via the lords of the Tartars. For just as water naturally settles in valleys, so can trade be relocated where it is sought after. From all these goods the Christian people will receive commodities indispensable and sufficient for themselves and Christian merchants will follow suit according to their own convenience. What else? From that region of the lordship of the Tartars as far as India even Christian merchants can direct their feet since there are many of them who already go and return. Indeed the Sultan, throughout the lands that he holds, does not allow any Christian to pass through, who would like to sail over to India. The truth of this thing can be known through past events: for when goods are in short supply or so held up that they cannot be transported somewhere by one road, vigilant merchants deliberate, search out and find another way by which they may bring goods to that place. For it is said ‘trading denies rest’:[5] because there is no end to finding a way of bringing goods to those parts that have the greatest demand

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[1] Aden. On the world map it is located in Somalia not far from Chus.

[2] Kus below Luxor.

[3] Sanudo generally distinguishes Babylon, Fustat and Cairo. Fort Babylon was built by the Persians in the sixth century BC and is said to take its name from residents of Babylon settled there. The site was moved by the Romans in the first century AD. Fustat or Old Cairo was built immediately to the north in the 640s. New Cairo to the north of Fustat in 969.

[4] Tabriz.

[5] *negotians negans ocium*.

and where the profit is larger. And as those things that are said are clear to your Sanctity: it should be known that from the parts of the Tartars, namely Baldach and Thorisio,[1] for some considerable time goods have been transported and are transported at the present to the Mediterranean Sea, just as all merchandise of middling weight and of great price or value such as cubebe, spikenard, cloves, nutmegs, mace[2] and such like. On the other hand merchandise of greater weight and less price, such as pepper, ginger, myrrh, cinnamon[3] and such like descend by way of Haaden to Alexandria in greater quantity than by other routes mentioned above. But those goods that are heavier that come down by way of Chaldea and Persia, are far better in quality than those that go to Alexandria, especially ginger and cinnamon. For the ginger that comes via the Tartars is of greater value and more precious than that coming via Alexandria, by as much as 10 to 20 per cent. And the reason for this is that from the parts of the Tartars the better goods are brought. For the transport of goods they incur greater expense regarding intermediaries and baggage wagons and the commercium or customs are moderate; but in Egypt the cost of transport is not enough due to the presence and convenience of the river but the customs dues that go to the Sultan are very high. And so by that route merchants knowing their priority to bring better goods than by the other route for on the one hand there takes place the transport of the best merchandise and on the other that of lesser goods. Again the ginger coming via Alexandria is much more parched and is found to be more damaged and perforated than that coming from the other region mentioned above. It is believed that this is because the route is longer or more exposed to the sea than that from the parts of the Tartars; because ginger is a commodity easily damaged.

Chapter 2: How those things that are necessary for us and that come from the Sultan's dominions can be had from Christian lands ***(p. 24)***

In the lands subject to the Sultan cotton and sugar[4] thrive from which the Sultan and the Saracens receive great tolls and tribute. If Christians were to close these off no small hurt would come to the Sultan and the Saracens. In Cyprus great quantities of sugar are produced from which Christians can be adequately supplied. But due attention needs to be given concerning the sugar grown in Rhodes, the Morea and Marta:[5] and in Sicily and other Christian territories where sugar can be grown if it

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[1] Baghdad and Tabriz.

[2] *cubebe, spicum,gariofili, nuces muscatae, maci*. Cubebe is a type of pepper from Java. Spikenard or nard is a plant of the Valerian family from the Himalayas, whose root is crushed to produce thick aromatic oil, such as used by Mary Magdalene to wash Christ's feet.

[3] *piper, cinzeshoal*, thus, *cannella.*

[4] *bombix et Zucharum.*

[5] Du Cange suggests the islands of the poor women, but these are not otherwise known.

is in demand. Indeed, cotton grows in Apulia, Sicily, Crete, Romania and Cyprus in good quantities. And when this restraint is put in place they will be grown in other places if there is a market for them. And so all things considered Christians can have cotton in sufficiency and sugar without great inconvenience.

Chapter 3: Concerning dates, flax, wild cinnamon,[1] *and associated products that should not be carried in the Mediterranean from which the Sultan and his subjects derive much benefit*

In Egypt flax grows in the greatest quantity from which many and diverse by-products are made. Flax is worked mixed with silk.[2] Also the product of silk alone is worked: and although silk does not grow in any part, however, flax and its products and the trade mentioned above are continually carried by ships of the Christians and Saracens to the Black Sea, to parts across the mountains through Turkey and Africa. And Christians have plenty of flax, no less good than the flax of Egypt, which is found everywhere in the west. And since the aforesaid flax cannot go into commercial circulation except through the Mediterranean, if the closing of the sea was put into effect, the Sultan and his Agarene people[3] would suffer no small inconvenience. Also dates and wild cinnamon[4] grow in large quantities in the lands subject to the Sultan and especially in Egypt. An unlimited proportion is distributed to all parts of the world via the Mediterranean.

Chapter 4: Concerning the damage consequent on the Sultan and his subjects if gold, silver, iron and other metals were not carried to them

Because in the said lands that the Sultan controls, gold, silver, copper, tin, lead, mercury or any other metal, coral and amber[5] do not occur, all the aforesaid are brought to that land through the Mediterranean, and the Sultan exacts heavy duty on them in Alexandria. First from gold brought to the mint 6.66 per cent is paid. When in the West gold is of a high price, as at present, gold should be left behind and silver transported. Indeed, 4.5 per cent of silver is paid for the duty in Alexandria. At present the Sultan graciously takes only 3.5 per cent of silver. From all the silver that comes to the mint in Cairo the Sultan receives 10 per cent. From copper in various tolls in Alexandria he receives 4 per cent or thereabouts, from tin in various tolls at Alexandria he receives 5 per cent or thereabouts and from lead,

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1 *de dactilis,cassia fistula, lino et laboreriis impediendis.*

2 *sericum.*

3 *Agarenicae gentes*, a generic term for Muslims, first used by the Byzantines and in reference to the supposed descendants of Agar, the handmaid of Abraham (Baruch 3:23).

4 *Dactili et Casia fistula.*

5 *aurum, argentums, aes, stagnum,plumbum, argentum vivum, coralli et ambrum. Stagnum = stannum.*

mercury, coral and amber[1] he receives a huge income. Since all the above [tolls] are imposed all over Egypt, and as far as Ethiopia and India they are of immense use to the Sultan, his people and his merchants.

Chapter 5: The hurt that would come to the Saracens if provisions were not brought to them from the lands of the Christians

Over and above this oil in great quantities, honey, oats, almonds, saffron and mastic[2] are brought into Alexandria and into the lands of the Sultan, from which, to speak briefly, the Sultan receives a fourth part from various tolls in Alexandria. **(p. 25).** Also silk, cloth, wool and silk textiles[3] are also imported as well as many other things from which the Sultan, his merchants and his people derive many benefits. Sometimes it happens that the River Nile does not rise to sufficient height so that those lands that are irrigated by it cannot bear crops just as happened a short time after the loss of Acre and Syria; because if then supplies of corn had not been sent to the Egyptians via the Mediterranean they or the greater part of them would have been compelled to give up those places or to die.

Chapter 6: The damage that would come to the Egyptians if wood and other material for shipbuilding were not exported to them together with a description of the land of Egypt

Since wood, iron and pitch,[4] through which ship construction can be brought to perfection, are not found in the land of Egypt, the Saracens could not have these items from any other place except via the Mediterranean. If they did not have this shipbuilding capacity the land of Egypt could scarcely endure especially Babylon and Cairo, and they could no longer continue to occupy the settlements that they hold. And the reason is this: because Babylon is on the River Nile and the distance from Babylon to the Mediterranean is about 100 miles and the said river runs in different courses to the sea. This river has four great branches. One branch is called Tenex, which is on the side of the desert of Gazara, the second is Damiatae, the third Strion, and the fourth Raxetus, which is on the Alexandrian side. Of these branches two are the principal and major [waterways], namely Damiatae and Raxetus. One of the other two – called Tenex has a deeper bottom than the others and can take larger ships. From within the deeper places it has a large lake and is wide where ships can anchor with safety and where there is a safe harbour. The other which is called Strion is less deep than the other three and receives fewer ships. Nevertheless when the river is in flood armed galleys can enter at any time and have underneath one great lake of which one part is sweet at one time, at another

1 *De argento vivo, & de corallis, & de ambro.*

2 *mel, avellana, amygdala, crocus, mastica.*

3 *serricum, panni, lana, serici ac tella.*

4 *Lignamen, ferrum, pix.*

salt. The shoreline taken in by these four branches is 220 miles. From Damietta to Alexandria it abuts the Mediterranean for 200 miles. From Babylon 500 miles upriver towards the south the banks are said to be controlled by the Sultan. In those places controlled by the Sultan, the River Nile has many branches. Around these branches are many lakes and ponds and *rubinae* or *tagliatae*[1] through which the land is irrigated. On the banks of the Nile and its waterways there are many settlements because all merchandise, food supplies and other necessaries and all things that they manufacture come and go by boat because they have shipping in great quantities. From the tolls on wood, iron and pitch levied in various places the Sultan receives a quarter of the value, which is a great sum of money. And from every sailing vessel, small as well as large, the Sultan receives annually three gold bezants, which are around three-and-a-half gold florins. A large number of laden vessels are apparent at the time of high harvest when corn is carried to Babylon, when ships continuously come and go along the river Nile and along its branches and lakes; it is amazing to observe such a great number of ships. In Babylon many people are engaged in trade and manufacture; also in Cairo and in Castro, which lies about 2,000 miles away from Babylon the Sultan, with his emirs and armed men who are in Egypt, and many other people live. And because the strength of the Sultan's people is concentrated in one place on that account he is the one lord who rules in Egypt and beyond the desert right up to Armenia and *Aqua Frigida*[2] which marks the boundary of the Tartars. But if the Saracens did not have shipping then merchandise, food and other necessaries could not be brought to Babylon, Cairo or to Castro: by that means the sum of the costs will be greater than the value especially since goods cannot be transported by land: on account of this the population of Babylon, and the armed men of Cairo and Castro together with the rest of the population will be divided through the whole land of Egypt. If the greater part of the countryside is in uproar it follows that many lordships **(p. 26)** must perish in the land of Egypt and dissent will more easily arise and where there is dissent there is confusion as it is written: 'the Kingdom that is wholly divided against itself shall be desolate'.[3]

Part 2

Part 2 contains certain experience how there is already some weakness in the land subject to the Sultan, having 2 chapters

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1 Both are types of canals or channels.

2 Unknown place – possibly Transoxiana, the region between the Amu Darya (Oxus) and Syr Darya (Jaxartes) rivers in Central Asia. The region was occupied by Genghis Khan in 1219. On his death in 1227 he assigned the area to his second son Chagatai. As the Chagatai Khanate it was ruled by his descendants down to the late fourteenth century.

3 An error by Bongars who has Luke 11:27 in text margin instead of Luke 11:17.

Chapter 1: How the lands of the Sultan beyond the desert towards Armenia and in the countryside of Syria are reduced in riches

Moreover the lordship of the Sultan outside Egypt, beyond the desert, towards Armenia and up to *Aqua Frigida,*[1] which borders the lands of the Tartars, used to be much greater, more powerful and fuller of landed property when Acre and Syria was inhabited by Christians, than at present. And this reduction is shown to be by reason that great treasure from houses and treasure and merchandise of other people which used to be exported to Acre and into Syria now remains in the lands of the Saracens: to the extent that the Christians purchased goods from them the Saracen people grew fat.

Chapter 2: How in the aforesaid lands of the Sultan there has been a reduction in inhabitants and a great reduction in armed men

And because it has pleased God that a bold lord of Armenia, brother John of the Franciscans,[2] to the confusion of the Sultan and his Agarene peoples,[3] had wisely invited in many Tartars against them, on account of which the land of the Saracens up to the desert, through which many things are transported into Egypt, has been denuded several times of many people and infinite riches. A great part of the soldiery of the Sultan has departed and the people of the Sultan are terrified to such an extent that many have left. At the present time that part of the Sultan's lands has not the people and the wealth that it is accustomed to have. If no help is forthcoming, if the Sultan does not direct aid to that land, by no means can those who are left continue to remain there.

Part 3

Part 3 contains certain essentials very pertinent to acquiring these lands from the Saracens and from others; having 2 chapters.

1 See note note 2 on page 54 above.

2 Hethoum was an Armenian aristocrat with close connections to the Armenian royal family. Although Sanudo labels him a Friar Minor, Hethoum seems to have joined the Premonstratensian monastery of St. Maria de Episcopia in Cyprus around 1305 as a regular canon. In 1307 he dictated *La Fleur des histoire de la Terred'Orient* at the papal court in Poitiers. It contains a brief geographical and historical description of Asia under the Mongols and was clearly consulted by Sanudo. He may have been born in 1263 and was probably dead by 1310–14 and certainly by 1320, when his son, Oshin, became lord of Korikos in Armenia.

3 See note 3 on page 52 above.

Chapter 1: The cause of prohibiting those things, like wood and other naval supplies, that ought not to be carried to the land of the Saracens or to Egypt

And it can seem more evident to anyone that in former times when there was a celebrated restraint by the most holy foresight of your predecessors who placed a solemn prohibition on all things, that no wood, iron and pitch were carried to the lands of the Saracens:[1] from which the revenue and profit of the tolls to the Sultan in the land of Egypt used to depend and depend to this day, and from which a fleet is maintained and from this fleet the Sultan always had and has an immense income which all things considered rests alone on the use of ships.

Chapter 2: How the Saracens of the land of Egypt procure and transport boys and girls from other parts for the defence of the region ***(p. 27).***

Moreover, since the people who are born in Egypt and in those parts are not strong in arms in comparison with those who come from another place, the Sultan and his emirs have this provision, namely that from the aforesaid revenue from the sea he orders special contractors to buy small boys from various nations, wherever they can be obtained for money, Christian as well as pagan. These they teach and introduce to military pursuits and it is these who are dominant in Egypt and in the lands subject to the Sultan and they protect and hold the land. With these men the Sultan expelled the Christians from the Holy Land of Promise. They also bring girls, both Christian and pagan, to Egypt and the lands of the Sultan from various peoples, which they use for their carnal pleasure and which they subject to the law of Machomet to the damnation of their souls.

Part 4

Part 4 shows how essential it is that a new means of [commercial] boycott be found and considered thoroughly and by showing just how this can be drawn tight so that scarcely anything is carried to the lands subject to the Sultan and that certain galleys should be prepared both for the protection of the overseas possessions of the faithful at the expense of the Saracens, having 7 chapters.

Chapter 1: How all trade and all access to the Saracens subject to the Sultan should be prohibited

The boycott and the successful completion of that most holy programme for the recovery of the Holy Land, sprinkled with the most precious blood of our sweet Lord Jesus Christ only son of the living God, should be absolute, so that a solemn prohibition throughout the whole world should be more widely known. Namely,

[1] Fourth Lateran Council, 1215.

that wood, iron, pitch and anything else should not be transported at all or anything imported from those lands. And this is the reason: because if Christians accept spices, sugar, cotton and other merchandise from the Levant, they export to that place too. In carrying other goods that seem not to breach the ban, under this guise disobedient Christians and also Saracens who sail to Egypt and the lands of the Sultan with wood, iron, pitch and boys seek help from Christians who wish to be obedient. And it will be appropriate for these good Christians on sea and land and in harbours or wherever they find themselves with ships of those same disobedient Christians and Saracens loaded with wood, iron, pitch and boys to rescue them and detain them, but as if they are offering help and support. Because if the contrary is done, the persons and property of peoples of their own communion who are in the lands subject to the Sultan will be seized immediately and they will not dare to cross the sea from one side to the other concerning which obedient Christians, on account of fear and by reason of carrying on their trade contribute towards their subjection. And it appears more clearly that if the solemn interdict of trade should be more strictly applied through the whole world, those who will go to sea, if they do not notice their own people in the lands subject to the Sultan or if they consider the aforementioned transgressors to have gone against the aforesaid prohibition and against the order of kingdoms or their own communes, then they should seize those disobedient Christians and Saracens, corrupters. On account of which all who export merchandise by sea to the best of their ability will with all gladness be prepared for the custom of the sea and obedient to the blessed prohibition. Especially when Acre and Syria[1] were lost the solemn ban should have been on those going to the lands subject to the Sultan or on those returning from thence with goods providing amongst other things that those who infringe the prohibition should be declared notorious for ever and held to be infamous **(p. 28)**. And so they are not considered worthy to be witnesses, ambassadors or to make bequests. And above all they may not pass on to their successors by will or intestacy and they shall be deemed contumacious nor shall they be admitted to any public office and they shall be excluded from all legitimate business and all their goods shall be completely passed on to the commune. If it should happen that these persons are captured we will that they should remain in slavery and captivity until they die.

Chapter 2: The reason why it should be decreed that any transgressors of the mandate of the Church should be prosecuted on land and sea by all faithful Christians

And if that prohibition had been made at that very time and applied to the sea: namely so that it became a persecution against such transgressors at sea and not only on shore. If it pleases your most holy foresight, illuminated by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, that all the above should be observed and the holy intent would follow on. It is immediately opportune, as always I speak humbly, that

[1] Acre was captured by the Mamluks on 28 May 1291.

the prohibition should be more firmly established on land throughout the whole world and from that its prosecution would be more courageously followed up. Because by keeping the sea alone, it cannot be perfectly prevented that something is transported by sea to the lands subject to the Sultan. The reason is this: armed galleys cannot stay at sea during times of stormy weather and even in times of tranquillity. During a winter night they nearly perish outside port and in summer time they cannot be many days at sea without frequently making landfall to take on water, and similarly with large vessels reinforced with armed men. The custody of the sea cannot be guaranteed. Also the sea is very extensive and the Sultan's coastline is long. The transgressors, laying aside the fear of God, choose to steer away from the usual routes to the lands of the Sultan, selecting a time and an opportunity suitable to themselves. On the high sea far from land they sail and make land wherever [they please]. In the places subject to the Sultan they are well received and treated humanely and kindly on account of their needs. Just as these aforesaid evil ones can go to the lands subject to the Sultan so they can return from thence to our lands and so the full prohibition should cover the lands of whosoever. So that the flow of goods of the above-mentioned lands and places is snuffed out, it is useful to pursue the aforesaid transgressors and the aforesaid merchandise both on land and sea so that those evil and wicked Christians, who at that time transported goods thither, that is, around the ordinance of princes published on this matter, when they returned from those parts to their native land, on account of an increase in money they were a Diabolic mirror to many for whom they prepared a cause of transgression and of like damnation. On that account many go and return several times and embark on the road to their damnation through bad behaviour. And so the violators of so glorious a mandate, together with their wares, should suffer persecution on land and sea throughout the whole world as if they were heretics, lest others should become like them, who are made a scandal to many through bad practice and should be punished to such an extent that they become an example to all. There is no doubt that a few galleys flying the banner of the Church will bring terror to them [the transgressors] and keep the sea for the most holy benefit.

Chapter 3: The necessity of removing the course of trade which is accustomed to be carried from the lands subject to the Sultan, and from the whole of Africa and of Spain where the Agarenes dwell

And since it is appropriate that the course of commerce from the lands subject to the Sultan should be ventured against, it is also necessary that nothing, no spices, no goods from India, cotton, sugar or flax, should be imported by any means or stratagem whatsoever from the mountains of Barca which are on the edge of the lands of the Sultan together with the lands of the King of Tunisia, and through Barbary and the whole width to the south or the constellation Auster and through the land that the Agarenes hold in Spain. A penalty will be incurred by those importing goods from the lands subject to the Sultan **(p. 29)**. And the reason is that

those Agarenes of the south, that is Auster, cannot take any way to the lands of the Sultan to import spices and other goods [except by sea] so that they will be cut off when the prohibition is strictly enforced.

Chapter 4: The reason why the same prohibition should be in place towards the southern lands that is from the river Saleph up to Anneias[1]

Besides it should be expressly forbidden, as for Barbary, that there should be importing of goods from India or the lands of the Sultan from the southern part that is from the boundaries of Cilicia, which is now called Armenia, from a certain river called the Saleph[2] which goes to the coast of Turkey, which in antiquity was Greece, and rolls down into Anneia. And the reason for this: because in those parts and especially in the regions of Candeloria[3] and Sectalia[4] there are many vessels laden with wood, pitch and boys and girls, Christian as well as pagan, and silk and other merchandise which are transported to the lands of the Sultan and especially to Egypt and there the carriers unload and sell and bring away with them sugar, spices, flax and many other things and import them to the above-mentioned places in Turkey and fill all those places with this merchandise. So great is the abundance there that goods are exported from thence by sea to the west. And as has been said above, by returning to Annia, if God through his goodness has not provided his swift advice; as far as Scutari, which is almost, God forbid, in the midst of Constantinople, so that the Turks, those wicked Agarenes, have subjected to themselves virtually that whole land that the Greeks used to hold that is beyond Avida,[5] to the east where many Greeks were killed and others captured and sold as slaves. Over and above that these Turks with newly-built ships have brought the cruellest destruction to the many islands that lie around the [Turkish] mainland. On account of which that land remains devastated. However, that man, who will be appointed captain by precept of the Holy Church of God, will be able to take things from the Saracen Turks who control that region, because they guard themselves resolutely against shipping, or he can obtain anything from the lands subject to the Sultan. This he can do because they will be obedient for the following reason that they have shortages in certain places of corn and many other products. Above all they fear your galleys. Let the solemn prohibition above-mentioned [be extended

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1 Scutari. Medieval name for Chrysopolis and Ottoman Üsküder. It lies on the Anatolian shore opposite the centre of Istanbul and next to Kadikoy. It was captured by the Turks around 1350.

2 The classical Kalykadnos and the modern Goksu, in whose waters, near Mersin, Frederick Barabrossa died on 10 June 1190.

3 [Castrum] Quandeloria, Iskndeloria, is Candeloro, modern Alanya.

4 Antalya or (S)attalia. Both Alanya and Antalya were visited and described by Ibn Battuta in 1325, see H.A.R. Gibb, trans., *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*, II (Hakluyt Society 117, London, 1962), 416–22.

5 Place unknown.

to the lands of the Turks] that no Christian dares to go into the said lands of the Turks. If they go against this decree concerning the lands subject to the Sultan then they can be damaged by all means that can be because these are those wicked Saracen Turks who with evil Christians who traffic in these lands always violate and transgress the prohibitions and precepts of the Church more than any other people in the world.

Chapter 5: The cause of the prohibition why no Christian should purchase any goods whatsoever brought from the lands of the Sultan

In all parts of the world and especially in Romania and in the [Aegean] islands no one should dare to buy or to accept any spices or goods from India nor cotton, sugar or flax which they can presume or know to have come by any means from the lands subject to the Sultan and this under pain of the above prohibition. And the reason is this: with the lapse of time when Christians rather used to want to go to the lands subject to the Sultan rather than at the present time, many islands and coastal regions welcome defrauders who come from the lands of the Sultan with merchandise: on this account all Christian merchants from these coastal areas under such guise carry goods of use to the lands of the Sultan into the lands and islands above-mentioned and they also receive goods from the Sultans lands and export them to the west, with a broad conscience.

Chapter 6: Concerning the punishment of the lords and governors of lands and those communities that receive banned goods into their ports and territories ***(p. 30)***

And so that this most holy undertaking may be more fully observed and to the praise and glory of the name of our Lord Jesus Christ and so that the opportunity of sinning should not be undertaken by sinners, if it seems in order to your most holy lordship restrictions should be put in place so that no lord or governor or specially appointed person should presume to receive any manner of infringers under any guise in their lands and dominions, nor to buy goods from such or to make them rich or to offer them counsel, help and favour or succour, nor to sustain them in any way whatsoever under penalty of which ought to apply to whoever is an offender or abettor of a depraved heretic. If these things should come about the all-powerful God will open a way to bring all things to completion. And when it does not appear to your Holiness that the above people are constrained by this means, it must not be believed that it is not increasing in strength nor constraining the unfaithful and rebels who keep the possession of the Holy Land from the faithful. When our own are not united [lit. bound together], to that extent they aid and abet your enemies with such help and favour. Such compulsion or influence can easily be applied whenever it pleases your mercy.

Chapter 7: Concerning the custody of the sea and the initial preparation for arming a Christian army and the expense[1]

And after your most holy prohibition, as set out in the preceding summary, if it should be pleasing to the will of your Holiness, aroused by the Holy Spirit, that it should be published throughout the whole world for the keeping of the sea and the persecution of the Agarenes and of treacherous Christians going to and coming from the lands of the Sultan and of all other corrupters of this most blessed directive and that it may be applied for all time and everywhere by the captain of the Holy Church of God. Also that the said captain should guard against iron or any other merchandise being transported to Armenia that can be exported to or had in abundance in the lands subject to the Sultan. For which the reason is: because the land that is ruled by the King of Armenia borders the land of the Sultan and other infidels so goods can be easily moved to the aforesaid lands of the Sultan. Your captain should be assigned ten galleys, and here I speak with all humility, for which your holy providence should issue different orders than for the greater crusade. Which galleys should be equipped in such a fashion that your work for the praise and glory of God shall prosper: namely that the captain will be such a man, that he will make no impediment to the obedience of any Christian by any means and that the said galleys, be paid for nine months, be well-armed and crewed by good people, by having the bodies of the galleys ready beforehand with their preparations and weapons. The captain should be kept on guard-duty for one year. The captain and his men with such advantages shall gain from those things entrusted to them, namely, those who are intent and committed will return to the searching out and prosecution of whoever is a violator of your holy precept and these things will have an immediate effect on sustaining life and implementing the aforesaid. And if your Holiness wishes to know how much all this will cost, you should know that commissioning the galleys and causing them to be supplied and armed to your purpose costs 15,000 florins. Two-hundred-and-ten men serve on each galley from which one, a trusted and honest man, will be the *supracomitus* of the galley. On the galley in which the captain travels and to which men will come with counsel, help and favour, the cost might rise to 25,000 and by making the whole complete for nine months, reaches 65,000 Florentine florins reckoned at the rate of one florin for two Venetian grossi. It is also worth remembering that whoever shall wish to arm well and to have men knowledgeable of the sea and skilled in the ways of the sea it is right that they begin to ask for conduct money about Christmas time. And for that purpose because those who send their ships to those parts choose such men; so on account of delay a less able person can be chosen and so a delay in arming can turn out more expensive. If at first it seems that so many ships oppress your Holiness you need only keep seven galleys constantly [at sea] with the condition that is noted above (**p. 31**). If by chance anyone should question

[1] The marginal notes surrounding this chapter are translated between [square brackets] at the end of the chapter.

that a captain and men could be found in such a manner: the reply should be made that they can by reason of hope of profit and a half-share in the spoils that will be a similar size both on land and sea. Such an armament will cost 50,000 florins in excess of the hulls of the ships with their gear and armaments, nevertheless this holy task should be strengthened to its conclusion. Galleys of this sort are essential both for the safety of the lands beyond the sea and for the protection of the faithful, as well as for offensives against the infidels and especially against those who cross the sea to the parts subject to the Sultan, be they lapsed Christians or schismatic; also Saracens and other infidels lest, clearly, they should cross over or send [goods] to the lands of the Sultan. However, the observance of the aforesaid holy processes on land will bring together more for this favourable time of action as the aforementioned galleys; but the one together with the other will bring the business to a successful conclusion. Further, on considering and turning matters over in my mind, diligently for a long space of time; how great utility, how great good shall come, the observation of holy processes on land and the prosecution of transgressors and considering the commerce of the same, it seems to me that in the light of the help that your Holiness could obtain from the islands of Romania and Cyprus and other islands if your Apostolic Highness should make a major effort and lead in these parts because only with five galleys in the same state of armament as outlined above can be enough to meet the present challenge and will cost altogether around 35,000 florins per year. However, this does not take into account men and the arming and equipping of the galleys. It is true that if the galleys are armed and other prohibitions [put in place] by the Church that cannot be imposed at the present time, a great scandal can easily arise; and quarrels will easily occur between the people of the rulers or of the maritime republics and the Church as occurred between the Hospitallers and the Genoese during the time of Foulques de Villaret, then Master of the Hospital:[1] no act of protection can be authorized for accomplishment. And so another end to this business is incomplete just as the fourth part of this work has been able clearly to put together.

[*Concerning the galleys that are to be had in the parts overseas*
If it seems to your Apostolic Highness [appropriate] to make an advance on land and to send some of the galleys gathered to watch the seas, as mentioned above. The captain to whom the armament shall be entrusted may reject these [chosen vessels] and will want to use a substantial number of galleys and sailors, such as he can easily procure from the rulers mentioned below. For he will have one from the Zaccharia of Genoa who rule on the island of Chios close to the Turks. A second from the Venetians that is the Lord Guglielmo Sanudo[2] and others from the house of Ghisi. A third from the Patriarch of Constantinople and his clergy and from the

[1] Grand Master of the Knights Hospitallers 1305–19. He died near Montpelier in 1327.

[2] Duke of the Archipelago, 1303–23, see C. Hopf, *Chroniques Greco-Roman* (Berlin,1873), 480.

lords and vassals of the island of Negroponte, who will come together if they are commanded, and the condition will not be worse than that of the aforesaid. A sixth galley will be equipped by the Archbishop of Crete with the help of his clergy and other nobles living on the islands round about, let alone the feudatories and other Cretans, if they will be commanded by letters granting them a licence for the usual indulgence for their efforts. From the illustrious King of Cyprus and the prelates and nobles of that island, it is reasonable to believe that four galleys will be willingly equipped. For without being asked they have fitted out many more than four galleys. Nor should the former expect to be expressly thanked for this work, since it contributes to the utility and progress of them all. For as a result they will be more secure from Turkish raids and the inroads of other Saracens, and they can be protected from the society of Catalans and other evil doers. These ten galleys should each have 250 men, for which nothing will be spent straightaway by the Camera of the Roman Church, for that fleet will be kept in being all the time by the aforesaid persons. The captain of this apostolic gathering can order these ships in the same way as the other galleys under his command. Finally, the King of Cyprus, the Hospital and the others mentioned above from the parts of Romania, because this is a great and evident matter in progress, can for some time assist your Holiness's captain with other galleys, cavalry and foot soldiers. Moreover, many armed merchant galleys can be found in those parts, which can be useful for finding trade at the appropriate place and time, and especially when they are joined with the aforesaid galleys. So, with the help of him who disposes and governs all things, while your Holiness will make some progress in those parts with galleys well-steered, and with the proposals called to mind much good can be produced and brought to completion.][1]

Part 5

Part 5 contains reasons why the Church should be concerned with the aforesaid, having 3 chapters.

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[1] According to Magnacavallo, *Sanudo* (1901), 85, followed by Laiou, this marginal note was added in 1321. Guiglielmo Sanudo was Duke of Naxos until 1322 or 1323. The Zaccaria were a Genoese family that controlled Phocaea and Chios at this time. The Hospitallers were established on Rhodes from 1309. Bartolomeo II Ghisi ruled part of Negroponte (Euboea) and the titular Latin Patriarch was Nicholas, archbishop of Thebes (1308–31). See A. Laiou, 'Marino Sanudo Torsello, Byzantium and the Turks...', *Speculum*, 45 (1970), 374–92, esp. 378.

Chapter 1 contains an enticement for performing the aforesaid by reason of unfinished business

And if it pleases our most distinguished Lord to implement the aforesaid (proposals), because by now God wishes to begin and to provide for the recovery of that hallowed land, moistened by the most precious blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ. Already it is clearly beginning, namely at the petition of the most Christian ruler of Armenia, a foreign people, as was predicted, threatens the Sultan and the Saracens. This could be anticipated because there should have been divine retribution there because of the cruelty shown by the Sultan and the Saracens against the faithful in Christ in Acre and in Syria, when they were beheaded and destroyed and many led into captivity. Because if God wishes to undertake, and so to speak, to destroy a great part of the land of the Sultan and of the Saracens, you, Most Holy Father, who acts on behalf of God, should strain with all the joy of belief to the recovery of the said Holy Land **(p. 32)**, grieving and wailing most bitterly and which is your living inheritance and that of the whole Christian religion and also the remainder of the other lands that the Sultan and the most vile Saracens have, hold and still hold. And, with all due reverence I speak, Most Holy Father, the danger is in delay. It is found and read ‘to delay has always harmed the prepared’. It is, however, conducive to consider to what a small area of land the Catholics are now reduced. For in Asia the faithful in Christ hold only Cilicia that is commonly and usually called Armenia, which exists in such great danger and affliction, which can be clearly perceived in the next chapter. However, many Christians live scattered in several other places in Asia. Concerning Africa only the island of Licerbin[1] is held by Christians but some Christians live in Africa who are pressed down under the Saracen yoke. In Europe, moreover, in Spain the Saracens occupy the Kingdom of Garnata,[2] but in most parts of Spain Christians live although there are many Saracens and Jews under Christian rule and authority. In Romania there are Greek schismatics but in the other part Christians are in control. To finish off, the King of Serbia also follows the Greek sect, but the coastal areas and Albania seem to live as Catholics. Truly there are few men there respectful of other nations. Bosnia is a nest of heretics. The Ruthenians are schismatics, who with many other peoples, are subject to the lordship of the Tartars of Gazaria, which Tartars are on the borders of the Christian Poles and Hungarians. The Lithuanians have frontiers in common with the Archbishop of Riga and the Teutonic Order.[3] Now it is clear the residue of lands that are inhabited by Catholics, indeed not one of the four main patriarchal seats are occupied by the Christian faithful.

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1 Place unknown.

2 Granada.

3 Lit: *cum domo Alamannorum*. Lithuania was still a pagan land when Sanudo was writing. Its people did not accept Christianity until 1386.

Chapter 2: A pious appeal for help for the lands and kingdoms of the Christians overseas

And it is proper to have respect with your most pious pity to the kingdom of your faithful Armenians because it lies in the jaws of four beasts. On one side below ground it has a lion, namely the Tartars to whom the King of Armenia pays a huge tribute. On another side it has a panther, namely the Sultan who daily ravages the Christians and the kingdom. On the third side there is a wolf, namely the Turks who destroy the lordship and the kingdom. On the fourth side it has a serpent, namely the corsairs of the Mediterranean who daily gnaw the bones of the Christians of Armenia. And it is fitting that your piety should cast a glance at those Christians who have languished in captivity for a long time in the lands of the Sultan, on whom, after the fall of Acre and Syria, the cruellest domination has been imposed. Moreover, it is proper to show respect by your mercy towards those other Christians in the Kingdom of Nubia and of other nations who are beyond the lands of the Sultan who are black and who suffer and receive persecution and punishment from the power of the Sultan. Also it is fitting to open your eyes of piety on your faithful [people] who are on the island of Cyprus for whom danger is imminent from the infidels and also on the Latins of the Isles of Romania who are certainly pressed by the Turks and are made tributary to them.

Chapter 3: A summary of the foregoing and of the whole of the first book with a conclusion

If our Most Holy Lord throughout, as mentioned above, broadcast this most holy prohibition, solemnly, the whole world and the aforesaid galleys were allocated to the aforesaid keeping of the sea on account of the reasons mentioned above, with divine favour the confidence of the Sultan and of the Turks would be diminished. Thus also the embassies, legations and exchanges, with which the Emperor of the Greeks and the Sultan of Babylon by turns stir them up, can easily be prevented. The great gifts, that upset the eye, even of the wise, and change and soften the hearts of the just,[1] and which they very frequently send to one another; such as weapons, sacks of silks and of flax, sugar, sweet-smelling oils,[2] pearls, gold, silver, precious stones and many other and diverse gifts. These can be easily intercepted and carried off. For by these legations and gifts, presents **(p. 33)** and exchanges the aforementioned Sultan manipulates and influences the Emperor of the Tartars, Husbecke by name,[3] who is lord in Gazaria and in other northern parts so that he will receive the word of the perfidious Mahamud. Also, others of his subjects are

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[1] Deuteronomy 16:19: 'You must not pervert the law; you must be impartial; you will take no bribes for a bribe blinds the eyes of the wise and ruins the cause of the upright'.

[2] *Aromata*.

[3] Ghiyath-ad-Din Muhammad Ozbeg, khan of the Blue Horde in southern Russia,1312–41.

inclined towards the same treachery. This is a great matter of concern (strongly to be feared), if such things continue amongst them lest that perfidious sect should continue to grow in those northern parts. It will become a great threat and a great danger to the Christian faithful. For it is claimed in good faith by some worthies that the said Husbecko has a multitude of horsemen almost without number, so that by choosing three from ten he should have an army in good order [commanded] by decurions. It is true that if the seaward approach, among other things, should be closed, an appropriate and adequate solution to all the aforesaid issues could be achieved. For it is easier to oppose from the outset, than to change [areas] ruled and fortified over a long space of time. The sea and the lands of the faithful beyond the sea will be more secure and the Christians of the coastal areas in our own Mediterranean Sea will be saved from great error and especially those that are the more powerful of those lands, where the people sail [upon the sea] more; and not only the laity but also the secular clergy and the religious, because it will be the greatest good. For it is true that if, on account of the ban imposed by the Apostolic See no [ship] from Christian ports could transport gold, silver, flax, tin, saffron, mastic, measures of wool, silk and linen and other goods of these sorts to the lands subject to the Sultan and from the lands subject to the Sultan no cotton, sugar, linen cloth, pepper and other spices, and goods from India should be exported and transported; because those who move the aforesaid goods here and there, are understood to incur the punishment of the processes and restraint of your Holiness. As if all those who live in those coastal regions persist in this serious condition on account of the continuous contact that they have with the above-mentioned transgressors. And the land of Armenia, where cotton grows in great abundance, will be of much better value; and the spices and commerce of India will come down to Armenia, to the Mediterranean, through the countryside and from the city of Baldac. From this [commerce] the Christians of Armenia will derive advantage with which the kingdom will be able to defend itself from those enemies of the Church, the Saracens. And when the great part of the land of the Sultan, as is forecast, is taken by the Tartars then this is a sign that God is helping and your Holy Grace supporting, the land of Egypt and the remainder can be occupied whole, and a shorter crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land and of the other lands that the Sultan rules can easily be brought about [so can] the conversion of the Sultan and the Saracens and the building of the city of Jerusalem. This will bring about the consolation and the liberation of the children of the Christians who live in those parts and an increase of the whole Christian faith. For all of which things I beseech and plead to the Omnipotent God and the Virgin Mary, the Apostles Peter, Paul and Andrew, and the blessed Mark and all the company of heaven; all those things that you always do may be for the praise and glory of the name of the Omnipotent GOD, and for the honour of our Most Holy Lord for the salvation of your neighbours and friends, living and dead, Amen.

In the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ Son of the Living God, Amen[1]

May the Lord have mercy on us, bless us and cause his face to shine upon us and pity us that we may recognize your way on earth and your salvation among all nations. [Your] people depend on You O God the people depend on You O God, all the people depend on You. The peoples rejoice and exalt sensing that You judge righteously and govern the peoples on earth. The people depend on You O God; all the people depend upon You. The earth gives its bounty. May God bless us, may our God bless us and may all the ends of the earth fear Him.

Gloria Patri etc, KYRIEL CHRISTEL KYRIEL Pater Noster

Here Begins the Prologue of the Second Book (p. 34)

To the praise of our same Lord Jesus Christ, I implore and exhort the most blessed Virgin Mary, his mother, the most blessed apostles Peter and Paul, the blessed John the Baptist and John the Evangelist, and Saint Mark, the blessed George and Nicholas and all the company of Heaven to praise God insofar as I am worthy of asking for the increase of His grace and of arranging [those things] that appear to the honour and glory of His name, and incline the ears of Your Holiness and bring about the increase of faithful Christians. It may appear presumptuous that a humble servant of the most high Lord should bring difficulties to mind, however faith and the devotion of him who is recalling render him blameless. Hence your holy predecessors always exerted themselves to recover the Holy Land, as is well known and thus it is believed that Your Holiness intends to do that to which any devout Christian ought to aspire. I, Marino Sanudo, called Torsello, son of the lord Marco Sanudo, of the parish of Saint Severus of the town of Rivoalti in Venice am inclined to compose a second book on the business of the Holy Land in December of the current year of the birth of Our Lord 1308: which enlarges, confirms and strengthens the above first book by demonstrating the method and the way by which the Holy Land can be recovered to the glory of God, His Holy Church and to the honour of Your Holiness, which I began to write in December in the year of Our Lord Jesus Christ 1312 at Glarentsa.[2]

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[1] What follows is a rendering of Psalm 66.

[2] Clarence, modern Killini, in Elis where Sanudo seems to have spent much time between 1308 and 1317.

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Book 2
The Ways and Means by Which the Holy Land Can be Recovered

Here Begins Book 2 of the same work containing the ways and means by which the Holy Land can be duly and practically recovered, having 4 parts.

Part 1

Part 1 contains the shape and organization of the second Christian army, having 4 chapters.

Chapter 1: In what manner a captain should be appointed and what brief he should have, how many colleagues he should have and when he should set to work

Therefore since it is so that the basis and foundation for weakening the power of the Sultan of Babylon, of removing the many opportunities of intercourse with the enemies of the Cross against the precepts of the Church, and of recovering the Holy Land, the aforesaid work should be put into execution: that is, to maintain firmly the process on land and ten or seven galleys on the sea so that nothing can be carried to them and nothing brought from thence. Your mercy can order and command these matters, as and when Pontifical prudence, moved by the Holy Spirit, sees fit. Because if Your Holiness has decided to order the carrying out of these things **(p. 35)**, it will lead to the total weakening of the Sultan. If it pleases you, most holy lord, in the second or third year after the implementation [of the prohibition] has removed those things which were accustomed to be carried to the lands of the Sultan contrary to the prohibition of Holy Church, a man should be chosen, careful and God-fearing, of good repute, wise and discerning, open-handed and generous, brave and of fixed purpose, diligent and just, who shall be conducive to the common good of the Christian community and having more regard for that than for himself; and he shall have the good will and the friendship of the Venetians so that he can bring his plans to fruition with them and in them find advice and assistance. Indeed to this captain will be assigned in all 15,000 foot soldiers and 300 cavalry, and a deputy shall be chosen in his place lest one of them is absent: all this at the expense of the church together with ships, supplies and other things necessary for him to wage war. And the matter should be entrusted to only one captain because a well-ordered enterprise needs only one head. The

captain will lead the whole force to the shores of Egypt and there seize land and set up a base according to advice that will be given to him by experts. He will gather together there a fleet suitable for sea and river [operations]; so that he can move against the enemies of the Christians when and how it will seem expedient to him.

Chapter 2: How it will be more appropriate for a maritime state to carry out this business

And what of the armaments of the said captain or admiral from one place wherever it is accepted that he can be replaced because the men of the army, of the galleys and the fleet gathered in different parts of the expedition may meet together and conduct themselves badly and dissension can easily arise amongst them on account of which the whole enterprise can be suddenly ruined. For many reasons it seems that this armament ought to be principally a Venetian [project]. First, because the Venetian people attend to what they have promised better than other people of the world. Second, because men of arms and sailors [apt] for the sea as well as for rivers are found there and within its borders and [are] more numerous than anywhere else and there is an abundance of such mariners for hire in Venice; not only in the Venetian *contado*,[1] but also within its borders where rivers and lakes are plentiful and, as a result, sailors experienced in river navigation. Third, because the essentials for equipping an expedition in ships as well as in other necessaries can be found in plentiful supply at all times in Venice and in its neighbourhood and lands at all times. Fourth, because Venetian men are brought up on water and very often they have to do such things with their neighbours and they have experience of such things. Your Holiness can see this through the example of what the Venetians have done and will do with their neighbours, and a good end can be reached in this present business if it can be linked closely with them. Fifth, because out of all the other seamen from the West who could exert themselves in this task the Venetians are better at sailing towards the eastern parts as much on account of the distance of the seas as because of the shortness of their voyage to them, and also because they have more ports than any others in Romania and also because they have a sea route shorter than any others and especially in winter with armed galleys. Sixth, because in the Venetian town of Clugia,[2] there are great numbers of the bravest men who are skilful, knowledgeable and suited for excavating both in the ground and in marshes, and at raising ground where there is water and at making water flow where there is earth. These may be very useful for the course and challenge abovementioned. They are good sailors both at sea and on rivers and lakes, and from their neighbours there are others, namely the Paduans and Ferarese and especially the Cerviense, who might be useful to go with the Clugians on this

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1 *Contado*, the countryside surrounding, and controlled by a city-state, in this case Venice.

2 Chioggia.

enterprise. Seventh, because the shoreline and banks of Venice from Grado or from the said castle of Belfort, as far as the whole coastal district of Ferrara and along the coast of Ravenna and Cervia to Arimini is 270 miles long and is very similar to the coast of Egypt both in its beaches and in its marshes, lakes and pools. So, because of the long custom that the Venetians have of going and coming along these shores, they will be more accustomed in contrast to others and apt and suitable for taking the land of Egypt than any others who could be sent instead. However, although what is said above concerning the Venetians is probably a correct assessment, if it appears better to your Apostolic Highness to send another people on this attack **(p. 36)**, I believe that nonetheless, with God granting a good end, the business can be successfully concluded. Yet only in this people will the men not be in a perceptible quantity of different nations and customs or even of lordships, customs of not bearing themselves well. Because a very great diversity of nations and disparity in customs will, with the Devil's influence, who casts an evil eye on good endeavours, cause another source of dissension in the expedition. But if it seems entirely [appropriate] to send peoples of different nations then there will be as many armies as there are nations: moreover and because the armies may be distant from one another and each army may be so strong that they are considered strong by the enemy.

Chapter 3: The preparation of the ships and other essentials for prosecuting the universal crusade and also the preparation of supplies and gaining the friendship of the Tartars

And so these things being arranged it will be appropriate, at the expense and assistance of the Church, that the said captain and his people shall make there a great preparation of ships and boats and a collection of supplies and other essentials [in readiness] for those who shall come from the West. Then, if it seems fit to Your Holiness, in the second or third year a crusade may be proclaimed,[1] and able people coming together in great numbers and coming thither will find supplies ready, a base prepared and ships to carry them against the enemy who will already be weakened by land and by sea. The land of Egypt can in this manner be conquered: especially because such great help will be brought to them by the black Christians from Nubia and from other countries above Egypt: they will descend upon their enemies from their part and the Tartars from theirs will fall upon the countries of Semo[2] and of Syria: on account of which it will be useful to have friendship with the Tartars and to attend them solicitously with gifts, sweet words and mutual greetings. Thus, because it cannot be from the start of this year,[3] without God's assistance, within four or five years from the beginning of this second business

[1] *Crux praedicari.*

[2] Du Cange suggests Hazar, a town and district in modern Turkestan on the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea.

[3] *Stylus* is a chronological term for the start of the year.

the land of Egypt will be subdued to your dominion. Thus you can grant it then to whom or to whomever Your Holiness wishes. And it is true enough that with the land of Egypt conquered the Promised Land itself cannot be held so that it will come under your dominion. Moreover the other lands, which of old used to belong to the Franks, will place themselves under your dominion, freed from the rule of the Saracens: because the root being destroyed, the branches dry out of necessity.

Chapter 4: The costs of maintaining the aforesaid army of 15,000 foot and 300 horse, and its reasonable advance

And if Your Holiness is concerned to know the total annual cost for the said 15,000 foot soldiers and 300 cavalry for sea transport, supplies and other essentials and also the cost of the above-mentioned advantageous business of the Tartars, I will tell you precisely. In three years it comes to 21 times 100,000 florins, reckoning one florin at two Venetian grossi: that is 600,000 florins in gold per year for the wages of the men, both foot and horse, and for their essential supplies and for the costs incurred in gaining the friendship of the Tartars, as it is called: treating one year the same as the other. Item: the fleets need wood, iron work and other essentials for building huts and making other things which need to be done in battle together with the replacement of horses that are lost or destroyed during the campaign, 300,000 florins for the whole period. Thus the expenses amount to the aforesaid 21 times 100,000 florins in the said three years. The cost is 700,000 florins for each year. It includes the first year after the Christians have assembled on the shores of Egypt where they have built a base and also a headquarters. Concerning the land of Egypt and the waters of the same a great profit can be drawn by Your Holiness. Concerning the essential supplies and ships for the people who will come from the West, these will be provided, as Your Holiness shall order to be provided. And if Your Holiness wishes to know whether this business can be achieved with fewer men and with less outlay, I reply reverently that it can only be thus **(p. 37)**: but by considering that the manufacture of arms requires all the security that it can be given nor is it in reducing costs that it will be free of care, but by understanding that Your Holiness can bear the costs of this matter. Nonetheless, by seeing what men are needed for securing and fortifying the place or inhabited areas, in order that the men may be bold both on salt water and on fresh water: I say for certain that whoever dominates in fresh water so that he can travel where he wants and return at his pleasure with few men whom he is strong enough to send at will throughout the land ought, in a short time, to be lord of the land. And the reason is clear, because most of the land of Egypt is stretched out along the river Nile, which land is very long and narrow so that in no way could it be held by any other force of people other than the one they have so why not let the abovementioned people of the water conquer and hold it or consume it?

Part 2

Part 2 contains both the rejection which seems to be made by some of the fleet of the Church and a clear reason why the sea route from Egypt should be chosen, having 10 chapters.

Chapter 1: Explains that the expedition of the Church must not be led by land

It is clear from the foregoing and especially from what is written below that the crusade army[1] need not cross by land as the well-deserving veterans once did. There should be no going by land because there are many difficulties that the army will run into: as much as the length and roughness of the route as well as the variety of regions and the obstacles and risks which can occur on the journey and arise for the travelers, and also because of the dearth of supplies and of other things that are known to be necessary for an army. Although, perhaps, some have said that the crusade of Brother Peter who was called the Hermit and of Lord Gotefrid de Buione[2] by this route proceeded successfully overland: I reply that their mission was not subject to human forethought and strength but was directed with divine assistance and concluded with celestial grace.

Chapter 2: Against the advice of some saying that the aforesaid expedition should descend upon the land of Armenia or Syria or of Jerusalem of the Holy Land

And it is the opinion of some people that the crusade army crossing by sea should land in Armenia as much on account of the good harbour, which it has there, as for refreshment and rest there and it can proceed from thence by land and by fighting their way through the countryside's of Antioch and Syria, and enter the Promised Land. To which I say there should be no invasion of Armenia, for many reasons. First, because the land of Armenia is not strong, on account of which there is a danger of weakening the army and of losing many warriors. And it must be borne in mind that a great number of Tartars rove together through the land and they have occupied virtually the whole countryside of Semo[3] and of Syria: but because they cannot cross the desert, that goes over to Egypt, nor to the areas that border on the Egyptians, they are forced to give up the areas that they have occupied; the Sultan immediately re-occupies them and holds and dominates them as before. And if he wishes to ask why the Tartars were forced to give up their conquests, it was because they could not stay there in the summer because of the intense heat and because of a shortage of grazing for their suffering horses and flocks, wherever the Christians who wished to remain in those parts, were able

1 *Exercitus Passagi.*

2 Godfrey of Bouillon/ of Lorraine/ of Lower Lotharingia (c.1060–1100).

3 Hazar or modern Turkmenistan.

to do so because of the aid in food and other essentials which were delivered to them daily by sea, and so they could build forts and castles there. I reply it must first be looked into and examined how the Christians could achieve this and with what resolve and expenditure, when they have already done what they could **(p. 38)**. For first the power of the Sultan must be borne in mind, which is understood to be powerful everywhere and especially in troops. And if Your Holiness wishes to know the number of the Sultan's forces that it is rumoured and believed that he has at the present time, it is generally estimated that there are 60,000 horsemen. However, they are of varying quality; most are mediocre and some very poor but at least 25,000 are crack troops. And also the Sultan has in Semo and in Syria a large population of Saracens who are practised and skilled in the art of archery, who are all stationed, infantry as well as cavalry, on the main frontiers to resist the Christian army. Wherefore, the Christians resident there, who would need to have a large resource of horse and foot and also a supply of ships which bring to them by sea supplies and grain in abundance, can grind the power of the Sultan under heel, and, by fighting courageously, take over the land of Semo and Syria and there build forts and fortify it. All these things cannot be accomplished without immense costs and at great danger to persons. But given that all things run together in favour of these Christians and produce the effect that they dispose themselves at their leisure in the aforesaid countryside and their spirit remains unaroused, finally not wishing to move against the enemy lest he should return in greater strength. Therefore if the land of Egypt remains in the control of the Sultan what will [happen] to those Christians living in those parts? Certainly they remain in danger of being expelled by the Sultan and by the Saracens as others have been thrown out and expelled from those parts. Wherefore, in the countryside of Armenia or Syria, there is no room for landing but only on the coasts of Egypt as has been said above. There is still another reason: namely that in Egypt, while the faithful are strong and able to assist the Western peoples at the present time, the return of the Holy Land will be practicable and quicker. And with sailors and other foot soldiers of the proposed army and with not many cavalry your holy plan can be fulfilled, through the favour of His power in whose honour this action will be taken. And this will be with fewer costs and less risks, because no dangerous battle can be undertaken against the Christians against their will except by sea. And whereas in Syria the people are brave and skilled in archery and the conduct of war so in Egypt the population is disheartened and of small regard. Nonetheless, it will be of the greatest benefit if it pleases Your Holiness to send a force of knights and foot soldiers to guard the Kingdom of Armenia so that kingdom will become secure and especially if it can be freed from paying tribute to the Sultan of Babylon and his emirs and officials. For as is related below in Book 3 [dealing with] histories, help was sent to the city of Acre and to the whole of Syria at the time when those parts were filled with Christian inhabitants. For learning from past events is not an unworthy mistress for the future. However, those people who will be sent to guard the said kingdom, as well as remedying the weakness of the province as for populating this unaccustomed area, can be forewarned so that they live after

the manner of the native nobility and live on the plains in the winter and during the summer on the mountains where there are many sweet springs of clear, cool water against the heat, much grass, abundant meadows and healthy air. If by any chance these men should come down to the plains in the summer time, they should avoid the heat of the sun, be moderate in their meals, drink good wine and abstain from sex; and at the first rains of the autumn they should avoid the mists of the land. And these precautions are also evident in Achaia as well as in other parts of Romania. But let us return to the task in hand. Your Apostolic Holiness should approach the Kingdom of Armenia with great care, because it is exceptional in the whole of Asia; it is a land beyond the sea and the only one in which the Catholic faith survives at this present time.

Chapter 3: The inappropriateness of arguing that the said crusade should be based in Cyprus

There are other opinions following the advice and example of the Blessed Louis, that the crusade should go by sea and muster in Cyprus so that there can be rest after many exertions and after the roughness of the sea that they will sustain in crossing it **(p. 39).** And from thence they can proceed to the destruction of the enemies of the faith in Egypt or perhaps in Syria, which are not far from the island of Cyprus. To which I reply reverently that this is not the way to proceed. First, because the land of Egypt is healthier than that of Cyprus, and has better water and immense quantities of fish to sustain the people. Second, because if the army should land in Cyprus and then proceed to the coast of Egypt, before it can approach the enemy, it must find the right course to those parts. But of that other crusade through Spain crossing into Africa by the arm of the narrow sea at Gibraltar [sic] and crossing into Tunisia or into some part of Barbary, does not seem to me to be worth mention. For those things that have been said, are said or even could be said of that route they are all difficult and unsuitable for the going to and capturing of the Holy Land especially on account of the desert that exists in the midst [of the route]. The renowned King of France, Saint Louis, when he brought his crusade army to Tunisia, he, his son called John Tristanus.[1] together with the papal legate, many counts and barons and many other Christian people met their end on account of an epidemic: according to which it is clearly set out in the tenth chapter of the twelfth part of the third book. There are many routes that are discussed for attacking the enemies of the Catholic faith and of capturing and holding the Holy Land; and of these it seems to me that the best and most useful of all others are those routes listed above. To this end I have written about and compared the route to the coast of Egypt, which seems to me more efficacious

[1] Sixth child and fourth son of Louis IX and Margaret of Province, born at Damietta in April 1250. He was given the name Tristan as a reminder of the disaster to the French army at Damietta. He was Count of Nevers and Valois. He was married to Yolande of Burgundy. He took the cross with his father and his two brothers on March 24, 1267.

than the rest, with the others, always reserving the route that your holy providence should be pleased [to adopt].

Chapter 4: A certain allegory adapted to a certain fortification

There is a certain fortification, exceedingly large and graceful, well fortified with high ramparts and crenellations and with large covered ways[1] near them and it has many walls and also barbicans. Which fortification has been made by man and thus the walls and barbicans are man-made, and especially by good infantrymen; and the ramparts of the fortifications were erected first, so they tower over the barbicans and all the [other] walls. To be sure the fortress has certain posterns through the walls and covered ways that give access to the walls and barbicans through which one can come and go; but the said posterns have good iron gates. The fortification has only one main gate, which, when opened, gives access and egress, and through which the garrison of the fort receives the majority of those things which are essential for them and especially tribute or gifts or commerce, which the majority of kings and princes, barons, soldiers and everyone else overflows with riches, collect daily and spend. Now your Holy Lordship, who has many brothers, sons, subjects and faithful peoples and who with these said brothers has thought and thinks [about these matters] and watches both by day and by night, should consider how he can assemble his army and how he, who has this great [army] can transfer and send it to capture this fortification, seeking help and advice from his faithful and from his subjects so that he can occupy the fortification. What should be replied and said, from which side his people should go to make an assault on the castle? If it is said that it should approach from the sides because that is where the most can be achieved and where the walls, barbicans and posterns are that may seem to be open: seeing that the walls and barbicans must be passed through in order to reach the ramparts and the covered ways of the aforesaid fortification, it is extremely dangerous and difficult to make progress because while they are in that area there is a great opportunity and much for the army to do. Therefore, it follows that the people of your Holy Lordship can find themselves tired and exhausted, on account of the enormous exertions that they have undertaken in the crossing of the barbicans, and by fighting the enemy and crushing them underfoot. So that which seems easy to them may become a threat and a danger of losing all that had been gained. All of which has been proved many times and stands for an example. And more than this, seeing that the honesty and boldness of your predecessors was so great because they entered the impregnable fortress; but receiving bad advice and deficient in equipment, they retreated against their will on account of which their successors have lost all that they had gained **(p. 40)**. I repeat, your Holy Lordship has appointed committees of noble and great men to decide first the help and support for capturing the said fortification and others remain as if they are still part of the main discussions; others indeed have gone,

[1] *Tentori*a are tents or covered ways.

bringing together a great part from that that the above-mentioned had lost and having seen their own again returned. Besides there were others who had entered the mouth of the said fortification, but without good counsel and with no strong line of moral direction for the most part they surrendered themselves to the enemy, failing to capture the fortification. Presently, indeed the Most Holy Father has provided help and refuge in many and several ways for the foremost of the above-mentioned men but ultimately they are not strong enough to defend them and they have lost everything that they once had. Therefore, it must be said that what from the gate has always remained and remains open, it is no doubt that it must be climbed because there is a third and direct way, with no going into the middle ground between the ramparts; and to guard that gate by such means and manner so that the aforesaid tributes, gifts, commerce and other essentials will never be worth carrying to the aforesaid mouth lest they should have or can replenish their people and their armed men. And if God offers so much grace to your Most Holy Lordship because he wishes so many armed men to come together who he wishes to measure out the castle within the aforesaid gate in safety and with good order and by resisting the enemy who oppose him violently, hand to hand, boldly and courageously, because nothing seems impossible if it please him to happen. On account of which your Holy Lordship must be praised and advised for following the advice of saner men; they make their way from the side of the said enemy to enter the fortification: which is better, safer and more convenient than to go from the sides to the said gate where the brave sink down before the obstacle of the barbicans and the height of the walls.

Chapter 5: Another metaphor applied to a certain tree

Besides this there is a tree that is exceedingly large, both its trunk as well as its branches, and it has many leaves; and its extensive branches are heavy with its leaves and they cover much ground. The said tree has many springs from which it is continually watered especially from one that conducts much water to it and rushes right up to it, providing considerable and continuous nourishment: without which spring the tree could scarcely survive. The tree bears no fruit, but under it many good fruits are produced and grow: truly those who wish to gather some of the prized fruits approach with their eyes closed: for there are great shadows under the tree; but many men out of desire for the goodness of the fruits draw near without doubt. And there are many, who with no pressing worldly reason or circumstance wish to go straight there, and they go there in any case. But the Holy Lord together with his brothers, sons, subjects and faithful, by day and by night plan to fell this tree and finally remove it so that he can go in the light and freely gather from the good fruits and also so that his aforesaid sons, subjects and faithful can rejoice and possess them without any molestation. And because of this he asks for help and advice in felling, destroying and scattering the said tree, from which no good fruit can come, with the roots, trunk, branches and leaves of the same, in such a way that the tree is totally eradicated. He was advised of old that he should

send the most honest men with good axes, nags and other equipment with which they could uproot this tree and thus destroy it completely. For they began to cut down the branches of which the said tree had many and to shake the leaves to the ground; they destroyed a part of the tree and could go up to its trunk, but those who had laboured much were tired and asked for a rest. On account of which the said tree, which was continuously watered by the said springs and especially by the big [channel] that contained much nourishment and which came to the base, began to flourish again and to be as it formerly was. Besides the said most Holy Lord sent additional help and support to those whom he had previously sent to cut down the tree **(p. 41)**, who again began to cut down the tree, lop off its branches and remove its leaves and to uncover the land from the tree with its branches and leaves on account of the cutting that they had done. Again it occurred at the end that those who had come late now found themselves just a little tired and felt weary of the work and wishing a rest from their labours they returned to the lands from which they had come and this was done by many over the course of time. But the tree which, as was said, was continually watered, and especially by that great channel, and had its root in a good and fertile place, extended its branches vigorously and more than regained its former state. Now what is to be said about cutting down the said tree from the roots and what advice can be given to the most Holy Lord who every day might be given advice and help? It seems that another approach should be adopted, regardless of what has been retained from these things so far. And this is clear seeing that many of the bravest men, who have already gone forth to those parts for the sake of destroying the said tree, and of rooting it out thoroughly, have failed in their plan. The bravest of men continue to find the task difficult at the present time. What, therefore, is to be suggested, after such great force has brought no assistance? It is essential that the help be granted to the said force should be divided: this is ingenuity and wisdom: at the same time the two should be linked to trust in God, so that the said tree will be totally destroyed by this means and design. First, the aforesaid great channel, which has watered and waters the tree abundantly, must be severed. Second, a most honest man must be found who is full of good qualities and who does not incline himself in any worldly way to money, and with him a good following who through the grace of God and his own industry, shall detach many of the worms that attach themselves to the roots and the trunk of the said tree. Worms of this sort, that had come thither immediately, come forth and begin to gnaw the root and trunk of the tree. And if trust is placed in God, the said tree will lose its root and trunk in a short time and will immediately fall with its branches and leaves. And afterwards the most Holy Lord can receive all that seems due to him from the trunk; and he can go openly and freely to gather the fruit from his faithful people that is under the said tree, with no clouds intervening: for which they will be able to rejoice and keep themselves in peace for evermore: and may it bring us to Him who lives and reigns forever, Amen. What is said and related figuratively and in a different way as a compelling and true example can be adduced to show how the sea route to Egypt is better than all the others: It is correct that it is the door through which those ought to enter who are intent on the

business of destroying the sect of the faithless Machomet, first by beginning to cut off the path and origin from which they receive tribute continuously: this is dealt with in Book 1 immediately preceding [this one]: if it pleases you this may be put firmly in execution, the process as well as the galleys, so that which follows on is contained in this Book 2.

Chapter 6: The clarification of the aforesaid fortification and of other things relevant to the aforesaid

And so that no doubt should arise, reverently and humbly, I will clarify my point that I have in this matter and which has been related to your Most Holy Piety above. I intend that the fortification shall be the land of Egypt, which has long existed as a fortification in eastern parts, and it follows that the ramparts and covered ways are made up of the sect of the faithful of Machomet and it is desert that went round the land of Egypt on the side of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and of Syria. And so, likewise, in Africa there is a great desert, which borders on [the land of] the King of Tunisia. For the high ramparts the crenellations and the great covered ways near them can be identified in the width of the desert: for just as to climb the high walls of which the covered way is great so to seize the summit of the walls is a violent undertaking, that will prove most difficult and most taxing: so to make a crossing of the desert, whose breadth is immense, so that it seems a most serious and most dangerous undertaking for any army, as has been said above **(p. 42).** The barbicans and walls can be called the fortresses of Syria and Turkey, which are better garrisoned by good infantrymen than the [whole] land of Egypt. And the ramparts of the fortification tower over the barbicans and all the walls. This is intended to mean that the ramparts that dominate the barbicans are the desert of the Egyptians, on account of which the people of the fortress have always lived safe and sound. Those that were dominated and at this time are dominated by the barbicans and walls are the fortresses of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, of Semo and of Syria; as is clearly shown by the incursions of the Franks who formerly controlled the Kingdom of Jerusalem and Syria and especially [nowadays] by the Tartars. Indeed, the posterns that passed through the defences and covered ways are the tracks that run from Egypt through the desert to the Kingdom of Jerusalem and Syria: along which tracks the Egyptians carry water collected with great effort, which they collect for their own use and conserve, while it is proper for them to store it in several places [there is] only one means of carrying the water: these are the enemy that have iron posterns: seeing that when the aforesaid inhabitants wish to escape or to waste the water, lest it should fall into the hands of foreigners, they conceal it effectively when they wish: thus it is bad and impossible for anyone to cross through those parts with an army without water. From which, it seems to me, that the aforesaid enemies or gates can and ought to be called iron gates. However, the gates of the fortification, which always have been and are open, are the shores of Egypt, through which the inhabitants of the fortification have received and receive a great share of the produce of Egypt, especially a great tribute or great

gifts and commerce from kings, princes, barons, soldiers and from everyone from whichever part of the world they might come: and rather from those who abound with wealth in the manner and means that I shall humbly and reverently tell. Clearly what must be known from the start and stored up without any doubt [is] that all gifts, taxes on trade and customs dues as well as payments that merchants make every day in the furtherance of trade go to those who everyday use up trade; and so on this account merchants going to the lands subject to the Sultan and paying large douceurs, taxes and tolls and especially in Egypt and also running up costs in equipping ships and galleys and all this goes to those who consume trade, for on this account the merchants are forced by great necessity to sell their goods at a much greater price. And so it can truthfully be said that the greater part of the kings, princes and barons of this world pay great tribute to the Sultan on account of the dues and taxes that he receives from them, trade that continuously enters the fortification mentioned above: which trade is consumed in various parts of the world and especially by those who are the subjects and faithful of the Holy Roman Church, there is no doubt that his lands are more populous and richer than foreign lands on account of which they consume more pepper and all other spices, and more business comes from the lands subject to the Sultan than the nations of all the other peoples in the world can generate. And if anyone should demand of me what those gifts are that are paid to the Sultan by the faithful of the Holy Roman Church: which at the present time are silver, bronze, tin, lead, mercury, oil, hazelnuts, sacks of wool, silk and flax, coral, woven cloth, saffron and other goods not mentioned:[1] when it was said and specified in the foregoing work that the Egyptians have in their land and keep an abundance by the use and enjoyment of the property of others: however, the excess or residue of silver, bronze, tin, saffron, coral and woven cloth are exported to India where the Egyptians buy pepper and all manner of spices, collect them together and bring them back to the land of Egypt. It can be clearly seen that the silver and other items mentioned above are changed from one thing into another; namely that from those metals, pepper, spices and Indian goods can be obtained. All of which things are taken to the fortification of Egypt: on account of this trade merchants flock there and they bring from the northern shores of the Black Sea boys and girls which the Egyptians call Mamuluchos **(p. 43)**.[2] But besides this merchants also bring across the sea from parts of Romania, Slavonia and several other places wood, iron and tar, and exchange all these things in the fortification receiving for them sugar, flax and above all pepper and other spices and goods from India, which indeed merchants bring from Candelor and from Septalia.[3] And they bring a great number of little children and girls into Egypt who for the most part are of Greek origin. Now it can be demonstrated clearly enough that silver and a great part of the other things that are daily handed over from the

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[1] *Argentums, aes, stagnum, plumbum, argentums vivum, oleum, avellanae, panni lanei, serici, atque linei, corolla, telae, zafframen & alia mercimonia non narrate.*

[2] Mamluks, which means literally, those possessed or slaves.

[3] Iskanderun and Satalia.

lands of the Christians in the West to Egypt are ultimately turned into those terrible things, known commonly as Mamluks, Christian boys and girls, as well as pagan ones: and also wood, iron and tar are continuously brought to that fortification, which is the land of Egypt. On account of which all things are open to their counsel and for their part they threaten that gold, silver, bronze tin or bronze, saffron, coral and such like can be brought to the lands subject to the Sultan; by saying and assuming that such things and similar can be brought to the province of Egypt they do not halt the progress of the Holy Roman Church. But it seems to me, that on account of those things that are handed over from the West to Egypt on a daily basis, the Sultan, with certain of his subjects, continuously receive a great part of their sustenance and life: seeing that without them they cannot have pepper, other spices and other goods from India. Likewise they will not be able to have Mamluks, iron, wood and tar, or if they should have them they will not abound in them, as they would like. For which reason he who considers to force an end to this trade, so that the foresaid Mamluks, the iron, the wood and the pitch are not carried thither should lay down the following as a minimum, they should be vigorous in banning the import of gold, silver, bronze, tin, saffron, coral and other similar items into Egypt, on account of all these things the inhabitants of the said land will receive goods and all manner of spices [direct] from India. If it is said: surely many processes and provisions have been put in place by the Holy Roman Church against those who go thither in defiance of the prohibitions and bans? I reply that I believe so: but that the laws, decrees, decretals and other regulations which are holy and had a good beginning since they were published by the most holy and venerable spiritual fathers as well as by the highest and illustrious temporal lords for keeping a man to live in his own rite. And although they were so set up, they should be pushed forward to the limit, they have had little effect unless there should be someone who would order them to be enforced. And for this reason justice can be brought forth, because it is accepted that the prohibitions and sanctions of the most holy and venerable fathers were duly published against those who sailed to the lands subject to the Sultan with the above-mentioned items and other goods, never was it discovered on the part of any of the lords spiritual and temporal who tried to implement the sanctions and prohibitions and to bring about their implementation: concerning which I speak reverently and humbly; it can be said that it is not only hatred against the Holy Church but also an affront to the Creator and to the great harm and detriment of his subjects and faithful people on which the Holy Father himself will take steps as it seems best and most sensible to do. And if anyone should ask or should argue that surely someone has authorized the execution of those prohibitions? Reverently I reply with all devout humility that no-one has pursued the transgressors of those prohibitions onto the open sea and very few even on the land. For which reason, no one being brought to account, many, indeed very many, of whom, have gone thither: on account of Your Holiness, you, Most Holy Father, should pardon a great many of them in a clement fashion so that what may be good and healthy in their souls and useful and forward for the conquest of the Holy Land [may be saved]. Indeed, the Book 1 deals with the

execution by Your Holiness with the publication of the processes and the arming of the galleys, as is told above, then those they found in sin, either by going to the lands subject to the Sultan or returning from them or if any goods from those lands should be found, as has been said: proceedings can be taken against those without any remission according to what seems just and reasonable to Your Holiness. And it is thus that on account of the avarice of this world **(p. 44)**, the affliction of the present life is feared rather than of the future. It is right and necessary that the fear of God should hold us back from evil and temporal punishment should restrain us from sin. The holy and reverend father and lord, who has many brothers and sons is the Most Holy and most pious father the lord Pope, who with his brothers, the venerable Cardinals and Prelates of the Church of Jesus Christ, day and night watches and prays, seeking continually help and assistance, mainly from his subjects and faithful, that is from kings, princes and barons, and also generally from all Christian people so that he can capture the said fortification with force and lay claim to his patrimony, namely the Holy Land that Christ walked on with his most holy feet and watered with his precious blood, shed for our sins. What is the advice to him to accomplish this successfully? For already the approach from the parts of the barbicans and the walls, that is through Turkey and Syria, has been tried and proven many times, as when brother Peter the Hermit and Godfrey of Bouillon with other princes and barons crossed and seeking to conquer through the grace of God cities and towns as far as the desert of Egypt. And so great was the honesty and strength of the successors of the King of Jerusalem, namely Almaric,[1] brother of that valiant warrior the Lord Baldwin that with their army they invaded the said fortification and strongly besieged Cairo and Babylon which places they warred down without doubt and which were on the point of surrender if it had not been for bad counsel, as is told in the *Book of the Conquest*.[2] However, following on the bad advice they were thrown out and driven back from the fortification and finally his successors lost the cities, towns and everything else that they held in the Kingdom of Jerusalem and Syria. Besides this the most serene and illustrious Emperor Frederick, with great courage and with a huge number of warriors, hastily taking the land route, left the borders of Germany and crossed Hungary, Bulgaria and Greece, and in the lands of the Saracens took much into his powerful hand and broad embrace, subjugating the cities of Iconium and Philomenum and many other cities, and reached Armenia. There, because of the great heat of summer he swam

[1] Almaric, lord of Jaffa and Ascalon (1136-74), succeeded his brother Baldwin III in 1163. Without waiting for Byzantine assistance he campaigned in Egypt from October 1168 to June 1169. Fustat was slighted by the Egyptians and the siege of Cairo was abandoned on 25 December after one month. For a fine description of Almaric see William of Tyre, *A History of the Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, II, 296–300, trans. E. Babcock and A.C. Krey (New York, 1943).

[2] *Eracles*; see Ruth Morgan, *The Chronicle of Ernoul and the Continuations of William of Tyre* (Oxford, 1973), 22–24.

in the river that the locals call Fretam,[1] a cause of tears in the whole of Christendom and a damage to it, he sank and was drowned in the water, all sins forgiven. Moreover at the same time those illustrious and most excellent lords, the Lord Philip, King of France and the Lord Richard, King of England with many dukes, princes, counts and barons, crossed by sea aiming to do the best that they could according to what is found in the *Book of Conquests*.[2] But at the end they returned to their own countries, leaving the business undecided: and also many other barons, princes and magnates ended their lives there as is narrated in histories and found in chronicles,[3] up to the time of Saint Louis, King of France, who landed briskly at Damietta with a countless multitude of warriors, just how many is shown in the present work from histories; most of this army perished through lack of industry and order, of which at that time they stood in need, and did not conquer the said fortification. And after this the Holy Father sent aid and help as well as many mighty noble warriors by many and several ways to conquer the Holy Land and wrest it from the hands of the infidels. However, in the end it was all lost, because it had been acquired piece by piece. Therefore, it must be said among other things that the aforesaid fortifications must be besieged and also boldly attacked by the great gate that is the coast of Egypt that always stands open, and without a doubt it should be done and that fortification should be attacked, because the inhabitants of the said land should not receive the aforesaid tribute and trade, nor through the exchanges of those things into any other essentials whatever that the Egyptians wish to procure, nor from these things can they or dare they renew their armed men. This can be achieved in short by following Book 1 to completion both in the process as well in the galleys. And if it pleases the maker of all things to confer such grace on the vicar of Jesus Christ, to bring together the great number of men that he wishes, how many is discussed at the beginning of this Book 2; cavalry and foot soldiers can enter the gate, namely the coast of Egypt, with good order and with sounder counsel; and with all these things [in place], with the aforesaid cavalry and foot soldiers well prepared: by getting them to follow shortly that order and manner which is fully discussed in Book 2 **(p. 45)**; there must be faith in God and true faith in him so that the aforesaid business can be brought to a complete and praiseworthy end.

Chapter 7: An explanation of the tree and what relates to it

The tree mentioned above is the sect of the perfidious Mahomet, which he propagated in his own lifetime and also the people of the aforesaid [Mahomet] and, moreover the subject provinces. First the trunk of the aforesaid tree is the root

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[1] Literally, foaming water – the Saleph River in which Frederick drowned on June 10, 1190.

[2] *Eracles*; see note 2 on page 82 above.

[3] For despondency in Europe on the failure of Louis's crusade, see T. Asbridge, *The Crusades* (London, 2009), 604.

and it's most effective foundation, which is the land of Egypt. The branches of the tree are the provinces and the lords who rule those provinces, namely in Turkey, Syria and in the Promised Land as well as in Barbary which is called the Kingdom of Tunisia, and throughout Africa and in all parts of the world where the sect of that impious seducer is obeyed or believed. The leaves of the tree are the nations and peoples dwelling in the provinces. The thickness at the base of the tree is the root of the Egyptians and their power, which is and waxes more powerful than that of the other followers of that sect, especially in the East. The channels that flow up to the tree [and water] the root and the trunk are clearly the produce and the fruits taken from the land of Egypt. But the source, which waters the tree and causes it to thrive in all things, is the sea, through which goods are brought in abundance by the inhabitants of that land and their neighbours, so that they have at this time all manner of spices and goods from India, without which, as related above, the aforesaid Egyptians, their inhabitants and neighbours could not well sustain themselves or regulate their life. Add to that which has already been said, the tree does not produce any fruit, it owes allegiance to the sect of the perfidious Machomet, from which no good fruit of any worth can proceed. The good fruits, which spring up under the tree are the good fruits to be found in the lands subject to the Sultan: and these are the goods that come down to them every day in great quantities and which appropriately can be called and named goods: those walking thither, just the same as abandoning themselves, walk with their eyes closed and remain in great shadows, it can be said without any doubt that those who shut the eyes of their mind in order that they never see the process nor the sanctions of the Church of Jesus Christ. And in like manner there are others who do not wish to go there at all since they are good men who have always their eyes open to the love and fear of God and of the Church of Jesus Christ. Indeed the holy lord is the father and lord, the Lord Pope aforesaid: and in the same manner his brothers are his venerable cardinals and the prelates: the faithful sons and subjects of the holy lord are the kings, princes and barons and all the Christian people, clerics as well as laity who faithfully and humbly follow the guidance of the Holy Church of God, pondering day and night how they can destroy that said tree, the sect of that most evil seducer, how to recover the Kingdom of Jerusalem and stoutly destroy the power of the faithless. They continuously seek out and ask help and assistance, as is related above, to destroy and eradicate that tree with its root, trunk, branches and leaves so that it is utterly destroyed and its memory has perished from the earth. The stock or trunk of the tree is the land of Egypt, as said earlier. The branches are those provinces that are subdued by Egypt to those believing and following that sect and likewise the people of the same. The Holy Lord has been advised in times past to send some honest men and courageous warriors to root out the tree in order that by that rooting out, the Holy Land can be prised from the hands of the infidel and be occupied by Christians in peace and tranquility. He has sent men thither, namely Brother Peter the Hermit, Godfrey of Bouillon and others who had followed willingly. They came with their nags and armed hewers, pruned the tree, advanced bravely to the base of the trunk that is as far as the desert of Egypt and beyond this

they conquered bravely. Their successor who advanced to the root and trunk of the said tree was Almaric, King of Jerusalem, who was a great fighter of the enemy with honest and active courage who besieged Cairo and Babylon as has been said **(p. 46)**, and who, taking bad advice, failed to subjugate the said Cairo and Babylon with the whole of Egypt to his rule as is contained in Book 3 that follows. And because that illustrious and active king, together with his following of great princes and other noble warriors, could not destroy the root and trunk of the said tree that is to wrest the land of Egypt from the hands of the infidel, they returned to Jerusalem. From which it happened that the Sultan has that great source that is the sea for his free use and the people multiplied in great measure, and finally he acquired all that land that he had [formerly] lost. He laid hold of that illustrious and active lord, the Lord Guido de Lusignan, the King of Jerusalem,[1] taking him with him he delivered him to prison: as is told in the aforesaid book of the conquest. Again the Holy Father sent help and aid thither, namely the most serene and most illustrious lord, the lord Frederick, Emperor of the Romans and those excellent and illustrious kings, the lord Philip, King of the French and Richard, King of the English with several other lords as has been said. They cut down several of the branches of the tree together with the leaves that is they captured the city of Acre and occupied several cities and towns from the territory of Turkey, Syria and the Promised Land, as is contained in the aforesaid book. But finally they all departed, each to his homeland, one going first, the other following after a little while. After this many princes, barons and lords went there, up to the time of Saint Louis King of France who crossed beyond the seas in order to bring Damietta under Christian rule. He achieved what has been written about him: moreover after him many others set out thither: but the tree, which is said to have its foot or trunk and root in a good place and which is watered abundantly by a great channel, and [that which] runs up to it is the sea that has always stood open for their use. Although it was destroyed a short while ago by means of it gold, silver, bronze, tin and other metals, coral, saffron, mastic, woven cloth, sacks of silk and many other similar and dissimilar things are brought to them. And likewise the Mamluks receive iron, pitch and wood: on account of which it grew and it grows as great as it can and passes on great strength and vigour to its branches that it has regained its former state: just as the Sultan has laid waste the noble cities of Tripoli, Acre and Tyre and subjugated all that remains of the Holy Land to his rule.[2] After which the most honest men and the most warlike warriors who have crossed thither cannot accomplish the necessary work, as is related above, men equal in courage and honesty to their forebears it would be very difficult to find: now it seems that prosecuting the business of recapturing the Holy Land needs other ways and means. That is by showing the potential of the great power and courage of the inhabitants of Christendom and by bringing together help and assistance with

[1] Guy of Lusignan (c.1127–94), King of Jerusalem in right of his wife Sibyl, 1187–90. He was captured by Saladin at Hattin and held captive until 1188.

[2] The campaigns of Baybars and his successors between 1268 and 1291.

wisdom and ingenuity. Whatever is mixed and joined together there must be hope in God and trust in his help so that the aforesaid tree will be totally levelled and eradicated, and without any fear of reviving hereafter, through this means and approach. First the great channel named above should immediately be severed. This has long irrigated and continues to deluge the tree in riches. The landing on the coast and the advance [inland] for severing the tree can easily be accomplished: this should be the first task assigned to the full army, as is evident in Book 1 as well as [material] on the process and the galleys. Afterwards a most honest man should be found who exceeds others in his many good features, advice and courage in honesty, as is laid down in Part 1 of Book 2. For the whole people will be well ruled when the honest and wise ruler is at hand just as when a weak [ruler is at hand] everything falls into ruin. The captain, by the grace of the Creator, shall take with him many serpents,[1] namely ships and men who know how best to sail on both salt and fresh water and wish to conduct themselves boldly and bravely on both and he should take with him other similar conveniences as is fully set out in Book 2. The cavalry and infantry should carry themselves bravely and strongly in the event of battle and all other exigencies so that with the help of the Creator and the industry of the captain they will cross to the coast of Egypt and there seize the land just as brave and audacious warriors should; afterwards going on to gnaw the root and trunk of the tree **(p. 47)**, that is to besiege and capture Cairo and Babylon, so subjugating the whole province of Egypt to themselves. A state of peace prevailing, there is to be hope in God and also confidence that all the branches and the leaves of the tree have fallen and have become dried out. These things having been carried out and accomplished, it is allowed to our Holy Father, our most holy father and lord, the Lord Pope, the Vicar of Jesus Christ to throw down from the said trunk of the tree anything that seems to his will ought to be done: that is while the land of Egypt is subject to the people of the High Priest, there is not any doubt that with the guidance of the Omnipotent God, they will occupy from the Holy Land, Syria, Turkey and Africa and from thence what is held in Spain and in other parts of the whole world that have held to the sect of the pestiferous Machomet, with the co-operating courage of God and of the same vicar for destroying and consuming them: and the same will be applied to the schismatic Greeks. That is on account of crossing into Egypt to pick up those fruits freely, as has been said, in order that they may rejoice in their gains and may possess them in peace forever. It is to be understood finely and seen that with the land subject to the Christians they can use it as their Muslim predecessors: and especially the Christian inhabitants and their neighbours as well as faithful Christians from the West who can walk thither and collect [the fruits]. In all these things may He who lives and reigns over all things and throughout all ages of ages lead us and all others who seek to make the Roman Church revered.

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[1] *Vermes*.

Chapter 8: An illustration, from those things that were done between the Venetians and the Lord Patriarch of Aquileia for the taking of Istria, [and] of what the first battle in Egypt against the Saracens for the recovery of the Holy Land might be like

The venerable Patriarch of Aquileia and the Count of Geritia[1] seemed favourably inclined that the Venetians should occupy Justinopolis[2] in the province of Istria, but four years after they had done this, that is in 1282, the same lords, the Patriarch and the Count attacked the aforesaid city that the Venetians had occupied with a large army: and discord grew in the province of Istria, so that both great men made a presence on both land and sea and made frequent raids. And from the province of Forum-Julii,[3] which is the Patriarchal seat, the Patriarch and the Count with many allies two or more times each year came forth and caused much damage to the castles and towns that the Venetians occupied: and Venice suffered much along with its people, as is the custom of wars and at some time brought the war to an end. Thus ten years and more of looting, burning and pillaging had passed with violence not only on land but also at sea: during that time the Venetians could not bring an end to these evils. While such things were going on in Istria, it happened that certain noblemen of Camino were forced by necessity to defend their place on the river Liquentia,[4] called Lamota, against their enemies who were lords in Tervisio[5] and were allies of the Venetians. The place was situated in the boundary of Forum-Julii. Therefore, when peace returned by the mediation of the Venetians between the nobles and their foes, the Venetians began to attend to their own affairs and sent armed warriors on horse and on foot to [La]Mota who advanced through Forum-Julii and struck their enemies. Perceiving this the Patriarch, and with him the Count of Goritza and the castellans of Forum-Julii were severely damaged in their own lands by fires, villas razed, fields wasted and animals stolen; they could not bear these internal losses with the same equanimity as those borne abroad in Istria: on account of which within the year they were forced to make peace with the Venetians. The Promised Land lies next to Egypt just as the territory of Forum-Julii borders Istria; just as the Patriarch had good foot soldiers in Istria but a lack of cavalry, in Forum-Julii, on the other hand, he had good soldiers as well as those of the second quality: just so the Sultan in Syria has good foot soldiers and a lack

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1 Modern Gerizia. Both men were supporters of the Holy Roman Emperors against the Lombard League and against Venetian interests. The Patriarchate often had a German incumbent. In 1077 the Emperor Henry IV had granted the County of Friuli and the March of Carniola to the Patriarch, to which the March of Istria was added in 1209. The Patriarch was Raimundo of Torre (1271–99).

2 Modern Capodistria.

3 Modern Udine.

4 Today the River Livenza, that still forms the linguistic boundary between the Friulian and Venetian languages.

5 Modern Treviso.

of cavalry and in Egypt has choice troops of the same sort. And to that extent it is similar to attack the Sultan in Egypt as the Patriarch in Forum-Julii: because he is Egyptian, [Egypt] in his home kingdom and when he is defeated there, he is defeated totally: and if he cannot be defeated completely, the damage done to him in his backyard and at the very heart of his kingdom, will force him to make peace with the Christians of his own accord, out of necessity, as is clearly outlined in this chapter and illustrated in the following chapter.

Chapter 9 contains evidence demonstrating this proposition, based upon the achievements in Egypt of Saint Louis, King of the French and of two Kings of Jerusalem ***(p. 48)***

Many Christian people invaded Egypt in the district of Damietta, but three times they might have made great advances, if they had been furnished with better counsel, supplies and other essentials. At one time Damietta was captured after a siege lasting one year and seven months, under John, King of Jerusalem, who had been Count of Brienne, and Pelagius, Legate from the Roman Curia. From thence in 1219 the crusaders advanced unopposed to the place where the branch of the Nile called Tampneos flows towards Damietta: but through shortage of supplies, rather driven out by their sins, as is revealed in Book 3, Chapter 9, they were forced to withdraw. It followed that at the time of Saint Louis, 12**,[1] Damietta was captured again. The Sultan wished to make peace with the king, offering many things, among them Damietta with its adjoining territory and to allot to that territory Christians living in Egypt in order to foster it; these Christians are called Christians of the girdle. In the Kingdom of Jerusalem and in Syria he would hand over many places.[2] However, the king did not wish to hear such words, intent as he was on the conquest of the whole of Egypt and as victor advanced to Messora,[3] as is written in the same book, Part 12, Chapters 2 and 3. But the Christian warriors motivated by avarice on the one hand and on the other by a shortage of supplies endured enemy attacks because of the first reason and were forced to retire through starvation. And after the king had been captured, the Egyptians considering what danger was posed to them if the Christians should hold Damietta promised to set at liberty not just the king but all his barons and captains in order that it should be returned to them. Indeed they also made other concessions welcome to several Christians: as can be seen at the same reference. And likewise this can be clearly

[1] Thus in the printed text.

[2] Crusading armies occupied Damietta from November 5,1219 to September 8,1221 and again from June 6 1249 to May 6,1250. Sanudo may have confused the terms that he claims were offered to Louis IX with those made by embassies from al-Kamil to the leaders of the Fifth Crusade.

[3] El Mansura.

read in the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent[1] who was in that place and described the capture and release of the blessed Louis of happy memory, King of the French, and of his brothers. Also earlier on Almaric, King of Jerusalem, had advanced, as far as Cairo, but received money from the Sultan to give up the siege, following the bad advice of Miles of Plancy.[2] Book 3, Part 6, Chapter 22. Henry, King of England, experienced in keeping lands safe, arranged to return thither and to make war first of all against the Egyptians:[3] Book 3, Part 11, Chapter 1. Innocent III decided that a Christian army should be led against Egypt.[4]

Chapter 10: The issues that must be addressed so that what is related above may emerge with the help of Jesus Christ

Since it is universally known that all things that will come to pass exist in the power of the Creator: it is always by seeking his help and advice to his praise, most holy reverence and honour and how can it be said and what decision taken in the past for the future and what might be necessary for the future? And unfinished things should be done with this in mind, because they should lead to a good and praiseworthy conclusion. And about this I will speak subject to the correction of Your Holiness. If the [proposals of] Book 1 are authorized to be put into execution and firmly adhered to both in regard to the process as to the galleys, many who are or were transgressors of the mandates of the Holy Church, with divine assistance, may be changed or reduced to the path of goodness and righteousness, and will strike the enemies of Your Holiness, saying that the conquest of the Holy Land is laid down by your Beatitude's measures: and it is becoming and necessary that you

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1 Vincent of Beauvais, Vincentius Bellovacensis, (c.1190–1264) was a Dominican friar who spent his whole life in the House at Beauvais working on his encyclopaedic compendium of all human knowledge, the *Speculum maius*. The third part of this work was the *Speculum historiale* containing 31 books and 2,793 chapters. It brought the history of the world down to 1250. Louis IX supported his work.

2 Milo de Planti, Miles of Plancy, came to Palestine from Champagne in the 1160s. As a distant relative of Almaric he was appointed Seneschal of the Kingdom of Jerusalem (c.1168–74). In view of the conquest of Egypt by Nur-ed-Din in 1174 and the subsequent union of Egypt and Syria under Saladin, his advice to Almaric in 1167 was seen as disastrous. It is this hindsight that warrants his mention by name here. Through his marriage to Stephanie de Milly in 1173 he became Lord of Outrejordan. On Almaric's death in 1174 he was regent for the leper-King Baldwin IV. Miles was murdered in Acre in autumn 1174.

3 Henry II's crusading interests went back at least to1176. At Reading on 29 January 1185 Heraclius, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, offered him the throne of Jerusalem. The offer was discussed in council at the Priory of St John at Clerkenwell on 10 March and rejected. Both Henry II and the Leper King Baldwin IV shared a common grandfather in Fulk I of Jerusalem (1131–43). See W.L. Warren, *Henry II* (London, 1973), 604–6.

4 Innocent III had started crusade planning almost immediately after his election as Pope in 1198. This proposed crusade became the Fourth Crusade.

give a lead to these people forthwith; thus in a short time they will come to prevail upon your mercy, indeed they will most humbly beg, so that it is fit and proper to put the aforesaid plan of conquest into place with no more delay. Also there will be need of calming the faithful fighting with each other, by divine help, which is shown by reason to be likely: For the word can be checked in this matter, because in Apocalypse the lord has said that 'All the nations have drunk of the wine of their fornication', that is Babylon.[1] Therefore, attention should be given to that noxious and contagious disease, which creeps upon all men unseen, because they all join in [eating] from banned items without holding back and without trepidation. Contrariwise it must be shown to those suffering that the said disease is not in food: by spreading this harmful disease may be most harmful and seldom do sufferers recover **(p. 49)**. On the other hand through a good dietary regime the sick more often regain their health. If the faithful abstain from foreign food, from which the Sultan and the people subject to him receive such great income and profit as in Part 2 of Book 1 is related, I believe and have in trust, that God who has great grace in settling discords, shall do this for the Christians. And it should be known that the purchaser and consumer of the said goods that come from the lands subject to the Sultan present a reason for going to the transgressors and to the infidels of the lands subject to the Sultan of bringing down these goods and of transporting the aforesaid spices and other goods from thence to the West. Whence, if the buyers and consumers of these things gave up, the transgressors would not go to this place and the said trade would be destroyed. Therefore, if the said transgressors desisted, everything that produced a cause for sin to them and made them participants in sin [would be removed]. Therefore, I say devotedly and humbly, that it is essential that the said coming and going be banned immediately, as set out above and in more detail as contained in this short summary, or taken up to such an extent that whoever wishes may be able to go and come of their own free will in order to bring the said goods from the lands subject to the Sultan: but let there be no further talk of there being any other way of recovering the Holy Land. This seems less bad to me than that the faithful should long remain in this condition. For this condition is most dangerous to all faithful Christians. On these matters the most Holy Father will take action insofar as Divine grace is shown to him. Especially, Your Holiness should put in place what is contained at the beginning of Book 2, that is, your Beatitude should choose a most active and honest man as captain of your people, who shall go to the coast of Egypt to seize land there by force with 15,000 foot soldiers and 300 cavalry, as is contained in Part 1 of Book 2 and the same man should cause fortresses to be built and shelters erected, since the Egyptians will feel an immense weight of oppression when they are short of essentials, in the carrying on of trade and molestation from their enemies and with arrows and flames both on land and sea: and through these things the experience of our predecessors tells us, namely that when Damietta was in Christian hands, as when last occupied by the Holy King of France Louis, as discussed in a preceding chapter, in the

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[1] Apocalypse 18:3.

first year the Sultan of Babylon will wish to make a lasting peace with you that gives back the Promised Land completely and forever to Your Holiness so that you do not proceed finally to his overthrow. Also, following the destruction of the Egyptians, the conversion of the Sultan and his subject people can be put into effect. Finally, as naturalists tell us when anyone suddenly runs into danger of death, wise nature, the fountain of life, immediately brings help to the heart and brings blood from the extremities so that help should be given to the heart: and that is why men so fearing have a pale face and shaking extremities because they are deprived of blood. Likewise this will affect the Saracens, because the heart and life of the Saracens is the oak tree of Egypt: the courage and vigour of the extremes, such as Granada and other parts, will immediately send aid thither, should Egypt be suddenly attacked: nor will those very extremities receive support, especially money, from the heart as they had once received it and therefore they will remain weak and trembling. So the King of Spain or any other Christian King should move against one of these extremities at that time, the matter can more easily be brought to a good conclusion, lest on this account the Saracens can defend their heart, that is Egypt, through their help. This can be seen more clearly in Parts 3 and 4 of this Book 2, hoping always and trusting in the help of God and going quickly to a good, praiseworthy and fruitful conclusion. According to which it seems to me, subject to the advice of experts that in entering upon so arduous and fruitful a business there should be no further dealings. For what is not begun will never be finished; and the end does not happen when the beginning is lacking.

Part 3

Part 3 contains the safe state of building in coastal Egypt and the special quality of fighting against the Saracens with clear examples, having 4 chapters **(p. 50).**

Chapter 1: How Christians can be safe by staying in fortifications on the coast of Egypt; by comparison with the Venetian coast, which were a surety under the tempestuous storms of Gauls, Africans, Cypriots, Attila and of the Lombards and of others and has remained unharmed

Just how alike and similar is the coast of Egypt to the coastal area of Venice has been touched upon above in Part 1, Chapter 2. And consequently from the secure condition of the building and of the protection afforded by the waters and the marshes of Venice we can reflect on them as in a bright mirror, how they could make a secure haven against the attacks of the Saracens, which according to the premise of Part 1, Chapter 1 fortresses will be built and located along the coast of Egypt. For the islands of Venice, next to the Istrians, were first inhabited by the Trojans, driven thither by the Greeks in the year of the creation of the world,

2784.[1] For a band of them, under Priam, the young offspring of the nephew of King Priam from the sister of Laomedon,[2] arriving with questing ships at the end of the Adriatic Sea, and with islands in view and close to land he decided to build dwellings on the islands to preserve his accustomed liberty, thinking it unworthy that the freemen he was leading should be subject to another. He had not failed in his intentions, so that they could say 'we are freemen and have served no one':[3] for he alone and no other was chosen leader from among them, it is said that at some time he exercised rule over them. For after the year of the creation of the world, 3575, the Senonian Gauls under the leadership of Brennus leaving the Venetian coasts undamaged, occupied this undevastated land, building Vicenza, Verona, Trento, Brescia, Bergamo, Cumas, Milan, Sena and Sinigaglia, having previously slain many Romans, burnt the city, and murdered many senators in their seats [in the Senate].[4] Also hordes of Africans from the south and Cybrians from the north from the shores of Germany burst into Italy but did no harm to this region. Also Atila[5] [sic] nephew of Asdrubal King of Hungary and heir to his kingdom, terror of the city and the world, whose unspeakable savagery was foretold by earthquakes and heavenly signs. After wasting Gaul he arrived in Italy with 500,000 warriors. He skirted the marshes and islands of Venice, devouring everything with cruel savagery and reducing everything to a desert. He did not wish to damage the marshy area but increased the number of its inhabitants with the defeated and with [other] men. For concerning Aquileia the Patriarch with the survivors and the mothers of children were safe in the castle of Grado. Concerning Concordia, Capralas going out along the coast built this. Concerning Altino, also called Anteriorides because Anteriorides built it when they took refuge on the islands they built new cities Torcello, Burano, Mazzorbo and Murano: and the whole was split up under three new bishops and one Patriarch. Concerning Padua, many had sought refuge at Rivo Alto and Malamocco. There were four townships around the shores and islands of Venice, insignificant places, but thrown up from the depths. Indeed, as those who inhabited the islands increased in prestige and

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[1] The first time that the *Anno a creatione mundi* has been used in this work. It is unclear what chronology Sanudo followed. Of the many estimates of the date of the beginning of the world, Vincent of Beauvais estimated 4000BC and the Eastern Orthodox Church accepted 5508 BC down to the nineteenth century.

[2] Lamedon in the text. In legend, the King of Troy, father of Priam and builder of the walls of Troy. Hercules killed all his sons except Priam. His daughter Hesione saved Priam's life and she is the sister referred to here.

[3] John 8:33, 'They answered him, We be Abraham's seed and were never in bondage to any man'.

[4] In 387BC the Senones under Brennus defeated the Romans at the battle of the Alia and sacked Rome, see Livy, 5, 34–39, Diodorus Siculus, 4, 43–117, Plutarch, *Camillus*,15–30, Polybius 2,15 and Diodorus of Halicarnassus,13, 6–12.

[5] Attila the Hun (403–53) was ruler of the Hunnic Empire from 434 until his death. By Roman writers he was feared and regarded as the epitome of cruelty.

in numbers they began to have leaders[1] and grew in fame and power as we see today. Not at the beginning but at the time of Ezzelino,[2] when he raided the March of Treviso and part of Lombardy, those suffering this persecution fled to Venice where they remained safe, as the Tyrant not wishing to harm them as the proverb has it, because his adversaries were safe in the castle of the geese. And at the present time, 1318, that Great Dog de Scala[3] turns the Paduan region upside down; many refugees flee to the coastal regions and are safe. And the same fate by the same man has affected Treviso and its refugees are safe in the aforesaid coastal districts. The Lombards too, previously called Guimuli, coming to Pannonia from the furthest shores of Germany from the island of Scandinaria.[4] They then occupied that part which borders the islands of Venice under their King Albuin[5] in the year of Our Lord 572, and after under certain other kings raided all Italy yet they could scarcely touch the islands of Venice **(p. 51)**. It was only the French troops under Pepin the Short[6] who exacted a tribute on each person at the elevation of Astulph[7] as King of [the Lombards]. Pope Stephen[8] could scarcely keep it in proportion. And Hadrian,[9] also Pope, on account of the unbearable affliction of Italy, which Desiderius the son of Astulph imposed, was forced to call Charlemagne[10] to protect the Church and remove the tyrant. Desiderius, together with his wife and sons, was sent into [exile in] Gaul and the Kingdom of the Lombards came to an end in

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1 The first doge was Paolo Lucio Anafesto in 697.

2 Ezzelino or Eccelino III da Romana (1194–1260) was a Ghibelline and a staunch supporter of Frederick II. He ruled Padua, 1237–56. See below, 96–7.

3 Can Francesco della Scala,I(1291–1329) a very successful *condotieri* and patron of Dante. He was a native of Verona where he exercised his *signori* and was usually known as Can Grande or Great Khan. His by-name is one example of the vogue for Mongol names in thirteenth and fourteenth century Italy, see Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West 1221–1410* (London, 2005), 315. By his marriage to Giovanna of Antioch, a descendant of Frederick II, he cemented his Ghibelline credentials. He supported the Emperor Henry VII and from 1308 he was Imperial Vicar of Vicenza and Verona.

4 Sanudo had included Scandinavia on his world map. Gotland?

5 Alboin, King of the Lombards 565–72. He killed Cunemund, King of the Gepids, from whose skull he made a drinking cup and carried off his daughter Rosamund, who later plotted his murder. In 568 he invaded Italy at the invitation of the Byzantine general Narses. Source: Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*.

6 Pepin the Short, Pipinus Nannus, (714–68) a son of Charles Martel and King of the Franks, 754–68.

7 King of the Lombards 749–56, seized the Byzantine Exarchate of Ravenna and threatened to seize the Patrimony of St Peter. His wife was Gerburga.

8 Pope Stephen II 752-756. He asked for the intervention of Pepin at Pantheon in January 754.

9 Pope Adrian I (772–95).

10 Charles, Carolus Magnus, Charlemagne, (742–814), King of the Franks from 768, alone 771, crowned the first Holy Roman Emperor by Pope Leo III on Christmas Day 800.

the year of Christ 774. Charles, angered with the Venetians, led his army up to the shore of Malamocco[1] but could not guarantee his supplies.

Chapter 2: How the Christians should go openly to the coast of Egypt and how they can protect themselves from the neighbouring Saracens by example of the Venetian people

The inhabitants of the aforesaid islands remain secure not only against the madness of the nations of wanderers that turns Italy upside down but also they have turned aside the faithlessness and injuries of neighbouring peoples with whom they continually associate and who, since ancient times, have looked upon their glorious deeds with envy and have sought out ways and means of harming them. And, as other reasons may be inferred, in 1215 when the Paduans with a large army were besieging the tower or castle built in a place called Bayba, while they thought it safe to wage war, they found themselves in the rising waters of the sea. Just so in parts of Egypt the Christians were cut off by the waters of the Nile, Book 3 Part 11, Chapter 9 and just as the Paduans made peace with the Venetians so the Christians with the Saracens. And recently, in 1305, the same Paduans, with 4,000 men or thereabouts wished to construct a salt-works near Chioggia and built a castle near the marshes for their own protection: the Venetians moved over the sea up to the mouth of the river to deny access to the salt water, rather they preferred to bring the fresh water of the river to the said salt-works: and at last trouble having broken out, since the Paduans had destroyed a levee, they were driven off by a few Venetians including some allies from Vicenza, Verona and Mantua and some crossbowmen they had hired from remote parts: however, on that day 1,500 Venetian warriors or thereabouts covered 30 miles: and as they drew near to capture the castle, the propagators of novelty sued for peace of their own accord. In 1270 the men of Bologna, together with many others from all the towns of Romandiola,[2] attacked a certain castle of the Venetians near the Po, which was eight miles from the sea, but they achieved nothing: then, having taken counsel, the Bolognese and the others with them built a castle at the mouth of the aforesaid river so that they could deny the Venetians access to their castle by river: but they could scarcely prevent it, although they laboured with all their men and carried on the war for three years and five months, after which they abandoned the castle they had built and returned to their own lands and the Venetians possessed their own castle as they had been accustomed.[3] Also the other castle of the Venetians so-called the Head of the Bank, on the river Adige, that comes down to the sea from

[1] In 810 Charlemagne sent his son Pepin to conquer Venice. Malamocco was then the capital city.

[2] Term used for La Romagna, common on sixteenth-century maps. Mercator and Ortelius always showed it with the Duchy of Parma.

[3] The war of 1270–3 was over the import of grain through Ravenna rather than Venice, see F. Lane, *Venice, A Maritime Republic* (1973), 58–9.

Verona similarly the communities and lordship of Lombardy and the March of Treviso cannot be taken away except by the said Venetians:[1] but up to a distance of eleven miles from the sea, the Venetians with few soldiers and little cost hold on to the present day with respect to whatever adversaries. And not only can they protect themselves and their property: it is also true that they force pirates to submit to their will, as we see in a great part of the northern coastline and especially in the Adriatic Sea, where piracy has prospered as old annals tell us: but they have extended their dominion over remote and eastern parts, and today almost alone in those parts they protect not only themselves but strangers. Therefore, from this account we can see more clearly to what extent the Christian people can become more secure by building fortifications on the coast of Egypt, how much power they will have to war with the Agarenes and how well-placed for conquering lands.

Chapter 3: How the crusaders can harm the Egyptians, by example of how the Venetians waged war against the towns and places on their lakes and rivers ***(p. 52)***

After it has been demonstrated by practical example how they were safe with the help of God, the warriors of the Church, having built fortresses on the Egyptian coast, we can consider, with clear example, how they will be able to harm the enemies of the Cross and of faithful Christians. For the aforesaid Venetians whenever disputes broke out between them and another town in Lombardy or in the March of Treviso, set about harming their enemies in two ways. The first is the lighter way: they would not take up arms, or assault them personally or seize their possessions: but would set up strict prohibitions that they could not carry foodstuffs or any goods whatsoever to the city of Venice, or through places under their control or export [anything] from Venetian territory. Lest this procedure should seem light to anyone, the cities of Lombardy and the March of Treviso frequently send embassies to Venice and are forced to live at peace with the Venetians under certain conditions. How much this means of harming [can be brought about] and how much it will weaken the power of the Sultan is clearly shown above in Book I, should they wish to harm the Saracens in Egypt. The second method is more serious: since it involves fighting with arms and men. And because they are skilled in such things and capable of making the right kind of ships and instruments of war, according to what the situation of places or the nature of the deed requires, they can wage war on places that are built on rivers and marshes. In 1239 on behalf of the Church they received Ferrara from the hands of Salinguerra[2] and gave it over to the rule of Gregory, the Apostolic Legate: and for this purpose they assembled men from various places. However, without Venetian ships and endeavour they

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[1] Latin is unclear here.

[2] Salinguerra Torselli (c.1160–c.1244) was a Ghibelline and the brother-in-law and supporter of Ezzelino da Romana. In 1215 he seized control of Ferrara from the Este family.

would have accomplished nothing and on this account the understandings and honours that the Venetians had at Ferrara were not only confirmed but amplified. And in former times the Countess Mathilda[1] had received Ferrara with the aid of a Venetian fleet. Also it is clear from recent events in 1308 in the matter of Ferrara how the Venetians wish to control the rivers. For it was amazing to see [how easily] they could dispose a small number of armed men along the river Po to destroy the adjoining places with no one wishing to stop them; the river current, the product of excavators, led them to far-flung places and they laid waste to all with fire and water. Just so could the army of the Lord disperse at will along the river of Egypt as far as Cairo and Babylon and occupy all places: so much more effectively since the river is virtually a broad trough. And whoever can freely go by river can easily control the land, see Part 1, Chapter 4. In 1256, at that time when the wicked Ezzelino had occupied the March of Treviso and other parts of Lombardy at the request of the papal Legate Philip Archbishop of Ravenna, the Venetians led out by river an army gathered by the aforesaid legate from their marshes and from the place called Bayba, named above, taking with them a force of crossbowmen and supplies: and not only did they occupy everywhere along the river; but advancing up to the city of Padua they wrested [the lands] by violence from the hands of Ezzelino. All these things may be an example for us how the army of the Lord can be safe on the coast of Egypt and how they can advance against the enemies of the Christian faith.

Chapter 4: Convincing answers to doubts that may arise

Because it is said in the preceding chapter that the Christian army could advance up the river Nile as far as Babylon, some have questioned this on account of the extended nature of the route. This question will be answered in this part by an example: because the Venetians for the most part ascended the Po for a considerable distance, they entered the river Adda[2] with castellated ships with mounted crossbows and they broke by force six huge chains and they occupied the bridge, by which Ezzelino had crossed to occupy Milan,[3] and this was the beginning of

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[1] Mat(h)ilda, Countess of Tuscany (1046–1115) a friend and supporter of Pope Gregory VII. The meeting between the Pope and the Emperor Henry IV took place in her castle at Canossa in 1077. She took an active part in the reconciliation. On her death she bequeathed her lands to the Emperor Henry V rescinding a previous bequest to the Papacy. Here, Sanudo refers to her alliance with Venice and Ravenna in 1101. An allied fleet operating on the Po besieged and captured Ferrara for the countess, see F.C. Hodgson, *The Early History of Venice* (London, 1901), 241.

[2] *Adduae*. The river flows SSE from Lake Como and joins the River Po at Cremona.

[3] Probably the bridge at Lodi, the first major bridge across the Adda, stormed by Napoleon in 1799. Lodi was an imperial town founded by Frederick Barbarossa in 1160 and an enemy of Milan. It lies some 300km upriver from Venice.

the capture and death of that tyrant. For frustrated in his plan Ezzelino returned to the unfinished business and set about the siege of the fortified bridge and was seriously wounded in the foot by a crossbow bolt (**p. 53**).[1] [As a result] he lost his accustomed wisdom in controlling the army and was defeated in battle that same year, 1260. He died in captivity.[2] Also with regard to that other matter mentioned above the building of fortifications and other structures will prevent the Saracens sending food and other things to the Egyptians: it may be replied that they may be supplied by land: to which it should be said, because such people are ignorant of the situation of the land of Egypt, for it extends a long way to the south from the Mediterranean Sea and on both the east and the west there are enormous wastes and deserts, in which the holy fathers built monasteries, especially on the western side and some led a solitary eremitic life there. From the west, that is from the Kingdom of Tunis, on account of the immensity and roughness of the desert, goods cannot be transported; from the east they are able to have nothing except spices: on the south there is a scarcity of all things; there are also the Christians of Nubia opposed to them, as was said above in Book I: on the north, from the Kingdom of Jerusalem and Syria they can obtain very few things, such as cotton, soap, cider apples, pears and a certain amount of olive oil.[3] On account of which it can be truly said that if the Mediterranean route is closed to them so too are foodstuffs and other goods especially spices. Also some, who live in the cultivated land of Egypt, doubt whether the Christians gathered on the coast can obtain adequate supplies and if they will endure hunger. These can easily be replied to, because food and all essentials pour in from all parts to the coast, and they only have to have sufficient wages and money to buy it: just as we see in Venice when there is dearth on the adjoining mainland: because all foodstuffs and other essentials are brought in such great quantities by sea, that they can nourish all their neighbours as well as their own citizens.

Part 4

Part 4 contains the form, method and order as well as commendable arguments on warlike events and other things touching on carrying out the said business of the land successfully and how the Agarenes and the schismatics are not able to defend the land against the power of the Church, having 29 chapters.

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1 *Spiculum*.

2 Here Sanudo is a primary source for the capture and death of Ezzalino.

3 *Bombicem & saponem, poma, pyra & aliquam olei quantitatem*.

Chapter 1: Arguments that may be advanced against the power of the Christian army, lest it should come to an unprofitable end and the solutions of the same

From what has been related above someone can say confidently: we see well from the example of the Venetians that so large a number of men can seize the land and make a base on the coast of Egypt and that they can remain safe from the pagans of that land: not only will the Saracens be overthrown by the Christians on that account but you can subject them to you or otherwise defeat and conquer them, for these reasons: First, because if you wish to go with your armed ship along the river Nile, the river is narrow in some or other part so that from one or other shore they can shoot fire arrows at your ship on which account your ship and your men are in danger of burning. Second, because the Saracens may place chains and stockades, or stakes or bridges to hold up ships on the Nile, as was done at Francolino [on the Po][1] near Ferrara: and they may do this more substantially for they will fortify one bank of the river and from the other side they will hold a device for relaxing the suspension whenever it suits them and from both banks they can guard [the river] well. So that whoever of the Christian people approaches the chains or bridges of the Saracens with his ship they may relax the suspension: so that the force of the current of the river will direct and force the ship of the Christians to land. So that whoever lives there can exercise control of the land and butcher people in a ship at their will (**p. 54**). This reply can be made to such objections and first the first point. Because your people are prepared, very alert and on the watch, have equipment with them with which they may extinguish the fire, when fire arrows are shot at them the fire can be and will be easily put out, and will not prevent the army of Christians from coming and going or from accomplishing their mission. To the second point, what if the Saracens place chains or make stakes or bridges?: they must have and maintain a considerable guard and a large number of people to protect the said stakes, chains and bridges on one bank as well as the other and in many places too and especially the channels of Damietta and Roxetus which are wide.[2] But the Christians will not wish to approach, with their ships and cranes, the stakes, chains or bridges of the Saracens, when the river is in flood and the current is strong: but the captain, being wise, will await the time when the river will be low and the wind blows strongly from the sea, which they make use of there and which blows the sea or sea water into the mouth of the river: thus the short passage which he has will be calm, because it is as if there is no current and then with the wind behind him, he sends forward from his ships those suitable for such things, heavy ships capable of making better assault and with their sails erect and with other ships fitted with cranes; and the ships charge towards the said bridges, chains or stakes so that, God willing, they will break, destroy and ruin them; and they will go wherever they wish and exercise control on that river as they will: just as I understand that other Christians have done at Damietta. And it is to be known

[1] 3km north of Ferrara. There is no bridge across the Po at this point today.

[2] See above Book 1, Part 1, Chapter 6.

that when the Christian army has 15,000 foot and 300 cavalry, on the books, after it has conquered the land there, before one year is up there will be 5,000 men serving without pay, who will come thither for their own purposes with food and other essentials for an army. When [the land] is free all things will be useful to those who hasten there for business, so it can be said that there will be more than 20,000 men. And so, with the help of God, there is no doubt that a good end may be brought about by your people.

Chapter 2: In which certain other arguments are advanced that the Sultan can be engaged on the Nile and an explanation of the same

Besides if anyone should oppose this and say the aforesaid Sultan has a great number of soldiers and for that reason he has great resources for doing many things. First, because the Nile flows into the Mediterranean Sea he can slip into the ocean: by which means no damage can be inflicted upon him by ship on fresh water. Second, if he does not wish or is unable to do, he may set things moving whenever he wishes: because while the Christian army builds barracks and positions other forts next to another channel, he can cause it to flow further off from the Christian army: because the coast of Egypt is long and open, a great part of the plain is open not least on the north side. Thirdly, the Sultan with his men will be able to make much trouble: because while the army of the Christians comes together in forts and gathers on the coast of Egypt, they will have their fleet equipped and prepared in many places and their men will row to and fro on the river, then the Sultan's men can alter the channel of the river and by such means cause the water flow elsewhere than the channel that contains the Christian fleet, so that with insufficient draught the fleet will run aground. And by this means, the Sultan will come upon a great quantity of men and equipment, men who languish in the aforesaid ships and cannot resist; and if they cannot free themselves from the hands of the infidels they will be killed or imprisoned. To the first argument it can be replied that this is impossible as if the aforesaid Sultan could cause the removal of the bed of a flowing river that flows into the Mediterranean Sea and make it flow into the ocean. And given what has been said clearly in Book 1, the land of Egypt would be totally destroyed and deserted (**p. 55**): on account of which it is not to be believed that the infidels would wish to destroy themselves while they might avoid disaster by other means. To the second argument, because of what has just been said, it can be answered in this manner: Because the barracks and fort that will first be built on the Egyptian coast will be made only from wood and stones and besides which the marshes and waters will provide extra protection for the aforesaid barracks and forts. Thus, when the Egyptians take away anything from the channels of the river, near which the Christians have built a barracks and a fort, the aforesaid Christians could depart with their ships and all their other equipment to another place that seems to them more fruitful and more useful. Also, it is impossible that the infidels should wish to divert the channel of Damietta and that of Raxetus. And so by this means, with the help of the Creator, the Saracens could

not inflict severe damage on the Christian army. And when they have done this, they will incur greater damage and injury than the Christians. The third [issue] can be addressed in this way: seeing that the captain should and ought to be far-sighted in all things and prudent, lest any deficiency in these matters might bring danger to the Christians: that is lest he goes straight forward with the fleet and does not send his people along the river in great numbers, if he has not previously determined the conditions and state of the enemy. He should proceed with caution when he takes any new course, for when greater danger threatens then more care should be taken. Given that the captain and the army should defend itself courageously on the Egyptian coast, he should bring the great part of his plans to completion and not ruin them by haste and from this he will do well in this business; sticking to the aforesaid manner, order and means he should always seize something new and certain from his enemies and with the help of the omnipotent God, he ought to arrive at a good and praiseworthy end.

Chapter 3: Certain examples of Cyrus, King of the Persians and concerning certain lessons for the Christian army

And it is to be committed to memory according to what is found in scripture: that Cyrus, King of the Persians and the Medes,[1] having brought the whole of the east within his empire, besieged Babylon hoping to make it the capital of his empire, when one of his soldiers rashly crossed the Ganges, which is said to be one of the rivers of Paradise,[2] and was drowned by the current of this river. For which reason Cyrus, it was said, wished to punish the river and caused it to be divided into 440 streams, so that the old even on foot could cross it. In like manner he diverted the river Euphrates, that flows through the centre of Babylon, from its proper course and so he took that city, the most powerful of all cities,[3] 1,400 years after its foundation. I don't know if the Sultan of Babylon has been able to divide up the river of Egypt just as Cyrus did, but assuming that he can and wishes to and has done this to the river, that is no good reason for abandoning the business of crossing to and occupying the coast of Egypt for the reason given below: accepted that the Sultan can cause the bed of the said river to be diverted, he cannot cause the marshes, lakes and ponds that are on the Egyptian coast to

1 Cyrus II or the Great (590/580–529BC) son of Cambyses I and founder of the Persian Empire. He was the stuff of legends and is best known for ordering the return of the Jews to Israel (2 Chronicles 36:22–23 and Ezra 1:1–4).

2 In Jewish tradition the river that flowed from Paradise divided into four: the Pishon, Gihon, Heddekel and Perat rivers. The last two were identified as the Euphrates and the Tigris respectively. The other two have no secure identity. The Pishon was thought to be the Nile, whilst the Gihon has been identified with both the Blue Nile and the Amudar'ya. Sanudo records a third contender, the Ganges.

3 Babylon fell in October 539. Sanudo is correct in his estimation of the city's ancient significance.

dry up or be emptied, because they are filled with water regularly every morning and the Christians can make these lakes, marshes and ponds increase in size in certain places; namely they can cause dykes to be made in the marshes, lakes and ponds, just as the Venetians did in the war that they had with the Paduans over the salt-works: as is mentioned in Part 3 of this Book 2. The dykes will have good sluice-gates and while the seawater rises and flows abundantly they will provide free access to them without back up [of water], so those waters, together with the waters of the river and rainwater that are constantly pushed out towards the land of Egypt, will remain in the marshes and the other said places: through which means the said waters ought to increase in the places mentioned above and by making gates and guarding the dykes in case they should be breached by anyone (**p. 56**) . As will appear to the captain of the army, ships can be sent into the marshes, lakes and ponds for bringing harm and destruction to the infidels. And if by this way and means, the said business not having been put into execution, he lacks more horse and cavalry than he had done if the river was suitable and open, as it now is: the captain of the army can land the horse and cavalry in port or in any place at his will, and with horse and foot they can advance to Cairo and Babylon by such route that they may encounter no obstacle or hindrance from the river of Egypt. The people going there with the preparations essential for the task of advancing and arriving at Cairo and Babylon to besiege them, ought reasonably, with the help of Jesus Christ, to gain control of the said river, in making it flow wherever they wish. These things being done and brought to a praiseworthy conclusion, I hope in God and have full faith in Him that the infidels will not be able to defend the land of Egypt and, with your power intervening, it will come under the Christian faith.

Chapter 4: A certain question that asks whether the Saracens on account of the large number of ships that they have on the river Nile can hold up the army of Christians and the answer to the same

If anyone wishes to say or object: the Saracens have a large number of men and ships, and so, with their ships and men, they can hold up the army of Christians in the open on the river. To this it can be replied and has already been said: the Egyptian people are worth less than nothing when it comes to arms. So there should be no doubt what to expect from them. And if they should place on their ships their cavalrymen or even men from Semy[1] and Syria, who live just beyond the desert, I reply that these men are not suitable since they are not used to being on water or on ships. And if anyone should wish to say that they might cause to come to them mariners and warlike men from the Saracens of Africa, Spain or elsewhere. To which can be replied that this is far from them: if however they induce men to come, your own people, who have proved themselves in skill, industry and honesty, with the help of God, will fight bravely and place themselves in battle if they [the enemy] expose themselves to oppose Him, which is not to be

[1] Semo or Hazar.

believed. And with regard to this I give you an example of the Venetians, not more than 6,000 had been involved in the matter of Ferrara and they did that which Your Holiness knows, and especially before they fell under the punishment of the Papal processes: so if God had not judged them as he did in various ways they would not have suffered from the Apostolic orders and especially from that powerful and virulent sickness [and] they would not have inflicted so much damage as they did:[1] but honesty and power against God is as nothing. For there is no doubt that whoever is against the Church is against God. So, for these reasons, it can be hoped that your men in those parts will gain their holy objective.

Chapter 5: Concerning the provision, safety and setting out of the ships of the Christian army

It is a good thing for the morale and safety of the army that the captain should attend beforehand to the placing of as many as possible on the fleet, [but this should be] no larger than he can control: because the more the Christian army is concentrated in a small place, so the braver it will be. For more attention should be paid to the quality of the fitting out of the fleet than to its size. For it is preferable to have fewer galleys well-equipped and with a good crew than to have many not so. Therefore, the same people gathered on a few ships are braver, both in defence and attack, than those dispersed through many. Also it is appropriate that the captain should ensure that his fleet can manoeuvre with oars both at sea and by river so that it is fit, ordered and at the point to be manoeuvrable and swift. For in the end it is the manoeuvrability and speed of galleys with oars that brings great convenience and safety (**p. 57**): and likewise is the navigation of rivers, so that [the galley] can go up and down the river against the current through strength and with the assistance of oars: on account of which it is convenient that all oared vessels should be arranged as *terzaroles*: namely that for every bench there should be three oarsmen for doing what they should be doing. As specified above, a ship ought to be furnished with rowers so that there are three oars for each bench: it is not generally known that in 1316 the Venetians tested a method of setting four oars to a bench in their galleys: and this experience appeared useful both for the better control of the ship and because the oarsmen could row more skilfully and because the ship with groups of four oarsmen rowing together could go more swiftly and speedily than when they were arranged as *terzaroles*. On this matter I have consulted with those who know about these things and also with some engineers, magistrates, [and] sailors and thinking it over myself, we find that it is sensible and practical, so long as it fits with the captain's advice, that all galleys and great ships for fresh water, that can control their crews should arrange matter

[1] This seems to be a reference to a different incident at Ferrara than those referred to earlier. Was it a reference to the Crusade called against the Venetians in April 1309 following a dispute over the Este succession 1308–9? See N. Housley, *The Italian Crusades* (Oxford, 1982), 24–5.

in this way that on each bench there ought to be four oarsmen according to the above specification, but in lesser vessels three to a bench. And so much the more seeing that the greater ships are on fresh water, so that they may be able to row from below and less from the deck (above the sun dial) as with *terzaroles* and even *quartaroles.*[1] Of which it has been said above, the reason is because galleys are faster with oars, seeing that their captains who are in danger, can at a moment's thought close with their enemies in battle or suddenly avoid them if they wish. And there are many dangers to be avoided, such as storms at sea, they can be near them without distance of time: and especially for crossing the Parigium of the said sea,[2] which never lacks dangers, so that those who are in them while passing over the sea, shall arrive safely in port. On account of these things, seeing and noticing the many good outcomes and the security that could be brought to the men of the ships, the captain of Your Holiness should be pleased to confirm them. On that account it is to be praised and to be considered, if it is suitable, that not only should there be four oarsmen per bench rowing in a ship, but it would be possible that five oarsmen ought to row in great ships. The captain should consult about this and implement what seems to him the better to be done, both for galleys and for shipping in fresh water. It should be known that in 1290, two oarsmen per bench were rowing in all galleys that crossed the sea: afterwards clever men realized that three oarsmen could row in the same bench, and this method is followed by all at the present time. On this account no one would seriously appear to place four or five oarsmen on the bench of any great galleys until after it had been tested. For they have found in [ancient] writings that in the time of the Romans there were three oarsmen rowing on each bench. It is found also in Vegetius' *de re militari* when he deals with naval warfare, that certain ships that were called *laburnae*,[3] had in former times a single rank of oarsmen and scarcely ever more than two: by other suitable measures, a third, fourth and fifth level was added to the oarage. Nor, it is said, did this seem to anyone to be enormous, since they are referred to in ancient battles as having come together in far greater ships, so that they were sometimes drawn up six or more in order.

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[1] The meaning of this passage is not clear.

[2] The Parigium was a stormy area of the Mediterranean Sea off the coast of Egypt (Du Cange).

[3] N.P. Milner, tran., *Vegetius: Epitome of Military Science* (Liverpool, 1993), 133. The ships were named after the Liburni from the Illyrian coast, who contributed ships and crews to Octavian at the battle of Actium. The only ancient handbook of military matters to survive into the Middle Ages, when it was much consulted and cited. Little is known of Vegetius. He was a Christian and an imperial official who wrote c. 400.

Chapter 6: What shape ships ought to be, which can be useful for crossing the sea as well as commendable in the business of the land of Egypt

This is the manner and form of ships that will be found most useful for the above-mentioned business. Firstly, galleys with oars and wooden ships with the same, in the shape that they are currently [built] in Venice, are fundamentally suitable for crossing the sea; namely great galleys carrying heavy loads, which are much assisted with oars: also galleys of medium size are [made] good and useful with oars: nonetheless, another form of galley likewise being capable, suitable and swift can be adapted so that they are good with oars **(p. 58)**. These galleys can be utterly adapted and improved and especially those that require the assistance of oars. In each of which there ought to be a castle of middling size that extends for about 20 feet in length and have the same width, as far as the galley, in which the castle ought to be, allows: and it should be built to sufficient height that men on benches and armed men do not have to stoop to pass round it. In the prow of any galley there should be other instruments of war, as the army is accustomed to and skilled [at using], by placing *pertichetas* or *furcatas*[1] from the stern around the sides of the ship to the prow, according as they are accustomed to be. Likewise [there should be] crossbows on the tops of the benches in such number as seems necessary and useful. The castle, catapults, crossbows and other instruments of war ought to be arranged so that they may be taken down and put in place according to what might be necessary. Those galleys that are twice the size can be opened at the stern for the carrying of horses as seems necessary and useful. Indeed, from the fleet great galleys may be disarmed as necessary for the transport of food, munitions and horses to the army as required. One ship in particular is excellent for carrying food and timber, that is the *tareta*[2] that the Genoese presently use in Pera,[3] both for carrying many things and for supplying themselves with few ships; although they cross the open sea quickly with full sail, the long ships are better at following the north star[4] and at maintaining their course with a contrary wind than shorter ships.

1 Literally rods and forks, both *perticheta* or *perdiceta (petraria)* and f*urcata* were types of catapult. The latter, according to Du Cange, mentioned only by Sanudo.

2 *Tareta, taretta* or *tarid* was a decked round ship propelled by oars, a merchant vessel smaller than the *bucius* or *buss*. See F.C. Lane, *Venetian Ships and Shipbuilding of the Renaissance* (Baltimore, 1934), 4–6; F. Brooks, *The English Naval Forces, 1199–1272* (London, 1932), 74.

3 From 1265, a Genoese trading enclave across the Golden Horn from Constantinople. In 1303 it was ceded to Genoa and became a fortified town virtually independent of Genoa capable of raising its own fleet when required.

4 *Orsa: Ursa*, the constellations of the Great and Little Bear.

Chapter 7: Concerning ships that are suitable for conveying foodstuffs and other supplies to the army both by sea and by river and of the form of ships for fresh water useful for prosecuting the business in hand

There are two ships that the army will need for sailing up the river that can maintain sufficient speed with full sail for breaking bridges on the river as well as stakes and chains. From those ships that sail in fresh water, it seems to me possible to single out those which men on the River Po have mastered easily and prefer above others, especially the ships of Plactura[1] that are used all along the River Po for carrying goods: but the heads of the ships ought not to be built so large as the aforesaid. But with horns or heads increased in fresh water, their bodies ought to be made longer. Among the placta or ships of Plactara [sic] they ought to be as large as they can be for transporting horses and building materials: always bearing in mind that they should be able to help themselves, and should be suitable for oars, having a spadula and rudders at each head: and also, with the exception of the stern and prow, there should be no doubt that they ought to be covered completely, so that suitable men assigned to the office of rowing with oars shall be preserved unharmed from the arrows of those lying in ambush: by placing horses in the hold of the ship, and above them by building artificial castle upon castle; and also by carrying machines prepared for the whole army and crossbowmen should be regularly stationed there. Always care should be taken that the ship, the castles and the machines are well looked after; by having smaller ships than the aforesaid and a yet smaller ship than these smaller ships so that they can freely enter should the river be cut off in any place and the depth of the water become shallow. Especially these small ships can be good and useful in many instances and especially for guarding and safe keeping of the great ships, so that those of the enemy who know how to swim under water cannot enter the river; when they send themselves in whatever way to pierce the Christian fleet: although they scarcely dare to do this or bring it about because as has been said the current is very swift and strong and also on account of the crocodiles that live in the river. Especially the army might become restless that some of the ships are *incamata* or *barbotata*, which is covered in hides **(p. 59)**, so that the men should not fear the stones from machines. Ships brought together in great numbers seem to be of great use to the army. The sturdiest and largest ships are especially serviceable to the army, when ordered to bring machines that are fit for the needs of the army. They seem to be both necessary and useful for this business. And also there may be as many ships covered with hides as a defence against fire as may seem necessary. To terrify the enemy the ships, both at sea and on the river, ought to glitter with different colours and pictures and to have banners and standards on sterns and prows, with pennants placed along the sides as may seem appropriate. And so that nothing should be lacking in this business, so that a praiseworthy end and the best conclusion be brought about, it should be ensured that in the whole army and especially on water,

[1] Piacenza?

flutes, trumpets, horns, shawms,[1] and all musical instruments that make a great noise should be stationed in the ships in great numbers so that by their sound they excite the spirits of their friends to fight, by rousing their spirits and by terrifying the treacherous enemy.

Chapter 8: The different types of weapons that the Christians will need both for defending themselves and attacking the enemy

It is especially fitting that weapons should be issued sufficient for the needs of the soldiers, both for their own defence and for harming the enemy. First, it is essential that every armed man should have a military cloak,[2] suitable and handy for carrying things. Second, on a ship at sea there ought to be enough cuirasses[3] with collars and iron gloves[4] that can be issued to all men or at least two parts of them: although when sailing on the river the ship should be completely covered as mentioned above and half the men so equipped should be sufficient. Third, it is necessary that each soldier should have an iron helmet or other light arms for protecting the head. Fourth, it is essential that there be enough shields in the army for each man to have one and to use at the appropriate time and place: which shields should be of good quality and light and used after the Catalan fashion.[5] The reason is this: if at any time it is necessary to go ashore without armour the Saracens are the sort of people who spring out suddenly with many people: so by putting on armour and by leaving quickly a great danger can be avoided in coming and going, as well as the task itself which brings danger; as well as on account of illness that the sufferer may not easily shake off. From which it follows that if each man has been issued with mantle, iron helmet, shield and collar with an iron glove on the right, then, while they serve, they will have a good chance of resisting the boldness of the infidels: nonetheless they should wear something bearing a light that can be clearly seen and good and stout shoes and all things that are useful for extinguishing fire. Out of the weapons that are suitable for attack, he may lack a sword. First, strong men from the army are masters of the iron staff. Second, crossbowmen should have two crossbows, one stronger than the other: they can use the stronger one in such a place from which it should not be removed: it will be required by the weaker in land travel and retreat. Third, because the said ship will be strengthened by ronconibus,[6] and long lances, and lances with hooks on their head and especially in the prow. Fourth, there ought to be short lances and javelins and stones in large quantities on each ship. Fifth, ships should have iron hooks

1 *Tibiae, tubae, bucinae, ceramillae*.

2 *Zuppa*.

3 *Coratia*.

4 *Cyrotheca*; probably a manifer is intended here.

5 See Marti de Riquer, *L'Arnès del Cavaller: Armes i armadures catalanes medieval* (Barcelona, 1968), plates 161 and 169.

6 A type of lance like a halberd.

with iron chains attached so that when the sailors see that they are prevailing over the enemy, they may capture their ships with the said hooks and not allow them to escape. Sixth, it may prove useful on ships on fresh water that large crossbows with winches[1] be included in their armaments; also crossbows with stirrups[2] may seem useful to the captain of these people and with which each ship should be equipped **(p. 60),** not least by engaging other warriors and likewise may be useful on the galleys. There ought to be huge numbers of archers and especially of that sort commonly known as *salsadores*. Seventh, the said ship needs the construction of wooden [great] crossbows or springalds[3] as well as other machines and the most powerful of them that can fire further, and they are made stronger within, that is reinforced with all those things that men need for working. Eighth, it is useful and good that there should be wood in the prow of each great galley, long and supported on both sides with iron so that there should be protection for the ship and the sailors from blows as when battering rams pulverize the walls of a besieged city. Ninth, the ship needs small jars full of vitriol and also many pots full of soft soap: between the jars and pots may be other iron instruments which are commonly called *Trivulgi* and any other implements for lighting fire and shooting arrows at an appropriate place and time together with anything that the experience of the soldiers suggests. All of these weapons the captain-general of the army ought to have and to hold in great quantities, because much will be broken, thrown away and lost at the hands of the men.

Chapter 9: The sort of people that the captain ought to choose and what sort of food ought to be distributed to them so that good discipline and right order should be maintained

Especially it should be referred humbly to Your Holiness that the captain of the Christian army or lord of the same by the high grace of Your Holiness, should take due care in regulating the soldiers: so that those who will be listed on the rostra of the army as well as those who will remain at home for any reason, shall be ordered by the captain or Lord in thousands, hundreds, fifties and tens, and to each division he should appoint a lieutenant or head and give the appropriate rank to them so that the efforts of his Highness can be seen to be put in place. And not only these things, but the Christian army should have a leader by their side and in their midst: but also he should take care that rations are assigned to his men in all [divisions]: namely it should be assigned according to their need and station to those who will receive and have a stipend in the army as well as to others who shall appear worthy to his magnificence: lest the aforesaid rations are snatched secretly from his men.

[1] *balista grossa a turno.* See Ralph Payne-Gallwey, *The Crossbow* (London, 1903, reprinted 1995), 262 and 264 for illustrations.

[2] *ballista a pesarola*. See Payne-Gallwey, *op.cit*,77–80, 134, and 151 for illustrations.

[3] *Springardae*, see Jean Liebel, *Springalds and Great Crossbows* (Royal Armouries Monograph 5, Leeds, 1998).

Further, I believe that it will be good and useful to the preservation and promotion of the expedition if the captain and his council ensure that in every galley, beyond the general distribution, all essentials for those on the galleys, especially food and clothing are offered for sale at a just price and no one sells anything unless authorized by the captain and his council. Indeed, trust in the sale of these items [is essential]: so that it is so a certain sort of person is required: and after the stipends have been given out, payments should be open so that no one is cheated or troubled with debt. Indeed, all usefulness that proceeds from the sale of these items should be completely turned over to the common good of the expedition; no other things are more important to be set in order. For in the exercise of arms right order surpasses all other things.

Chapter 10: The amount of food and what means the Venetians use of distributing food to their galley crews and of the number of men, the times, weights and measures and how these can be accurately valued

Therefore, it should be noted that each day 1.5 pounds of biscuits[1] should be given to each man; reckoning 30 days in each month, and 12 months in every year of which each one has 30 days. However, there are five-and-a-quarter days more in any year and so reckoning leap years as part of ordinary years.[2] Again, it must be borne in mind that a sextarium of biscuits is reckoned at 90 pounds: but when made from good grain a sextarium can well weigh 105 pounds; this is 6 parts of a pound more than that used by the Venetians **(p. 61)**. And so every sextarium is equivalent to 90 pounds and 6 sextaria, 7 pounds and 10.5 ounces of grain make up the allowance for 1 man for a whole year, reckoned at 12 months and 5-and-a-quarter days. Altogether these sextaria are 547 pounds, 10.5 ounces, of which pounds of a Venetian sextarium it is reckoned everywhere that 1,000 are equal to 6 cantaras[3] from Apulia and Naples. Also every one of the stipendaries should be given 1 measure of wine every day of the month, which is a quarter part of 1 pound; each pound is divisible into multiples of 70 according to the measure commonly called biconcia.[4] Indeed, four biconcia completely fills one Venetian amphora; one amphora is equivalent to one cask and to three from Naples.[5] So, each man should receive in 1 year, 1 biconcia, 21 pounds and a quarter and 16 parts of a pound weighed at Venice.

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1 *Panis biscocti* or biscuit bread was twice-baked bread without yeast or salt, see Joan Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England* (London,2 006), 109-10 for a discussion of its growing popularity in seventeenth-century England, somewhat behind continental tastes.

2 I.e. quarter of a day extra each year.

3 Lit, the hundredweight varying between 100 to 250 *libbere.*

4 *Bigontium* in the text. R. Zupko, *Italian Weights and Measures* (Philadelphia, 1981), 26–28. Liquid measure at Venice equivalent 128 *boccali* or ¼ *anfora*.

5 Veges = veggia, see Zupko,*op.cit.*

Also one ounce of cheese should be given to each of the foresaid every day. So this comes to 30 pounds 5.25 ounces for the whole year. Likewise, each of them should be given every 30 days, 3 pounds of salt pork and just as many ounces of the same. So, for the whole year this comes to 29 pounds and 6 ounces, with 4 helpings of the same. Also, beans should be distributed or any other vegetable, 40 parts of 1 small barrel,[1] according to the measure used at Venice. And so that this is clear, it should be known that four quartarolae make one quart of which four quarts make one Venetian sextarium. And three Venetian sextaria are equivalent to one saume[2] from Apulia, both for vegetables and for grain. And one man ought to have in one whole year one half a sextarium, one quartarola and five-fortieths and a quarter of a quartarola of vegetables.

Concerning the rations of ten men

For 1 whole day 10 men ought to have 15 pounds of biscuits: for 30 days, five sextaria and for 12 months, 60 sextaria. And for 5.25 days, 78 pounds and 9 ounces should be given to them. In wine they should receive 2.5 pounds for each whole day: for 30 days, 1 biconcia and 5 pounds, and for 12 months, 12 biconcia and 9 pounds, and for 5.25 days, 13 pounds and 1/8. The same need 13 ounces of meat for each day; for 30 days, 32.5 pounds, for 12 months, 390 pounds. Moreover, for five-and-a-quarter days they need five pounds and nine ounces. As above ten ounces of cheese ought to be given to the named men everyday: for 30 days, 25 pounds, for 12 months, 300 pounds and for 5.25 days, 4 pounds, 4.5 ounces. For vegetables the men should receive a quarter part of 1 quartarola each day: for 30 days, one quarter and three-and-a-half quartarolas, and for 12 months, 5 sextaria and 10 quartarolas. And for 5.25 days, 1 quartarola and the fourth part of a quartarola with 16 parts of one quartarola should be issued to these men.

Concerning the rations of one hundred men

One hundred men, so that they can make a suitable crossing of the sea together in one ship, should have for each day 1 sextarium and two-thirds of a sextarium of grain assessed by the sextarium of 90 pounds: for 30 days, 50 sextaria and for 12 months, 600. And for 5.25 days they need 8 sextaria and 37.5 pounds. The same men should receive 25 pounds of wine for 1 day: for 30 days 10 biconcia with 50 pounds, and for 12 months 32 amphorae with 40 pounds. Moreover, for 5.25 days [they should have] 1 biconcia and 60 pounds. Likewise, one fieta[3] of wine should be given to them. Afterwards, these men will require eight-and-a-quarter pounds of cheese for each day **(p. 62)**. For 30 days, 250 pounds of cheese and for 12 months, 3,000: moreover for the 5.25 days they should receive 43 pounds and

[1] *Quartarola.*

[2] *salma.*

[3] Liquid measure of unknown quantity, according to Du Cange only recorded in Sanudo.

9 ounces of cheese. They need 10 pounds and 10 ounces of meat for 1 day: for 30 days, 325 pounds and for 12 months, 3,900 pounds. Moreover, for the 5.25 days they should be given 56 pounds and 10.5 ounces. Likewise they need 2.5 quartarolas of beans each day: for 30 days, 4 sextaria and 11 quartarolas: for 12 months, 56.25 sextaria. And for the five days and a quarter [they require] four quarters, one quartarola and an eighth.

Concerning the rations of one thousand men

One thousand men should receive 16 sextaria and 60 pounds of biscuits each day: for 30 days, 500 sextaria: for 12 months, 6,000. Moreover, for 5.25 days, 87 sextaria and 45 pounds should be weighed out for these men. Three beconcia and 40 pounds of wine should be allowed these men for one whole day: for 30 days, 31 amphorae, and 3 beconcia with 40 pounds: for 12 months, 231 amphorae, 1 beconcia and 50 pounds. And for the 5.25 days they should receive a quart and 18 beconcia. Eighty-three pounds 4 ounces of cheese should be shared out to these men for 1 day: for 30 days, 300,000: and for 5.25 days, 437.5 pounds. They need 108 pounds 4 ounces of meat for each day. For 30 days, 3250 pounds of meat and for 12 months, 39,000 pounds. And for 5.25 days they should receive 568 pounds 9 ounces. The said men need 1 sextarium and 2.75 quartarolas of beans per day: for 30 days, 46 sextaria, 2.75 quartarolas: for 12 months, 562.5 sextaria; and for 5.25 days, 7 sextaria and 3.25 quararolas should be weighed out.

Concerning the rations of ten thousand men

For 1 day 10,000 men ought to be given 166 sextaria, 60 pounds of biscuits: for 30 days, 5,000 sextaria: for 12 months, 60,000 sextaria: and for 5.25 days, 875 sextaria. Likewise, for 1 day they should be given 8 amphorae, 3 beconcia and 50 pounds of wine: for 30 days, 267 amphorae, 3 beconcia and 30 pounds: for 12 months, 3214 amphorae, 1 beconcia and 10 pounds and for 5.25 days, 47 amphorae, 3 beconcia and 25 pounds should be measured out. These men need 833 pounds and 4 ounces of cheese each day: for 30 days, 25,000: for 12 months, 300,000: and for 5.25 days, these men will ask for 4365 pounds. Also, for 1 day they should be given 1,083 pounds, 4 ounces of meat: for 30 days, 32,500 pounds: for 12 months, 390,000. Moreover, for 5.25 days, 5,800 and 6 or 7.5 pounds should be weighed out to these 10,000 men for 1 day. They will also need 15 sextaria, 2.5 quarters of beans per day: for 30 days, 468 sextaria and 3 quarts: for 12 months, 5,625 sextaria: and for 5.25 days, they should be given 81 sextaria, three quarts and 1.5 quartarolas.

Concerning the rations of one hundred thousand men

One hundred thousand men need 1,666 sextaria of biscuits for 1 day: for 30 days, 50,000 sextaria of the said bread: for 12 months, 600,000 sextaria: and for 5.25 days, 8750 sextaria **(p. 63).** Eighty-nine amphorae, 1 beconcia and 10 pounds of wine should be served to 100,000 men for 1 day: for 30 days, 2678 amphorae, 2 beconcia and 20 pounds: for 12 months, 32,142 amphorae, 3 beconcia and 30

pounds: and for 5.25 days, 474 amphorae. And 8333 pounds, 4 ounces of cheese should be given out to these men each day: for 30 days, 150,000: for 12 months, 3,000,000:[1] and for 5.25 days, 43,750 pounds should be weighed out to these men. Besides they will need 10,833 pounds, 4 ounces of salt meat each day: for 30 days, 325,000 [pounds]: for 12 months, 3,900,000 [pounds]: and for 5.25 days, they will need 62,875 pounds. In addition they should be given 156 sexteria and 1 quarter of beans for one day: for 30 days, 4,687.5: for 12 months, 56,250: and for 5.25 days, 1 quartarola of beans should be issued to these men.

The means of distributing the same

The scribes of the galleys will hand out all these things to the men. First, the biscuits should be weighed out and given to the men for one, two, three or four days, as it seems that the men can better keep them: the law of wine permits that it should be weighed out daily to the men. Second, cheese should be given to the men for 8 or 15 days. Third, salt meat should be distributed in nine-ounce portions for each man every week as it is said: and the division should be done by those appointed to the task, who should divide the week into five days seeing that the aforesaid distributors give three ounces of meat to the men on Sunday. On four other days that is Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, they divide the aforesaid meats by halving that which they will have brought each man of the aforesaid people on the Sunday immediately preceding, which meats are in fact cooked with vegetables. Although all the people who are on the galley are allowed to have it on the day of cooking, only half of the aforesaid people partake in these meats. Indeed, the other half will eat meats next in order of time, nor do those who had eaten meats on the day immediately preceding partake with them, however much there may be of what was cooked for all on the first day let them have as said. And by this means they should have meat three times a week and five should share in the preparation of the meat. On the other days, that is Friday and Saturday, they should cook vegetables and the vegetable water[2] should be given to each man who is on the galley. And if it should happen that the vigil of some great feast day coincides with the day that the meat is given out, the men should be given vegetables and give up the meat until the coming feast day itself: and they should eat vegetables as they are accustomed to do on Friday and Saturday. And it should be understood that each of the galleys should have one cook who should be responsible to cook once each day for all the men on the galley. He also receives vegetables for cooking from the scribes and meat from those especially appointed so that he can prepare it for his men for the following day as mentioned above. And for the loading and distributing of these items three men should be appointed, of whom one is in the stern, one in the waist and the third in the prow [of the galley]. And there should be other professional seamen with these three men, when rations are distributed, so that each man receives his share. Nonetheless, the distributors

1 The 30 days figure should be CCL not CL as in the Bongar's text.

2 *lixatum.*

should be checked at some time: but this is true if all remains in common, because it is said of sustenance that he who is the captain of the galley [should ensure that] each should have his due and especially to the captain or lord of the whole armament to whom the task of implementing justice is delegated. And, if any should ask it, are not the people able to make the crossing comfortably on this portion? I reply that he can [do so] suitably when they have received ample bread to eat, in such a way that they keep it for a suitable time and keep the bread that has been given to each of them in 15- or 12-ounce portions each day **(p. 64)**. Also, I have been in a fleet in which only nine ounces [of bread] was given to each man, but that is the most extreme circumstance: but with the crisis over, at that time and place, all the men should be given money or something else by the commander: although the men might purchase wine and food with their own wages as it seems convenient and desirable at that place and time, until they reach a place where they can receive [rations again]. At that time they should receive in place of meat and cheese, a fortieth of the price of the other food.

Concerning the price for which supplies ought to be found reasonably
In the first place it is convenient that note should be taken of the small money of Venice.[1] For 1 Venetian silver grosso is worth 32 small Venetian denari. So 7.5 grossi amount to 20 little soldi and 20 soldi grossi to the sum of 32 little pounds and so on. Biscuits are weighed by the sextarius of 90 pounds, worth 32.5 little soldi, each pound being worth 3 or 4 denari. One man requires a pound-and-a-half of biscuits each day that amounts to 6.5 denari: in 30 days, this is 45 pounds of biscuit worth 16 soldi and 3 little denari: in 12 months for 6 sextarii biscuits, 6 soldi grossi, a grosso and 4 little denari. An amphora of wine weighs 15 pounds and 15 soldi and costs 9 soldi grossi of Venice, 10 grossi and 9. A bigoncia[2] of the said wine will be worth 3 pounds, 18 soldi and 9 little denari: and in this manner a pound of wine will be worth 13.5 denari. Four pounds of wine should be distributed to each man daily, which is worth 3-and3/8 denari: in a month 3 grossi and 5.25 denari: for 12 months, 3 soldi grossi, 1 grosso and 31 denari. One thousand pounds[3] of salt meat costs 50 pounds of small denari, that is 31 soldi grossi and here grossi. A man's daily ration is 1 ounce and 9/30 of meat that costs a 1/5 and a 1/2 of 1 denaro: in a month for 39 ounces a grosso and 7 small denari: in 12 months, 39 pounds of meat should be given that costs 14 grossi and 20 denari. 1,000 pounds of cheese is reckoned in 50-pound weight. Each man

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[1] As explained in Peter Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange* (London, 1986), 8: 'In 1201 Venice was the first state to strike grossi, initially known as ducati…but later as matapans. After the creation of the grosso, two concurrent systems of money of account came into use, the one based on the old little denaro (piccolo), the other on the great denaro (grosso). In both systems the soldo means a dozen denari, and the lira a score of dozens.'

[2] *Bigontium/bigoncia* is a quarter of an amphora or four quarts.

[3] *Miliare = migliaro*, a Venetian measure made up of 1,000 libbre or 40 miri or 10 cantari.

requires an ounce of cheese a day that costs 1 denari: in 30 days for 2.5 pounds, 30 denari. In 12 months, for 30 pounds and 30 soldi that comes to 11.25 grossi. A sextarius of beans may come to 12.5 grossi. Sixteen portions that are called quartarolas will be worth 25 denari. Each man requires 1/40 part of a quartarola each day that costs 5/8 of 1 denaro; in a month 18 denari and 0.75 of 1 denaro: in 12 months, 18 soldi and 9 little denari which are 8 grossi and a denaro. Wherefore the expenses of 1 man for bread, wine, meat, cheese and beans for 1 day come to a total of 12 and 4/5 denari: in 30 days, 12 grossi. In 12 months the sum comes to 12 soldi grossi. And so with respect to the sixth part of a biscuit that is beyond our powers to complete and also to that that will be completed from the bran, and by considering the advantages, with the Lord favouring, that may be found in that place, by working out the cost by no means exactly, it seems to me, that for the price above-mentioned the aforesaid items ought reasonably to be found. And, because we have taken a fuller account of the other matters, we have not taken into account the five-and-a-half days extra in any year.

Chapter 11, concerning the number of ships and their shape in which the Christian army will go to the coast of Egypt to capture the land and how they should be ordered by the captain ***(p. 65)***

And so that the said business may be put in execution, Most Holy Father, it is fitting that the aforementioned captain, when he leaves the West, should have 50 galleys, in the forms immediately aforesaid. That is 20 galleys of great size that require oars to propel them, and 20 others of middling size and 10 galleys besides of a shape that may be adapted to be assisted by oars. Indeed, if it is decided that four oarsmen to each bench should row each galley, as recounted above in Chapter 5, only 40 galleys will be required, divided up in the manner and form as may be found in the fourth part of that chapter: the form of which galleys is this. First, each one of them that are of the greater size and shape ought to be 23 paces[1] and 2 feet[2] long. Second, the opening of each of them ought to be 15.5 feet wide. Third, the superstructure ought to be seven feet and three digits high, having a base of nine-and-a-half feet. Fourth and last, the main prow ought to be nine-and-a-half feet high: the stern ought to be ten-and-half feet high. Of those that are the second sort, they ought to be 23 paces and 2 feet long: the opening 14.5 feet wide and 3 of them ought to be open: and they ought to be 7 feet and 2 digits high, up to 3 under cover: and to have 9.5 feet at the bottom: And the prow should be nine-and-a-half feet high and the stern ten-and-a-half feet. Fifth, the shape of the lesser galleys completes the list and they measure as follows: each in length ought to be 23 paces and 1 foot: in the opening 14.5 feet ought to be open: the covered area ought to be 6.5 feet high: and at base 9.5 feet: and the prow should

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[1] *Passus* roughly five feet, equivalent to 6 or 7 palms.

[2] The *Pes*, made up of 12 *once*, was the standard measure of length, just short of an English foot at 113/4 inches.

be 9 feet high and the stern only 10. Moreover, the oarsmen of the galleys can row better in *quartarols* and especially where oars are placed in *quintaroles*[1] in larger [galleys] and especially useful where oarsmen are well directed, because indeed there may be galleys larger than the great galleys mentioned above: and because they may be [made] from much better wood and held together with better [wooden] nails, especially from *pustica*[2] wood that is better at withstanding the stresses and strains of rowing. And two ships [should have] ten *tarets* that the Genoese use in Constantinople and in Pera that was called Galata in antiquity. As said above, it also seems good and useful to have five much bigger galleys without oars for carrying loads backwards and forwards such as men and their horses and supplies and wood and other munitions. All should proceed to the Egyptian coast without hindrance, and once there, as noted above, they should boldly establish a bridge-head: by taking with them prefabricated timbers[3] for constructing ships suitable for sailing on the fresh water that they will find there and may be similar to the rivers in the West, as discussed above. The *tarets* and the five huge galleys should be always ready for going hither and thither carrying loads necessary for the army leaving the aforesaid 40 or 50 galleys,[4] plus the said 2 ships, to the army ready to sail on sea and river so that the enemies of the Catholic faith may be increasingly terrorized by the Christian army and harmed. Truly those who will have seized a foothold on the Egyptian coast in the first year, as has been said, and the said army will have had adequate shipping for the river, the aforesaid 20 galleys of great size will be for transporting those things essential for the army as will be carried by other unarmed ships.[5]

Chapter 12: The time, order and effort of cutting wood for shipbuilding; of keeping the same and that this may be more speedily and greatly done for the oars of the common ships ***(p. 66)***

And yet that no defect should be found in the building of a ship on account of which the army might suffer any loss or hindrance, the seekers and searchers should be clearly instructed by those who know about such things on account of constant experience in making wood from cut-down trees and from those who make ships. To be sure all agree that wood should not be cut from the woods in March or April when the sap rises in trees: but in July and August and especially in November and December, the wood is more perfectly cut than at any other time of the year: and from the fifteenth moon till the twenty-second moon nothing should be cut. And given that this naval timber is cut at these times, they say that ships should not be made from it immediately: but first it should be piled in planks and

1 Four and five banks of oars respectively.

2 *Pustica* a timber for making oars possibly from Istria.

3 *Lignimina praeparata.*

4 *L galeis vel XL.*

5 Meaning of this phrase is unclear.

allowed to dry out for a time: because if ships are built of green wood or timbers, the natural humours dry up completely, the planks do not remain tight and they are not completely water-tight and when there is a storm they easily fall apart at sea, at least according to common thought. That is the tow easily recedes from the middle of the planks and there is scarcely anything more dangerous to ships than ships slower in motion.[1] But allowing: these things to be true, nonetheless it is more useful to build ships in the grand manner with green planks and timbers still green and semi-dry: after they will have dried out then the beams can be accurately put together and the whole ship put in due shape: because by this means, as the experts say, the wood is better adapted and arranged both for ships and for sailing. For green woods are more easily worked and put together and in the double thickness of planks they are stronger and more compact than singly, thereto the first arrangement [of planks] is [joined] to the second. And for the preservation and longevity of a fleet equipped with oars, so that it may be swift, especially of a fleet of galleys crossing the sea, it requires much sea squill[2] in this manner. First for the greater [vessel] the whole time of two summer months when the heat is more intense: and for three months in winter, those galleys that need attention should be burned once, scraped and repaired: and underneath the outside should be cleaned by hand, under the water line as opportunity presents itself. Any five galleys need 100 pounds of sea squill to administer the said protection, indeed 100 pounds should be made available each month. However, after the passing of a month, even a week, after the galleys have been keel hauled, along both the left and right sides so that the outsides under the waterline are wiped clean with pig's leather: by such means the sea squill does not go away from the ships. The galleys should be cleaned and repaired twice a year by order, with an unarmed ship crossing the sea for transporting heavy loads. And again the fleet for fresh water, so that it may be swift, should be preserved in the same way and should be cleaned and repaired and also sea squill applied by hand. For certain it should be known that a fresh water ship lasts longer than one in salt water: nor are they susceptible to damage from *vermis biscialis*:[3] and also a ship can be totally devastated by the said *vermis biscialis* and picks up these worms in moving sea and not in salt water that does not move in any course. If it touches any ship that lacks sea squill it cannot be keel hauled, but must be scoured harshly as in the ships mentioned above where *cappe*[4] and a distillation of herbs should be applied as often as seems necessary and within

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1 Meaning of this phrase is unclear.

2 Sepum or sea squill (*Urginea maritime*), a common Mediterranean plant; the red bulbed variety yields a poison that kills creatures unable to vomit and is a major antidote to sea worms. The root or bulb was pulverized to produce the mixture for application.

3 It is unclear what variety of ship worm this is. Ship worms are found in all seas and bore holes in wood turning the cellulose in wood into food. They are molluscs affected by variations in weather, depth of sea and salinity. They cannot survive in brackish water as Sanudo noted. The best-known ships worm is *Teredo navalis*.

4 Meaning unclear – perhaps a scraping device.

a month. And similarly it should be ordered that what a ship is allowed to do and have to hand should be attended to in the summer rather than in the winter because in summer it more quickly causes damage. By hook or by crook the destruction of a ship should be avoided by taking all steps to preserve a ship for the business in hand and so that a ship may be swift **(p. 67)**. And if a ship should then not be fit for purpose it should be towed to a place where the damage can be repaired according to the advice of native princes and commons, which place where a ship is repaired is commonly called the Arsenal. There are other reasons for the ship to be preserved, although it cannot be preserved indefinitely because it is constantly at the mercy of the sun, the rain and water.

Chapter 13: Other ships that the army will need for carrying supplies and other things necessary for the crusading venture: concerning the names of places and the quality of victuals that can be had and brought away from them: by showing reasonably that that fleet which belongs to the Holy Church of God may be proved neither opportune nor useful

And although all these things that have been discussed above ought first to be considered,[1] it is expedient, blessed Father, for the execution of that business, to have another fleet, in addition to the one mentioned in the preceding chapter: seeing that praise is gained not for the beginning and the middle course; but, the beginning and the mean are commended for a praiseworthy and successful conclusion. This fleet should carry supplies, wood and other essentials to the aforesaid people in great quantity for the crusade venture as mentioned above, so that the Agarenes, who a short time ago invaded the Christian states overseas, may be crushed without any delay and be separated from those fostering the evil of Machomet. It should be clear that this fleet is distinct from the one mentioned above [and] it must be understood that it is reckoned at a much larger number [and that] no official from the Curia should be appointed to control it and for this reason. For if the island of Crete is governed in the manner in which it now is, cereals and other things that are not indigenous to the island can be transported there by the Venetians and willingly collected for the army of Your Holiness so that they can be taken from thence to the coast of Egypt: and, if the Venetians are involved, they will purchase so much grain in Apulia and bring it to Crete to store for your Beatitude. What advantage it brings to the native Venetians, is that they bring the said cereals to Venice from a suitable place nearby following up the prerogative if such should be given to them: since the grain from Apulia is of better quality than that from Crete and makes better flour and is available in greater quantities than that from Crete. Sufficient wine and much cheese[2] can be had from the island together with a very great number of small beasts and wood for burning together

[1] The meaning of *sortiantur* is unclear.

[2] See D. Jacoby, 'Cretan Cheese: A Neglected Aspect of Venetian Medieval Trade', in E. Kittel and T. Madden, eds, *Medieval and Renaissance Venice* (Urbana,1999), 49–68.

with straw and also a great number of Stanbech horns[1] for making the bows of crossbows. All of which things can be said to be virtually on the Egyptian coast that is not far away. And besides from the islands of the Aegean that for a long while have not been raided by the Turks: and beyond that which remains at the present time a great supply of beasts both great and small can be had together with wood and straw that will supplement that from Crete. Besides on the island of Melos which is similar to the other islands of the Aegean [in these respects] many mill stones can be had or at least many stones for grinding which are also extremely useful and necessary for the army. And if it pleases your Mercifulness the Captain of the army should meet with the Turks who live along the coast of Turkey[2] and deal with them as friends and especially with those who rule from Clandeloro to Macri.[3] for money they will bring wood, pitch and a great number of all kinds of animals to Egypt, as I believe in the Most High Creator. Not only that but the island of Cyprus abounds in much corn, wine and beasts or animals both large and small for sending to the army that can be had and brought together. These islands and lands are close to the coasts of Egypt **(p. 68)**. Besides wood and many other things necessary for the army may be had from the island of Negroponte, from the Duchy of Athens and from the Morea. Also in Vlachia corn can be had and other things grow fast. [These can be exported] in great quantity from the port of Halmyros and from the ports of Demetrias and Elada[4] if they can be restored to their former condition since they have been devastated by the Count of Brienne[5] when they were held by the Society of Catalans. Besides, from the land that the Greeks of Constantinople hold at present wood, iron and standing corn can be had together with other restorative things in great quantity: and not only from thence but also from the northern part of the Black Sea where corn can be had in large quantities, sea squill, the hides of cattle and many other essentials. And in the same respect from the land of the Despot of Arta and from the land of Valona and Durazzo and also from the land of Serbia wood can be brought in great quantity, and plenty of other things, and especially oaks with a number of beasts. Moreover,

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[1] This may refer to the indigenous Cretan goat, the kri-kri, that has large curved horns and survives today only in the Samaria Gorge around Omalos.

[2] *In Turchiae maritima*, one of the earliest uses of *Turchia* for Asia Minor.

[3] From Iskanderun to Makriplagi. Makri was ancient Stagira in Thrace on the Aegean Sea.

[4] Amiros, Mithriade,and Ladus were all ports on the Pegaisiac Gulf, north of Euboea. Apart from Halmyros the sites are not securely known. The Catalans burnt Halmyros in 1308 and the destruction must refer to actions before the Battle of Halmyros on March 15 1311 when the Catalan Company annihilated the Frankish army mustered against them and took control of the Duchy of Athens.

[5] Gautier I de Brienne became Duke of Athens in 1308 in succession to his cousin the last de la Roche duke Guy II, who had died childless. He was killed at the battle of Halmyros. His son Gautier II maintained the claim and campaigned in Greece in support of it in 1331. He died at the battle of Poitiers in 1356. The reference is to Gautier I.

from the Kingdom of Sicily, the duchy of Apulia and the principality of Capua much wheat, wine and oil together with salt meats, cheese and fruits from trees abound. Of all these lands, especially of the north shore of the Black Sea it can be said that they are quite close to the coast of Egypt: on account of which it can be reasonably said that while that order is preserved the said army will not need a great number of ships since they will sail with the said ships calling at the said places and can come and go very frequently. And from the land that is called Signa[1] and from other places in Slavonia much wood together with salted meats can be had and brought. From Venice, more than any other part of the world, iron without any doubt, wood especially larch and beech and sextoria of the better [vegetables] are obtained: all of which things are necessary and useful to the said army. From the March of Ancona and Romandiola much wine can be obtained. Your faithful people govern some of these places, if it pleases Your Holiness it might be convenient to appoint a factor or factors, who buy up what might be useful to the army and charter ships as required. And not only in these parts ought this to be done, but also in Pisa, Genoa and Provence and in many other places where it seems appropriate to your Beatitude. And while this should not be made public by Your Holiness, that the aforesaid factors will be in place in the aforesaid lands and places, it can nonetheless be decreed that merchants should make for the Egyptian coast with all speed as soon as the work and payment of the aforesaid can be done. And if it pleases Your Holiness that both of these things be put into full operation the aforesaid business will support the greater good and be brought to conclusion more quickly without any doubt. The way of finding the agents who should be suitable and good men for this business is clear enough. That is in those coastal regions that are inhabited by the Christian faithful, those to whom Your Holiness has committed the charge of the said business, should enquire, seek out and cause enquiries to be made as to who are men of good faith and of good reputation, rich men and wise ones with experience in these matters such as the aforesaid business needs and requires and from them as many men ought to be selected as seems necessary. In other lands and regions where such men cannot be found, men can be sent from the aforesaid parts in numbers that seems sufficient and useful to Your Holiness for carrying out the task: with the certain knowledge that if good agents exist who are suitable to bring the business to a successful conclusion, with the help of the All Powerful, they can be found. In addition it should be announced that whoever wants to carry supplies, wood and other essentials to the army of Your Holiness should be protected wherever they wish to go, return or remain as being faithful and loyal [servants]. It is right and proper that it should be clearly published and caused to be ordained by Your Holiness that wood, victuals and other defensive materials needed by the said army can be taken from any land or place for transport to the Egyptian coast without any payment or toll that may be in force in those lands or places, during the time of this business.

[1] Senj, on the Adriatic coast of Croatia, at the mouth of the Vratnik pass, was a bishopric (Signensis) from 1167.

Besides the army in Egypt needs for its security and perseverance when so many thousands are brought together, about 200,000 Venetian sextaria that amounts to 77 saumes of Apulia;[1] so that an army of 1,000 men can be held together for a long time and can be fed as an urgent necessity **(p. 69)**: they should have what has been shown above, nowhere in the world is this better provided than from the northern shore of the Black Sea. It seems more useful and reasonable that the fleet that will be required for transporting supplies to the army that has been specified to Your Holiness above should be raised by private enterprise rather than be a curial fleet. The reason is clear since the captains of ships are more eager and more resolute in pursuing their own business and also more careful and reliable than in those things that related to the common good of the Church: on account of which it is not to be feared that, with the help of Jesus Christ, the army will suffer from a shortage of ships, because when news of this reaches the ears of merchants they will lay on a superfluity of ships for taking supplies.

Chapter 14: In which it will be shown in what way the clarity and goodness of the air will be known in crossing to the coast of Egypt: and how the goodness of that air is established by taking up the established example of filberts[2] *and concerning the goodness of the waters*

Finally, it is good to know, especially in that part as I shall remark below, that the goodness of the air of the land of Egypt is particularly noticeable: whoever wants to sail to the Egyptian coast either from the West or from parts of Romania should steer for the most part from the cape of the East[3] to the island of Crete: and there they should note the *signa scoliorum*, which are presently called Christiana,[4] which they should see behind them one after the other so that they may sail to Alexandria making the crossing with the help of the mistral and the sirocco. However, on account of the waters running to and fro which flow from east to west in the same parts, they ought to go to the middle of the Parigium,[5] by going a quarter of the wind above the sirocco heading east: after the mid-point of the *parigium* they will be taken straight into Alexandria by the sirocco. The crossing called the Parigium is thought to be about 450 miles: although it is said above that the crossing or *parigium* is 500 miles. And since the island of Crete is strengthened by good air, often however those who sail across the parigium, the closer they get to the Egyptian coast they find themselves more invigorated and know the air to be better, to be changed, to be lighter and clearer and likewise the sky has changed.

1 A measure of capacity equivalent to 275–300 litres.

2 A type of hazelnut so called because it was said to ripen by St Philbert's Day (Aug. 22).

3 *A capite Orientis*= Cape Malea?

4 *Signa scoliorum* are probably the four Dionysades or Paximades islands just wnw of Cape Drepano.

5 Area of the sea between Crete and Egypt, see above, p. 103.

And this is because in winter time on the Egyptian coast it commonly rains and is also temperate: inland as far as Cairo and Babylon and beyond it is accustomed to rain very little so that the land is somewhat humid. From which it is to be believed forthwith and to be seen without any doubt that the Egyptian air may be good and perfect on account of this temperateness: accordingly this can be proved from the case of filberts. For while these [trees] were brought into Egypt, they do have a bad smell and may be wasted in some ways, they may be good or, without any doubt, capable of much improvement on account of the goodness of the air. It should be known that the water found in Egypt is more abundant than any in the world: and proves more useful than them; it has its own office for distributing it. On account of this the said business must not be postponed by any means either for gaining the land and for prising it from infidel hands, it may be, it can be and it should be done, so that they will wish to embrace the cult of God and the Church with all their will, and be placed in a state of peace and tranquility.

Chapter 15: What sort of condition of people for admittance to a stipend of the Holy Roman Church, for the purpose of finishing this business

The people who will receive a stipend from the Holy Church ought to be of this condition and status: namely that in the first place they should be counts and ships' captains who know how to captain a ship and can guide it through fresh and salt waters **(p. 70)**. Again, oarsmen are needed in great numbers and these are always the most numerous group in the fleet and in the army: lest on account of many accidents that can reduce [their numbers], so very often the said fleet is short of oarsmen, they should remain on duty at all times: also scribes ought to be in the said army both for record keeping and for distributing food, and giving out arms and other essentials daily, and carpenters[1] in large numbers too. Among these masters should be retained, men with many skills; also caulkers[2] in great numbers who can make and keep all in repair, as required by the fleet at any time. And so that I may show briefly to Your Holiness the series of tasks, there should be smiths or metalworkers in the army of a sort that are suitable for doing all the metal work that the fleet and the army requires to be done: and likewise the masters in whatever skill by which the fleet and the army may be assisted. The rest of the people, who will be foot soldiers, ought to be crossbowmen and spearmen, so that by land and on the water they may boldly conduct themselves and courageously wear down the enemies of the Christian faith. And so that the said business may be put into effect it is appropriate that there should be in the army priests, Dominicans and Franciscans as well as Carmelites and other secular clerics from whom the soldiers may be instructed in doctrine and good behaviour: so that obedience to

[1] *marangonis*, a Venetian dialect word for carpenter.

[2] *calefatus*; a caulker made a vessel watertight by filling the seams between the planks with oakum.

the All-powerful God, his inner truth and the sacraments of the Church may be conveniently administered by these same men to those who need them.

Chapter 16: Concerning the mode and manner of replenishing the people of the army, the hospital of the same and the provisioning of all: and also of women joined in marriage, the widowhood of the same, and their heirs: and of provision to be made for others

Besides there should be in the aforesaid expedition of the Church that had set out from western places and parts a sufficient stipend for honest men and warriors of the same condition and status as mentioned in the preceding chapter who wish to receive the same and who are carried by the unarmed fleet to the official army and also those who can go more quickly and without delay by another fleet. For in the water-borne army many people will perish on account of the fortunes of war, the usage of the waters by which they are very frequently drowned; also on account of the intolerable exertions that day and night they suffer and from which they become sick and fall ill. And it is possible that the said life does not suit all of these people. By this way and means the said people of the Christians will be able to renew itself and be regenerated: which will be of the greatest benefit, because it will not be established by much more.[1] And the stipend and food allowance that shall be given to the stipendaries should be of such a sort that they may live carefully and honourably; and may obey with a pure heart the commands of the Holy Roman Church and its captain and especially the counts, ship captains or others whom he has appointed to distribute rations, so that they should have no means of harming on account of unlawful profit nor of bringing any detriment to the people of the above-mentioned army. And if anyone or if any of the said counts, ships captains or others responsible for measuring rations should purloin any food or stipend whatsoever, after they have received an adequate stipend themselves, they should be punished in such a way as to serve as an example to others. And by this means the evil of swindlers or fraudsters taking other's things will be held in check and the dues of the powerless protected, so that the aforesaid army may remain intact without harm as long as it shall please your Beatitude. Yet for the aforesaid men of the above-mentioned army the food to be given out by the distributors is for the lesser men of the same quality and quantity as that received by men who have a stipend on the galleys of Venice: as is said in the Chapter 10 of this part. It is especially necessary, useful and good that the first structure to be erected by the army in that land should be a hospital to which the sick might be sent: there all necessary things could be brought to them which are conducive to the safety of their souls, and to the health of their bodies **(p. 71)**. Women who at that time may be present in the army and who are married to soldiers should receive rations at the men's rate. And if any of them whose husband has died formally agree to remain in widows' clothes and shall restrain their passions each shall receive the

[1] The meaning of *nec constabit propterea multo pluri* is unclear.

aforesaid rations: nor will the aforesaid victuals be taken from them. But whoever shall have come in obedience to the above-mentioned Church[1] and may be in the aforementioned army but being weakened in bodily strength, let him have his food according to his stipend that he enjoyed when he was in good health: always taking care that no crime or fraud is committed, seeing that many men willingly set forth yet avoid dangers and work. On account of which all things should be foreseen and strictly according to reason: if the man has lost his life by paying the debt of nature, his wife, children and any others who remain in the said service, should be given the same amount by the distributors, with which the wife, children and others will be fed until they reach adulthood: if the mother breathes her last, as is the order of nature before the children reach adolescence, they should be freely admitted and put in a place where they may be taught goodness, so that having learned the same and being trained in the right inclinations while they approach adolescence they shall acquire knowledge and skills with which they may conduct their life, in the meantime receiving and having financial support. My hope is in God who is the salvation of all those who believe and trust in him, through his mercy and the virtues of your merits, if Your Holiness is deemed worthy to be bathed in the light of truth so that from the beginning to the end, from day to day the business of the Holy Land shall prosper.

Chapter 17: Places and areas from which good sailors may be had for steering ships through fresh and salt waters

Without doubt Holy Father, if anyone asks or wishes to ask where such a great number of sailors can be found who are suitable for sailing in fresh and salt water who are able to bear arms and good at fighting to both it can be briefly replied: namely that wherever the fleet shall be gathered by Your Holiness, sailors suitable for salt water work will gather from their homes and regions and from all parts of Christendom in order to obtain the stipend. So for collecting a fleet and taking it wherever it is needed plenty of men may be had for sailing on salt water. For sailors who know best about sailing on freshwater, it should be humbly explained to Your Holiness, that from the Adriatic Sea the whole of Forum-Julii and the March of Treviso and virtually all of Lombardy and Romaniola are accessible by ship on salt and fresh water. For around the rivers that always contain fresh water a huge number of sailors live and dwell in those provinces. Besides Your Holiness should bear in mind that in those provinces and near them many pools and lakes are to be found: and especially Lake Garda[2] from which the river Mincio[3] flows to form the lake at Mantua and Lake Eridio[4] that is in the diocese of Brescia: Lake

1 *Ecce = ecclesiae.*

2 *Lacus Binacuns.*

3 *flumen Menzum* that forms Lago Superiore on which Mantua stands on a promontory.

4 *Lacus Lisens.*

Sebino[1] on account of its size; Lake Como[2] and Lake Lucarno:[3] also beyond the Alps in Germany there is Lake Lucerne and Lake Constance,[4] which is so large that those living along its shores call it the German Sea: moreover in Burgundy Lake Lausanne[5] is found. And likewise there are other lakes and open water around which good sailors dwell, wonderful in their handling of arms and their warlike natures, and similar activities are carried on in other places that are not distinguished at the present time but where a great number of sailors may be found who are suitable for sailing in fresh water and for bearing arms and are honest men. And although in the aforesaid marshes and places in which there are lakes or lagoons men of this type may be found, nowhere in the many other places of Christendom where waters abound are sailors found in such numbers as in the north, where nations of diverse peoples live who best know how to navigate fresh waters and from which Your Holiness may recruit for the business of Christ's faithful with whose help the matter of Egypt can be brought to a successful conclusion **(p. 72)**.

Chapter 18: The sailors living in the extremities of Germany who ought to be good and useful for advising and assisting the aforesaid [enterprise][6]

Although many of these men are courageous and brave in fighting on salt and freshwater, generally and specifically I would remind Your Holiness that there are still others who will be useful and good for carrying out the said business. Namely in various parts of Germany there are nations of peoples which would be enormously useful and essential in seeing through the expedition to the coast of Egypt: and especially the Tremartii who dwell on the extreme parts of the coasts of the Archbishopric of Bremen; moreover the Frissones who live below the province of Westphalia near the sea: and also the people from the province of Holland and Zeeland[7] who dwell below the county of Gelders and Cleves[8] towards the sea. The reason is this: these people ought to be useful to the task since they live on islands or by the sea coast and near great rivers that flow through their provinces or countries: on account of which they ought to know how best to sail on fresh and salt water and thus sound advice should be sought from them and the best help found. There are, however, in Holsatia and Sclavia, where I have been myself, many rich nobles with much land and many wealthy dwellings near rivers and

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1 *Lacus Margotii.*

2 *Lacus Comi.*

3 *Lacus Logam.*

4 *Lacus Lucerae et Lacus Constantiae.*

5 *Lacus Losannae.*

6 One of the most important chapters in the book with its all-too-brief account of Sanudo's voyage by galley to Bruges sometime around 1317 and the last days of the Latin Empire, for which it is a unique source.

7 *provincia Dulandae ac Sylandae.*

8 *comitatu Gellerae atque Clevae.*

marshes: namely Hamburg, Lübeck, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, Greifswald and Stettin:[1]from which can be made a large gathering of good men: and not only from there but from the kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden and Norway:[2] since in these kingdoms many people are dwellers on the sea shore or on islands, from which a large number of strong and able mariners can be supplied, all of whom will be useful to the matter in hand: and there are in that region many other provinces or lands besides that are not named here. From which I praise and advise to the piety of Your Holiness with as much reverence as I can that some from these peoples and not only from them but from similar nations throughout Christendom, from wherever they may be had in any quantity who can bring sound and good advice to bear on the Egyptian business and may be sent out with the army: since many Catholic sailors live around the ocean sea as well as the Mediterranean. Already I had finished the present chapter, when coming by sea in an armed galley from Venice to Bruges[3] in Flanders, there I saw with my own eyes, that the coast of Germany, where the said port lies, are very like our coast in Venice: and I found the inhabitants of that land to be very brave and warlike and many of them are sailors and others are farmers, all of whom are active and skilled and whose work is essential, and there were others with a great deal of money; and what is more praiseworthy is their very great devotion to the business of the Holy Land. Those who are best suited for the recovery of the land of Egypt, as I believe, should co-operate with the Venetians; just as formerly in that Crusade when Constantinople was captured by the Count of Flanders and other barons and nobles from France and Burgundy and the Marquis of Montferrat with the help of the Venetians; the same Germans with the Venetians and the others acquitted themselves in a most praiseworthy fashion.[4] The friendship then made between the count, barons and nobles on the one part and the Venetians on the other was great indeed, which happy memory has carried down to their heirs: nor without cause, because after the city was taken and the death of the said count, there were many successors until at last the Lord Baldwin, then a young man, succeeded to the Empire of Constantinople, it was in a viable state and had been strengthened by oath from the daughter of the

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1 *Amberg…Lubec,Visimar, Rostoc, Xundis, Guspinal, Sectin*.Sanudo lists the towns in order going from west to east. The identities of Stralsund and Griefswald are uncertain but likely. Stettin is modern Szezecin.

2 *De Regnis Datiae, Suetiae, et Norweiae*.

3 *Ad portum Clusae in Flandriam.* This was presumably a state galley in the Flanders flotilla and suggests that he was on official business as well as any personal matters.

4 A reference to the Fourth Crusade and the capture of Constantinople on 12 April 1204. Baldwin of Flanders was elected the first Latin Emperor on 9 May. The Bulgarians captured him in April 1205 and his death in captivity was confirmed in July 1206. The descent passed through his sister Yolanda and her children by Peter of Courtenay (d.1217). Boniface of Montferrat became King of Thessalonika and oversaw the conquest of Greece. The Bulgarians killed him in September 1207. For Sanudo there is no hint of an ‘unholy crusade’, but rather of a highly successful operation.

Emperor of the Germans,[1] the men in those parts, then powerful and magnificent, had married as young men and from these ancestors Baldwin ascended to great things and his empire knew no limits **(p. 73)**. For the said Emperor had promised Baldwin to recover all the territory of the Empire of Romania that his ancestors had lost in the West, with his own men and at his own expense: then his barons gave him bad advice, fearing that after Baldwin had recovered his empire, he would proceed against them for harm done to his predecessors,*[2] so that he rejected the daughter of the Emperor of the Germans, however beautiful she was said to be, and the daughter of John then King of Jerusalem took [Baldwin] as her husband.[3] [Baldwin] acting impetuously had formed a marriage contract [with John], following the unasked for advice of his guardian; and finally John was crowned Emperor of Constantinople by the same barons.[4] After such provocation the Emperor of the Germans gave his daughter in marriage to the Emperor of the Greeks and of parts of the East.[5] Both men joined in such an alliance, moved against Baldwin and the Venetians on land and sea and captured the cities and almost all the forts belonging to Baldwin and the Venetians, leaving him only the walls of the city of Constantinople: his and his family's fortunes had come to such a pass that his son Philip[6] was forced by the burghers of Constantinople to put himself as a bond for a certain sum of money: afterwards they sent him overseas to Venice for the sake of this debt: and some of his palaces, nobly roofed in lead from ancient times, he stripped and sold the lead and did many other things so that he could live with the inconvenient dignity of Augustus. All the time that the Emperor Baldwin was oppressed by woe, by poverty and by the attacks of his

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[1] *Imperator Exagorarum* = Frederick II Hohenstaufen (1194–1250), German Emperor 1212–50.

[2] The marginal note marked in the text by * is translated in [brackets] at the end of the chapter.

[3] Isabel II (d.1228), heiress of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the granddaughter of Isabel of Courtney and daughter of Maria of Montferrat and John of Brienne, who was King of Jerusalem in right of his wife. The marriage took place in 1225. John of Brienne (c.1170–1237), King of Jerusalem (1210–25), fought unsuccessfully against Frederick in Italy and became co-Emperor with Baldwin II (1228–73) in 1231.

[4] Pope Gregory IX and the representatives of John of Brienne conducted the negotiations through 1228–9. The final arrangements were agreed at Perugia in April 1229. One condition was that Baldwin II marry John's daughter Marie of Brienne. Frederick II gave support to the Greeks of Epiros as his first reaction.

[5] John III Vatatzes (c.1192–1254) was Emperor of Nicaea, 1221–54. He took as his second wife Constance (Anna), an illegitimate daughter of Frederick II c.1244. The alliance did not lead to the recapture of Constantinople and by 1248 he was negotiating with the Pope. Sanudo exaggerates the effects of the alliance, but Vatazes undoubtedly set the groundwork for the recapture of the city by Michael Palaeologos in 1261.

[6] Philip was the only child of Baldwin II and Marie of Brienne. He married Beatrice of Anjou in 1267, became titular Latin Emperor on the death of his father in 1273 and died in 1301.

enemies right up to the loss of the city[1] the Venetians had defended the city with as much financial aid as they could raise, both out of self-interest and from a sense of friendship. After the loss of Constantinople the Venetians worked for its recovery for more than 30 years: seeking support from all the kings and princes of the West, especially from Alfonso King of Castile,[2] when there was no mandate for action. Finally they made an alliance and league with the King of Sicily, Charles I: who on account of the loss of Sicily could not fulfil it.[3] Most recently they have made an alliance with Charles, Count of Valois, who is now heir to the Empire on account of the death of his wife:[4] but nothing came from any of this, although the Venetians now alone, now in alliance, waged many wars to recover the said empire from the Greeks. And so from the foregoing it appears that the love between the Germans and the French who took part in the aforesaid crusade and their heirs and the Venetians survives intact. Therefore, the peoples of the German coast mentioned above should come to Venice by land and cross over with the Venetians. And if any other people wish to take similar advantage they ought to converge on Venice with the Germans and the Venetians and with their wives and children, be taken in a Venetian fleet and behave themselves well. Amongst the Germans I find some things that need attention. It is a matter of concern that they are great eaters coming as they do from a cold climate. Furthermore, on account of their great devotion and strong desire for the crossing and because they are able people, they can in such great numbers have a tendency to domineer, from which trouble can grow especially since the Venetians seek allies not masters. Truly the captain general, with God's gift, will be honest and wise and with mature counsel will provide a sound remedy.

[This offence and the cause of the offence have not been explained in the present work because it is not relevant. Indeed, seeing that a good example can be made for posterity I have thought that an account should be written in the margin of this book. It was in the Empire of Constantinople that a certain great and noble baron, whose ancestors came from Burgundy, had become engaged to the daughter of a great and noble lady, promising and hoping to receive her in

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1 The forces of Michael VIII Palaeologos entered Constantinople on 25 July 1261.

2 Alfonso X the Wise King of Castile and Leon (1252–84). He was a claimant to the German Empire from 1256 but his claim was rejected at the Council of Lyons in 1274. This and disputes with Philip III of France prevented any involvement in papal plans to recover Constantinople in the 1270s.

3 Charles I of Anjou (1265–85) was the brother of Louis IX of France and King of Naples and Sicily 1265–85. He wished to rule over a restored Latin Empire. In 1281 he made the Treaty of Orvieto with the Venetians to this end but his plans were disrupted by the rebellion of the Sicilian Vespers in 1282.

4 Charles of Valois (d.1325) was a son of Philip III of France and count of Anjou. He married the titular empress of Constantinople Catherine of Courtenay in 1301. Her death in 1308 left him the claimant in the right of their daughter Catherine (d.1346) who married Philip of Taranto, grandson of Charles I of Anjou, in 1313 and passed the claim to him.

full marriage. The emperor of Constantinople, Henry by name,[1] the brother of the young Baldwin, noticing her beauty, which in his eyes surpassed that of all others, persuaded the mother that he should marry her daughter. The mother preferring to be the mother-in-law of an emperor than of a baron agreed to the emperor's wishes. The baron was extremely upset by this insult. At night, with relatives and friends, he broke into the imperial palace. He seized the mother-in-law and caused her to be thrown into the sea and slit the nose of the empress with his own hand. Note what a small fire is needed to burn a great forest! Behold for what reason on the death of Henry nothing was done to exact justice or revenge. In the course of time Baldwin became emperor. The barons who had participated in the deed did not fear to be drowned themselves and so afterwards delayed in business as described in the text.]

Chapter 19: The taking of the cross and the different sorts of armed men that the army needs for conquering the land of Egypt ***(p. 74)***

And since the aforesaid people are paid by the Holy Church, they will seize the land on the coast of Egypt, will have dwellings there and will conduct themselves as mentioned above and will provide themselves with supplies and a fleet as well as for the other requirements of the said army, both for themselves and for the great number of other people who shall come to help: then Your Holiness can proclaim a crusade with the greatest solemnity, to all the faithful of Christ who live in all the climes of the world. However, in the meantime if it pleases your Beatitude, it will be good and useful if in that proclamation this form and order may be maintained: so that by all good ways and means the whole money can be recovered: and there should be no long delay either by princes and barons or by the communities of towns: as well as by individuals especially by those who have used the goods of the Church and do use them, and likewise either clergy or laity who might go on the crusade. And the reason is clear: since if men ought to be marked with the cross, as is said, to cross to the Egyptian coast, they would by no means be sufficient to attend to those things that are right and proper to be done. Seeing that counts and ships' captains are essential in great numbers, of whom some should be well able to guide and steer the fleet through fresh water and some through salt water. The fleet will need large numbers of oarsmen: since to row is the prime motive force, albeit one of the most extreme exertions, from which the

[1] Sanudo has confused the emperor Henry (r.1205–16) with the emperor Robert of Courtenay (r.1221–28) who was Henry's nephew and the brother of Baldwin II (r.1228–61). This error suggests that Sanudo knew little about the Latin Empire of Constantinople. For which see R. Wolff, 'Hopf's so-called "Fragmentum" of Marino Sanudo Torsello', *The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume* (New York, 1953), 149–59, esp. pages 156–7, reprinted in R. Wolff, *The Latin Empire of Constantinople* (London, 1976). The story of Robert's marriage may be found in *Eracles*, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades*, II (Paris, 1859), 294–5.

oarsmen suffer exhaustion. No one will undertake such a task or carry it through unless he is paid immediately as those chosen for the army. Also, there will need to be a very large number of good crossbowmen: there is a great difference and ranking between good crossbowmen and less good ones: good crossbowmen fire their bolts with resolution and shoot them a great distance and cause great wounds, and they fire rapidly and wound and kill, rarely firing to no effect and causing panic and terror to their enemies with their shots. Stupid and untrained crossbowmen on the other hand have the opposite effect: for they shoot feebly and lose their bolts, and shoot near rather than strike. They make feeble shots which are returned immediately by the enemy who are heartened and come on more boldly against such opponents. And the same can be said of spearmen and slingers. The army needs catapult operators and their overseers in large numbers, who cannot be had except for ready cash since these people are poor; nor should they be from those, who, as they wish, may take the cross on account of the above-mentioned poverty, and although some may be from them, they will not be in sufficient numbers as the army needs: from all these men examined above it may be essential that a certain part of them will be very suitable for digging the earth. From the cavalry it should be considered and believed that many of them will be noble and honest men suitable for taking the cross and for taking part in the crusade. But indeed such an arrangement cannot be paid to them for filling the numbers of the captains of the army unless they are assigned to the stipend of the Church. And not only should this happen to the nobles, but also to the non-noble part of those people: since people taking the sign of the cross are free to go and return at their will. So, I speak reverently and bring to the mind of your most Holy Piety that whoever wishes to take the cross and pay for his journey from his own resources, it seems more useful if he can pay to the Church or to those deputed by the Church for crossing with the army, so that the stipendaries can be paid there from: by granting to them in the indulgence what seems to your Beatitude should be granted: for it is better that the soldiers attend to and obey the commands of the captain than the crusaders. For if the captain shall have been circumspect and properly appointed, as is believed, and the people or peoples obedient to his orders, it will be virtually impossible that his strategy and plan shall not succeed.[1] When people directed by him or a part of them do not carry out their orders this can easily impugn success and cause danger **(p. 75)**. Therefore, your providence should provide for this, as he knows what should be taken care of.

Chapter 20: The number of men that each galley needs so that it is suitably protected; and the offices of the same, the craftsmen and pay day: and concerning the supplies and pay for three hundred cavalry

Two-hundred-and-fifty men are necessary for the proper complement of one galley, who through such means as I will relate shall share out the pay and the duties. First,

[1] Literally to be brought to an end.

each galley needs a count to whom 25 soldi grossi should be paid each month. Second, it needs 8 captains who should each receive 7.5 soldi grossi every month, which amounts in all to 60 soldi grossi. Third, it is essential that there should always be one carpenter and one caulker on duty in each galley; on account of the needs and convenience of the army, two carpenters and likewise two caulkers should be appointed to each of the galleys for wages they receive the same as the captains that is 30 soldi grossi of Venice. Fourth, 2 scribes should be present on each galley to distribute food at the [proper] time and place to the crew: and 2 additional scribes who store the arms and distribute them to each of the crew: for pay they receive 7.5 soldi grossi that amounts to 30 soldi grossi each month. The count, the captains, and the others – the scribes, carpenters and caulkers, should receive no other reward beyond the stipend [for the duties] which they have agreed to perform or cause to be done in the galley either by themselves or by others nor to alter the weights by any means or artifice from those expressed in the agreement of their stipend under penalty [of the loss] of all their goods and personal effects. Fifth, each galley should have one cook at four soldi grossi per month for the purpose of cooking each day for the crew in the galley to which he is assigned. Sixth, there should be 50 crossbowmen who each receive 5 soldi grossi per month, which amounts to 250 soldi grossi each month in all. Among them there should be four men who know how to play the trumpets, flutes, pipes, nakers and tambours. And there should be one from these men who is kept aside to encourage and direct the oarsmen. Seven, that there should be ten experienced oarsmen[1] for the benches in the stern of each galley for 6 soldi grossi each per month that amounts in all to 60 soldi grossi. Eight, there should be 20 other experienced oarsmen who will row in the adjoining benches in the stern, while there is room, for 5 soldi grossi each per month that comes in total to 100 soldi grossi per month. Nine, there should be 30 *proderii*[2] at 5 soldi grossi each per month, which amounts to 150 soldi grossi of Venice. Ten, there should be 120 ordinary rowers each of whom receive 4 soldi grossi per month amounting to 480 soldi grossi. Without distinction there are 180 rowers made up of experienced oarsmen, *proderii* and ordinary rowers. These are all kept for rowing when the order to row is given; by these oars the galley will be well and suitably propelled if they sit.[3] Eleven two men should be appointed, at the will of the captain or the Admiral in *terzaroles* of the fleet, to stipends of ten and a half soldi grossi each, they should be appointed because they can further the business and will be useful and important for assisting the army. The sum of all the men necessary for crewing a galley is thus 250: their wages without food is 60 pounds of Venetian grossi each month. The total cost of the crew of 1 galley for 12 months is discussed below:

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1 The word *portoladus* is unique to Sanudo. They were paid more than ordinary rowers that are *remiges* or *remigatores*.

2 The *proderius* was stationed at the prow of a ship, presumably to keep watch.

3 Four oarsmen to a bench. See pp.102–3 above **(p. 57)**.

- Item: The count ought to receive 9 pounds of grossi.
- Item: The 8 captains ought to have 36 pounds, and the 4 scribes 18 pounds.
- Item: The 2 carpenters ought to receive 9 pounds.
- Item: The 2 caulkers ought to receive 9 pounds.
- Item: A cook ought to receive 48 soldi grossi.
- Item: 50 crossbowmen ought to receive 150 pounds.
- Item: 10 experienced oarsmen ought to receive 36 pounds.
- Item: 20 experienced oarsmen ought to have 60 pounds of grossi.
- Item: 30 *proderii* ought to have 90 pounds.
- Item: 120 rowers ought to have 288 pounds.
- Item: 2 men at the pleasure of the captain or the admiral ought to receive 12 pounds and 12 soldi grossi **(p. 76)**.
- The total sum for 1 galley for 12 months without food is 720 pounds of grossi which is the equivalent of 7,200 florins and 2 soldi grossi.

Concerning the pay of ten galleys for one month and the number of people who should be on them

- Item: 10 counts require seven-and-a-half pounds of grossi for one whole month.
- Item: 80 captains require 30 pounds of grossi.
- Item: 40 scribes require 15 pounds.
- Item: 20 carpenters require 7.5 pounds.
- Item: 20 caulkers require 7.5 pounds.
- Item: 10 cooks require 40 [sic] soldi grossi.
- Item: 500 crossbowmen require 125 pounds.
- Item: 100 experienced oarsmen require 30 pounds of grossi.
- Item: 200 experienced oarsmen require 50 pounds of grossi.
- Item: 300 *proderii* require 75 pounds.
- Item: 1,200 rowers require 240 pounds.
- Item: 20 men, who know how to make siege engines or make other things at the order of the captain, require 10.5 pounds every month.
- The sum of all the above is 600 pounds without food, which is the equivalent of 6000 gold florins, as is shown.

Concerning the wages of these men in the said ten galleys for twelve months
And so from the foregoing calculation it is shown that all these men cost 7,200 pounds of grossi which is the equivalent of 72,000 gold florins.

Concerning the wages of the men on sixty galleys for one month
And so 45 pounds of grossi is given to 60 counts, to 480 captains 180 pounds, to 240 scribes 90 pounds. Two-hundred-and-twenty carpenters and caulkers

altogether are assigned 90 pounds, to 60 cooks goes 12 pounds. The following are given each complete month:

- 3000 crossbowmen are allowed 700 [pounds];
- 50 experienced oarsmen of the first rank 180 pounds of grossi;
- 1200 [other] experienced oarsmen 300 pounds;
- 1800 *proderii* 450 pounds;
- 7200 rowers,1440 pounds;
- The 220 men, who may be officers or for other tasks that it may please the Captain to assign them, require 63 pounds of grossi, since each of them receives 10.5 grossi per month for assisting one another.
- The total number of men on 60 galleys who are fit for battle is 15,000. The total of all their wages for a month is 3,600 pounds of grossi that is equivalent to 36,000 gold florins and two soldi grossi.

Concerning the wage of men on sixty galleys for twelve months
Therefore, from what is written above it can be calculated that the wages to be paid to the men on 60 galleys for 12 months is 43,200 pounds of grossi which is the equivalent of 432,000 gold florins. The men in all these galleys require 120 pounds of grossi each day: which is 1200 gold florins.

Concerning the wages of 300 cavalry and their attendants
Three hundred knights having two attendants each, who should be suitably instructed in arms at a cost of 400 soldi grossi or 200 gold florins each including the attendants: this is without the provision of remounts unless [a horse] happens to die on service or during shipping. For 12 months they should be given 6000 pounds of grossi, the equivalent of 60,000 florins, altogether the said knights with their attendants require 500 pounds of grossi or 5,000 gold florins each month. Therefore it is clear from the foregoing that the aforesaid knights receive 16 pounds, 13 soldi and 4 deniers of grossi each day, which equates to 166 florins and 16 grossi **(p. 77)**. From which it can truly be said that each one of these soldiers with their attendants whom we have mentioned above will receive 313 Venetian grossi each day. For a whole year 15,000 soldiers with 300 knights and their attendants costs 248,000 pounds of grossi, that is 442 gold florins and 2 soldi of Florence. And so as a necessary precaution for the soldiers some prelates, secular clergy, Dominicans, Franciscans, hermits and Carmelite brothers should be included in the expedition as seems appropriate to Your Holiness perhaps to the number of 100 over and above the aforementioned, who should receive food. The alms and oblations made to them by the people should be considered as a wage for all these preachers. And so the sum total of all the food allowances is 16,000 for all the aforesaid people: as is said in the chapter on keeping and distributing food at 12 grossi each [comes to] 800 pounds of grossi or 8,000 gold florins. The sum for a whole year amounts to 9,600 pounds of grossi or 96,000 gold florins. The sum for all the wages is so great since these men also receive a livery of 9,680 grossi,

which is 594,000 gold florins. And provision should be made for men who know and can dig the ground wherever they may be based. So that good men may be found a bonus of 12 grossi each month ought to be paid to each of them and there should be 1,000 of them at least who know how to dig well. This costs each year 600 pounds of grossi which is 6,000 gold florins:

- Item: For food or allowance of barley to be given to horses of which each ought to have 4 sextaria of barley every month, which is equivalent to 1 and 1/3 saumes of Apulia: this amounts to 4,800 saumes that at a reasonable price comes to 4,800 gold florins, 1 gold florin buying any amount you please for taking to the Egyptian coast.
- Item: Straw is necessary for both horses and men to make their beds: and for wood for burning in the fleet or in the army. The captain will gather the wood and the straw for his men and this will cost 3,200 gold florins.
- Item: Other provisions that seem necessary to the captain will come to 2,000 gold florins in a year. The sum of all this, as listed above comes to 600,000 gold florins which is equivalent to 60,000 pounds of Venetian grossi and does not include provision for the captain, who will be paid what Your Holiness decides.

Chapter 21: Certain declarations, memoranda and ordinances and precautions for the fleet

And although mention has been made in the preceding chapter of the fleet of 60 galleys, it is not yet understood that the crews of the 60 galleys could be accommodated in 50 if they were disposed in *terzaroles*, because the galleys will be strengthened by this. And the infantry and cavalry left over should go in unarmed transports as is said in Chapter 12. However, if advice is taken that galleys should be arranged with 4 oarsmen per bench, which has been tested and can be advantageous, it should be considered and implemented so that all the aforesaid people may be placed in 40 galleys, and [those left over] be placed decently in the aforesaid fleet not armed: that is 20 of the galleys should be of the large size that can carry and handle well with 400 men, 16 galleys of medium size can carry 300 men and 5 other smaller galleys will carry between 250 and 260 men **(p. 78)**. Certain of the smaller galleys will have 220 rowers by placing them 4 to a bench and by sending them where they should be sent. And because in the section above a year is said to consist of only 12 months, and not 5.25 [extra] days for wages and food, the reason is this. First, because food is readily available at a reasonable price and the said 12 months can make up any deficiency for the whole year in abundance. The other reason regarding wages is this: the Venetian commune estimates wages on the basis of a 30 day month, except for special men whom they include in a special contract basing a month on 33 days. And if the warriors serve beyond their term by two or three days they are not paid for those days: and the commune of Venice acts accordingly in this matter. And by observing this the stipendaries of

Holy Mother Church are needed not just each month but for the whole year and so can be reckoned for 12 months in the Holy budget, if this seems appropriate to Your Holiness: although the ability of the captain to appoint and to hold men at his pleasure is respected. Seeing that by making a comparison a brawling man in the army in which he serves, is both a criminal and in a certain manner a traitor, because one soldier from the whole army can suddenly overturn it and bring it to nothing: over which the captain ought to exercise great foresight and caution. And especially also it should be noted that while the fleet has set out from the West and taken its course, it is right and proper that the men will ask for their pay for many months [in advance] so that they may better budget for their own households so that they may be able to be supported for their present and future needs: by receiving from the money due to them they can enjoy some security and provision and later, by giving support from month to month to the aforesaid until they shall be mustered in orderly fashion on the shores of Egypt. After their stipend has been paid to these men, the said stipend can be given to them regularly every third month: by making not only a general enquiry daily through the month but also specifically so that each man is accustomed to be provided with wood each night. In this enquiry punishments may be apportioned to defaulters as seems appropriate to those same men.

The aforesaid one-hundred-and-twenty men who ought to be present at the will of the captain ought to be dispersed as it pleases him

- First, [there should be] two admirals.
- Second, six honest men who should advise him.
- Third, four sergeants-of-arms, who may be in charge of the food and the scribes.
- Fourth, two supervisors, who look after the weaponry.
- Fifth, three physicians and a like number of surgeons.
- Sixth, five senior masters and carpenters for making siege engines.
- Seventh, four senior master-blacksmiths.
- Eighth, 12 masters for making shields and missiles.
- Ninth, 15 strap-makers who also know how to make leather helmets.
- Tenth, 15 experienced master woodworkers who may care not only for the oars but also for making lance shafts, javelins and other things needful in the army relevant to the business in hand.
- Eleventh, ten stone cutters both for mining and for fashioning stones suitable for catapults.
- Twelfth, ten masters for making crossbows, who should be selected from the best available.
- Thirteenth, 20 who know how to play trumpets, pipes, shawms and nachars, drums and kettle drums and any other type of musical instrument like viols, zithers and hurdy-gurdies as may seem appropriate.

The remainder – some 20 men – may be employed on other tasks or attached to the aforesaid 100 men. And since mention has already been made concerning the distribution and payment of the 16,000 pounds [of grossi] in the preceding chapter, provision should be had, seeing that in the preceding and following year after these people have secured the Egyptian coast and gathered there, large groups from various nations will make their way thither in order to occupy that region, they should be in no doubt concerning the receipt of their food and allowances and their ability to maintain life from the surplus and from their craft: all things that are useful and essential both for the safe-keeping of fortresses as for services to those men arriving in the said army and for those things seen to be essential to that army **(p. 79)**. By this means virtually all or the greater part of those serving in the fleet will receive stipends, to the great detriment of the enemy and the securing of the sea, rivers and lakes. Finally the providence of Your Holiness should have regard to what is to be accomplished, by committing [oversight] of these matters to your captain as it pleases Your Holiness.

Chapter 22: The production of weapons and the most powerful catapults and crossbows: and the manufacture and precautions for the perfection of all things that are considered to have a bearing on the same

And since a general and particular discussion has been given above concerning the people who should take part in this Holy enterprise and must be recruited for the fleet, likewise there should be a discussion of the weapons that are essential to the same, that should be as comprehensive as I can make it. Therefore, I will touch upon this as briefly as I can, with the guidance of other, wiser men. I will not trespass on the specialized knowledge of some in the army but I will give a full account and I will begin in this manner. First, defensive weapons should be light so that men can defend themselves efficiently and so that there may be as many defensive weapons available as possible. Second, weapons for attack should also be light so that the soldiers handle them well and easily. On this expedition there should be two types of offensive weapons, namely with a blade or point as mentioned above: yet they bring greater danger to the enemy and harm them when they have a point than those that are for cutting without a point: these two sorts of weapons seem to be most useful to warriors and the experienced in the army instruct the soldiers in their use. However, it should be remembered that it is safer for the attacker to harm the enemy at a distance rather than attack him at close quarters. And the usefulness of all types of machines and the largest crossbows is proven, although there may be long-range weapons of other sorts and such that may be pulled in large numbers from a distance, they can be [produced] in such quantities for dragging further. From which it follows that there should be many engineers and wise men in the army turning their minds to this: seeing that if the missiles, stones as well as arrows, can be fired further from machines than the archers of the enemy can shoot, it can be said, that that side that can range its missiles further will gain the greatest advantage over the other. For if the missiles

of the Christians can reach the army of the pagans, when their arrows cannot reach the Christian army, it can be said that the Christians shall have the victory and will always prevail over the enemy both in the field and in the street. And if anyone should argue that the infidels may conduct themselves in such a way that their arrows harm the faithful people of the Christian army: it can be replied that the advantage always lies with the Christians, since the striking power of the machines and crossbows of the faithful of Jesus Christ will be much greater than the arrows of the infidels who will not be so far from the Christian army. All and everything that can be done should be done to have good engineers and a good wood supply, especially for making long poles and sockets for machines and crossbows, for following up this advantage. And to this, as has been said above, the engineers should have reason to do better, so will I begin another discourse: and I will speak first of the common machine besides the long-range weapon which may be understood to be different.

For the construction of the common machine

The hips of a machine ought to be as broad on the ground as the height of the machine at its tip and underneath the said machine ought to be open on the ground, between 2 hips minus a third part [of its height] **(p. 80)**: that is, if the aforesaid machine is 24 feet at its highest point, it ought to be 16 feet on the ground. The masters divide the main pole of the machine from the weighted bottom to the tip into 5 or 6 parts and place the sow between the fifth and the sixth [part], so that if the pole is 30 feet long from top to bottom, that is 5 or 6 feet, and the fifth is 6 feet, and the sixth above-mentioned as is seen will be 5 feet. Concerning which thing, the cross-bar of the catapult ought to be placed five and a half feet from the cross-bar of the container mentioned above.

Concerning the construction of long-range catapults[1]

Only the said cross-bar of the catapult ought to be placed at 5 feet along the pole, if the pole is 30 feet long: that is by measuring a sixth of the rod from the lower end of the box to the end of the pole. And it ought to be positioned in this manner; namely because the pole is marked with a straight line through the middle and from the side of the said line towards the edge of the *mannettae* the base of the box ought to be placed, by touching the middle of the line and by touching the same line from the other side: and the sides of the *tibiarum* ought to be bound towards the base of the said machine on which the *mantum* should be tied down at two feet or more or less according to whether the machine is greater or smaller, so that should the cross-bar come from underneath, then the main pole should be weighted that much more. And the container ought to be made as large and as long as possible by the masters; because according to the weight of the base the better it hangs and the larger it is [and] it throws more and heavier [objects] further.

[1] Many of the words in this section are unclear. I have left them as they appear in the text.

On account of which the catapult should have a strong container, main pole and cross-bar. And the main pole should be thicker in the middle as if cutting off the parts in front. The container should have a good covering, because it throws the container towards the outside. And the bigger the catapult the greater the weight it throws and it will throw it higher and further. And the higher and further it carries the stone it will bring a very strong blow to bear. And if anyone wants to build a long-range catapult he can place the stone weight over the side of a ship and the great container can reach to the bottom of the ship and [lies] in a channel in the bottom of the said ship and the main pole comes up to the channel. The catapult and the ship must be very strong since it throws such a stone such a distance. How such a large catapult on the earth performs depends on the strength of the main pole. It should be known that the ability of catapults to fire a long way in a straight line totally depends on loading the appropriate weight in stones for the size of the catapult and the weight of the container and in making the stones round. It also depends on the iron at the tip of the pole which holds the *saccam casolae*[1] [and] in adjusting it depending on whether men want to shoot high or long. On account of all the above-mentioned catapults the masters and the engineers of armament must sharpen their minds in using them.

The making of long-range crossbows

For the making of long-range crossbows from either wood or horn, good craftsmen and good wood are needed: however, the better ones are made from horn that is used with sinews to shape the middle of the neck. Crossbows made of horn perform better in dry conditions than wet and shoot further in the cold than in the warm: as most experts maintain. Indeed, the bow of the crossbow should be of wood, especially from that wood that is commonly called *Nassus*[2] and is best found on the island of Corsica, although good samples can be found in many other places. The wood ought to be cut from a plantation at the time when other timber is cut. If, however, the wooden bows of the crossbows are extended in length and bound together in moderation, they will reach a greater height and fire their bolts further. It should be understood that such things ought to be measured. It is useful that the cords of the crossbow be adjusted for shooting at a distance so that the crossbows may bear the force of extension and span: [the cords] should be made from good hemp worked together **(p. 81)**. Besides this the range of crossbows also depends on the arrows used. It is appropriate that the heads and the shafts should be iron, such as they match one another and also the crossbow: the shafts should be fletched, since the feathers assist the flight and the range of the arrow. Concerning the handles of the crossbows, which are called holders, with nuts and

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1 Meaning unclear – presumably the sling.

2 George Agar Hansard, *The Book of Archery* (London,1841), Section VIII, 'Of yew Trees, yew Bows etc' states that 'In the preface to *Gesta Dei per Francos*, the excellency of a wood called nassus growing in the island of Corsica, is greatly enlarged upon.'

keys[1] of which I will make some mention: seeing that all these things for the sound manufacture of crossbows should be good and perfect and far from any doubt [as to their quality] both for the bow and for all things that relate to it by using sound wood in the work and by burning the bad. It is useful too that the help of good large hooks should be given in drawing powerful crossbows especially because the large hooks may be behind and are used both to draw and to fire the crossbow; by this means a great force is produced by traction, because the force of nature is converted according to this means. However, both wooden and horn crossbows ought to be protected by the crossbowmen from the ground, from rain and wind and from dew, and the crossbows should be covered up at all times unless the crossbowmen may be prosecuting a siege and they are in use in large numbers: and because in the fleet open to spray and in a low place any master crossbowman[2] should have a place set aside where he may conveniently keep his crossbow hanging up as is the custom. Also it should be known that the stronger crossbows are stretched two feet rather than one: and it is more secure for the crossbow and for this reason in the place where the crossbowmen are marshalled against surprise attacks, both at sea and on land, they ought to use crossbows of two-foot span or more without a break as is discussed in Chapter 8, *de armis*. These same crossbows should use bolts that are commonly called *muschetae*:[3] but plain crossbows to which these *muschetae* properly belong are crossbows called crossbows from the shoulders: with which the whole army can be skilled and issued for the use of those who are assigned to shooting crossbows in the army, especially to those that seem more useful as the arms for the Christians. Likewise, and in relation to other large crossbows they should be made in the same way as discussed in the aforesaid Chapter 8. On this account, My Most Holy Father the Captain of the Holy Mother Church should well reflect upon the nature of building construction as much as catapults and crossbows since all are relevant to the execution of his office and especially for keeping the fighting at long range as has been said: because when he shall be in those parts, where there are suitable buildings for attack, they will be much feared by the enemy who out of fear and terror will be forced to give up the level ground.

Chapter 23: In what way the stipendaries of Holy Mother Church, after they have seized the coast of Egypt and before the arrival of the crusaders, should attack schismatics and infidels with their galleys and timber and inflict as much injury as possible

However, before the crusaders or those to whom payment will be made from the levies for the crusade, as discussed in earlier chapters, shall arrive in Egypt, reverently and humbly, with faith and devotion I wish to explain and commend to

1 *Teneria nucibus et clavibus*.

2 *Balistator*.

3 Literally, sparrow-hawks.

your Holiness that those people who will have received a stipend from the Holy Church, that is 15,000 foot soldiers and 300 knights who will have proceeded to the Egyptian coast can become a force in those parts: namely they can prepare galleys and other wooden vessels for guarding the coast that were subject to the Sultan, and they can establish themselves lest any fleet should approach the aforesaid lands to the damage and detriment of any infidels remaining in the coast and any other neighbouring infidels. But from the year before [the main crusade] these people will have surveyed camps on the Egyptian coast and made bivouacs or some other impregnable fortification in which they can remain secure with their fleet, still they should maintain 20 galleys and each year at a suitable time send them out from the main force, namely from the middle of April until the middle of October **(p. 82**): aboard these galleys may be 1,000 infantry and 40 cavalry, who will make frequent probing expeditions into the lands of the Sultan; and also against neighbouring infidels such as the King of Tunis, the Turks and the schismatic Greeks, as will appear appropriate. And from this it can be said truthfully that just as iron breaks all other metals, without doubt it grinds and cuts. Thus will these galleys, or the men from these galleys, grind, smite and crush the schismatics and other infidels of the aforesaid lands who can be found outside towns, castles and forts. And that which is related can be brought about and the reason is this: seeing that such galleys carry a weather-vane;[1] and can be brought together with the sudden coming of a tempest, lightening and earthquake: since these galleys as much those suitable and equipped with oars, with a diligent and experienced crew can carry news faster than anyone, as well as the crews of the same on account of the great voyages they make. For while the enemy think that they are in Syria they find them instead in Turkey. And certainly it can be said that the sea is the greater sacred grove to be found in the world.[2] For while these crews on their galleys wish to make their one to one region or just cross the sea and suddenly transport themselves over a great distance, as I say, they will penetrate the waves of the sea because they cannot be detected by the enemies of the Christian faith up to the time that the sun sets. These men indeed should make their journey at night resting during the day on land, because before the shadows of night totally disappear they will come to that region and that place where they had planned to be and there they should disembark the infantry and cavalry as it seems appropriate: by such means they will prevail, because the infidels or schismatic Greeks can have had no prior warning of their approach and because God will wish to favour them according to His grace. And again it can be that the said galleys, sailing mainly by night, shall arrive at a reef or an island especially to take on fresh water or with the intention of concealment so that the perfidious Agarenes or schismatics can have no rumour or knowledge concerning them, so that when it seems convenient they may proceed from thence at night to the lands of the infidels and accomplish by any means what is mentioned above. So, because of the means recommended

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1 *Effigies venti* – literally, an image of the wind.

2 The source of this quotation is unknown.

above or through other secret means to be sought in deeds of arms, and during the spring and the summer the people of the galleys and the ships will vanquish, harm and smite the infidels of the coastal districts and the same of the schismatics: because from extreme pressure they will be forced to leave the coastlands and give up a great part, or to do what is pleasing to Your Holiness: without that which has been said, can be said and can be brought about, because convoyed by the people of your most Holy Piety through the rivers of Egypt and other waterways it can be brought to the above-mentioned places. So, with the grace of God, those who thirst and shall thirst for Christian blood shall be slain by their own sword, falling from the height of pride to the depth of humility. So, those who have withdrawn from the Holy Roman Church on account of their schism, will abandon their schism through this power, zeal and the pursuing sword, returning humbly to the path of truth that their predecessors knew.

Chapter 24: Certain provisions, orders and precautions that are relevant to a naval force

And it is nevertheless to be foreseen that there may be ambushes when opposing armies cross the sea in ships, just as these are expected amongst land armies, who by such means frighten their enemies and easily overcome them: likewise, such things happen at sea. Since ambushes may occur at some of the islands or anchorages, as a result marines making a sudden impromptu attack may easily overcome their enemies: on this account the captain should always have two of the better and swifter galleys, equipped with oars, going and coming alternately ahead of the main force so they may check out the islands, capes and reefs: in order to discover any ambushes **(p. 83),** and they should take with them and have certain signals by which the main force or fleet may be warned to stand to and protect itself. And if it happens that the scouting galleys of the Christian army should come up against the galleys of the enemy that appear to be so great in number that they cannot be attacked then and there by the Christian army: the captain should ensure that certain signals received from the scouting galleys are understood in the Christian army and what should be done in response to them to avoid [peril]: that is that anyone occupying a place assigned, either on the right or the left, should proceed according to orders given out by the commander. The captain or the admiral should order an extended battle line either as they wish or in the shape of a shield or the moon so that the fleet will appear to advantage, placing forward its castles and with armaments so that they are prepared for action so that the use of the same is not lacking and it is ready for battle. With all prepared and a steady position maintained, the captain or the admiral of the said army may direct the people to row quietly and smoothly against the enemy. Indeed, if the captain or the admiral should wish to keep four or five galleys unguarded outside the battle formation with one standard, should the battle prove inconclusive, they may turn them and approach the galleys of the enemy from the stern or from the sides or offer assistance where it is most needed or can achieve most: seeing that in such

matters the greater the precautions exercised, the less danger incurred. It is similar in a certain other way of attacking the enemy, namely when galleys with sails extended attack the galleys of the enemy courageously and boldly: since this is most dangerous it is scarcely to be recommended unless the choice seems most clear: although there will already have been some of the army that had continued to fight, if as is believed they had committed themselves to the engagement in such manner: just as was clear in the conflict between the Genoese and the Venetians at Aiacum in Armenia.[1] For in the main the galleys of the Venetians were larger and stronger and also weighted for impact and having a good wind from the sea they came on. The galleys of the Genoese were fewer and older than those of their opponents and on account of being ashore their prows or rams were facing away from the wind and all had their sails lashed up, defenceless: and they had gangways in place by which men could move from one galley to another. And this was one means for the Venetians to join battle to remove the power of the Genoese and finally crush them: especially because the Venetians, if haste had not driven them, which is sometimes beneficial, but more often comes up against difficulties, could have chosen some of their galleys or other vessels as fire ships to send against the ships of the enemy: on account of which it should have been right and proper that the said Genoese force be divided and finally broken apart: on account of which tactic, divine judgement excepted, the Genoese should have succumbed to the Venetians and have ceded the field of battle. But the Venetians, who had around 28 galleys, while they lined up opposite the enemy, they discharged missiles and were very liberal in doing so and retrieved hardly any before they rowed straight at the enemy and after they had offered insults to the Genoese: some of the Venetian galleys on account of the strong winds and currents flowing strongly in both directions, presented their sides to the enemy galleys, and got in the way of their own attacking force and the enemy, of which there were reckoned to be 22 galleys. So, due to the ships in between the middle of the fleet could neither bring aid to their own side nor bring harm to the enemy. So the Venetians were defeated by the Genoese in March 1293 and the greater part of their galleys was captured. To be sure a similar tactic brought ruin to the Venetians at Curzola in Sclavonia: and not only this, indeed they took up position with the sun's rays in their eyes; there were 60 Genoese galleys to 90 Venetian; and besides the Venetian galleys were larger than the Genoese and they contained more men. To return to our proposition we say that the captain or the admiral should exercise caution before they engage in a battle with the enemy they should have their backs to the sun, for staring up at those rays constitutes a great danger to fighting men. This was clearly illustrated by the Pisans, who, while they sought out hostile Genoese at a place called Melora, on account of haste and a great inclination for battle **(p. 84)**. Not avoiding the rays of the sun that all the time during the battle shone in their eyes, they were defeated

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[1] Lajazzo; Sanudo gives the date as March 1293 and his description varies considerably from that given by F.C. Lane. 1294 is the date assigned by the textbooks, see F. Lane, *Venice A Maritime Republic* (1973), 83 and S. Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese* (1996), 169.

by the enemy and lost the battle, from which it is clear that the position of the sun was one of the reasons why the Pisans lost the battle and the Genoese, with the sun at their backs, triumphed and reported a joyful victory. In August in the year 1282 or 1283 the news was brought of the engagement of 90 Pisan galleys with around 100 Genoese. It is useful and essential to record for the said people that the said galleys should be in some sailing formation that when they advance against the enemy they may easily separate from each other and come together again. So, because the swaying movements might send the oarsmen into the formation, lest any of the enemy's galleys should penetrate the formation of the galleys of the faithful and find a target: so it should be the part of the captain or of the admiral, on the death of the former, because the master of each galley should obey the instructions of the captain nor cease from doing so as long as the battle endures or an end has been signalled by the captain. All those in the fleet who might be skilled in catapulting, navigating, archery and running the ship should be under the command of a deputy selected from those who seem the most able: nor should anyone be absent from his post while the battle is in progress under pain of punishment. Also, because in the aforesaid army and fleet some four messengers should always be present for taking reports to the Holy Roman Church, to whom the better sort of galleys should be assigned as seems appropriate to the captain. These may be set ready at that time when the opposing forces set out to fight one another: since it is rather the safety of the Christian army than if it should go to fight against only one enemy no matter how great the struggle. If by chance the army of the infidels and the schismatics is so large that the Christian army cannot withstand it, they should avoid an engagement and begin to retreat from it. No shame should attach to them, since on the field of battle experience requires both flight and advance at different times. For thus behave the Tartars who currently control a great part of the world. On account of which it is proper that the captain and the admiral of the Christian army make signals and to keep order in the formation of the galleys taking care not only that the ships are not separated as they advance from all sides but especially that the archers can exercise their business against the enemy both advancing and approaching. Especially it should be known that the missiles of those escaping the foe in their fright whose darts cannot reach the fugitives chasing after them.[1] On account of which, even without God's judgement, the Christian army seldom runs into danger, so long as the galleys are suitable. Whereby if our galleys should come into contact with the galleys of the enemy foresight and caution should be maintained; so that coming in from the side and driving themselves nearer to the enemy they may shoot with the crossbow and cause harm to them. And it is necessary, useful and good that should the fleet stay at sea into the night, any galley or wooden vessel operating outside the fleet should display a signal on its masthead that has been assigned to it by the captain, so that any foreign galley or vessel may be distinguished. And if our fleet should stay in harbour at night, no galley should venture out to sea or

[1] This sentence does not appear to make sense.

enter the harbour at this dangerous time but each and every one should remain in position for the safety of the whole fleet; nor should any galley omit procedures that ensure the safeguarding of the whole fleet. And again during the day or if any of the fleet should anchor, the captain should assign galleys to keep watch and send men ashore to seek out the nearest and highest places providing an all-round view of the sea and the land so that they may look upon the fleet. If they see anyone approach they should assume that their intent is hostile and make appropriate signals to the galleys on guard which may come to arms and adopt a new course; so that not only that the fleet of the faithful should not be caught unawares by any coming and going, but also that the enemy should be encountered unawares. Nothing should be omitted especially with regard to drinking water, about which special care and attention is needed **(p. 85):** through the lack of good drinking water many an expedition has perished. Likewise, wood for cooking is essential, since without it the fleet cannot function at its best. And there are many other exigencies that are too many to describe and list for which the captain should have regulations, actions and awareness; most of these are obvious. It is good that the captain should have about him honest men who are knowledgeable and experienced in these matters.

Chapter 25: A description of the coastline subject to the Sultan and the sailors' names of these lands, ports and islands, and the distances and miles that separate them one from another together with the same for those parts belonging to the King of Tunisia that border on them

From Caramela to Alexandretta[1] is said to be 15 miles by sailing south south-east. At present, Caramela is within the territory of the King of Armenia and at the same time shares a border with the Sultan. From Alexandretta to Probonelum is ten miles and some say more; by sailing south south-west. From Probonelum to Rasagarisar is ten miles by sailing south south-west**.** From Rasagaziro to the channel of the river Soldini is estimated at 20 miles by sailing south south-east; and here is Astaria of the black mountains**.** And in Camerata, half a mile in the sea of Soldinus up to the valley that is called Tandera is ten miles by sailing south-west. In that valley is a harbour. From Soldinus to Tollicinum is 20 miles by sailing to the west of south-west. From Polzino to the Caput Gloriata is 20 miles by sailing south south-west. From Gloriata to Laoycia**,** that is Licia, is ten miles by sailing south-east. Laoycia or Licia has a good harbour with a chain barrier; the port has to be entered from the north-west; in the entrance facing north-west is a tower on the shore: Gloriata has good shelter from the north. From the port of Laoycia to the mouth of the river Lena is ten miles by sailing south. From that river mouth to Vallania is five miles by sailing south south-east. Vallania has good shelter and is closed except on the north-west. From Vallania to Mergatum, where there is a very strong castle, is five miles by sailing south.

[1] Iskenderun – a major port in this period for goods from Baghdad and India.

This is the coastline of Syria whose banks or shoreline is listed

First from Mergatum to the city of Anteradus[1] is 20 miles by sailing south south-west. From the said city of Anteradus to the aforesaid Gloriata is 40 miles by sailing north: the island of the city of Anteradus has a good harbour with an entrance on the landward side: and there ships can stay facing north with a cable to the shore and access to the harbour can be had from all parts; the harbour is about two miles from the mainland. From Anteradus, formerly a noble city, to Tripoli is 20 miles by sailing south south-east. Tripoli has a good harbour and is entered by passing through many islands that extend for four miles from above the harbour mouth and are called Recini. And if anyone should try to enter the port, one should approach all the islands from the south and keep as much distance from the islands as one and a half cables: after sailing east for one mile, then south-east for two miles the reef is found through which there are three deep channels one cable long that arrives at the island. Beyond Tripoli there are very high mountains on which snow is always to be found. From Tripoli to Nephynum[2] is five miles by sailing south-west. From Nephynum to puteum Conostabilis[3] is five miles by sailing south south-west. There is a good covering of the aforesaid well-head in the sea. From the said well to Boldronum is six miles by sailing south. Gibelletum[4] has a chained harbour and is good for fine wood. From Gibelletum to Beirut is estimated at 15 miles by sailing 5 points southward of south-west. The town of Beirut is to the east and has a castle. At this place good shelter may be found on the east side **(p. 86)**. For one mile towards the north-east there are two islands where the harbour is situated: nevertheless one-and-a-half miles distance should be kept from the points of the said islands. In the approach towards the north-east the principal place of Beirut, contains the island of Sahetus, which is 20 miles away by sailing south: the island has a harbour, where anyone can stay at a distance of a cables length. The port faces towards the land; its approach is from the south and is reasonably deep. Towering above Sahetus is a forked mountain range or mountain which is commonly called the Fork of Sahetus. From Sahetus to Seraphandinus is ten miles by sailing four points south of south-west. From Seraphandinus to Tyre is five miles by sailing south. Tyre has a port and many reefs to the north-west, all of which should be sailed around by the south; whoever enters from the north must [navigate] the reef named to north; two and a half cables should be allowed for all these reefs and the utmost caution taken since there is little depth of water. One can stay here with cables under the protection of the city walls. Tyre is well-known since whomever approaches it from the sea will see the Forks of Sahetus which are visible from the north and from the high ground which lies to the south and is

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1 Tortosa.

2 Nephyn, modern Anafah, is the site of a castle belonging to the Princes of Antioch.

3 Well or cistern of the constable.

4 Jubail or classical Byblos.

commonly called Belignas. From Tyre to Caput Blancum[1] is ten miles by sailing south south-west. This place is high up and above it are mountains some of them very high indeed called Bellinae by the local inhabitants. From this head to Acre is ten miles by sailing south south-west, until one arrives at the reefs that are above Casale Lambertum[2] and that turn away to the south south-east. From the onset of the reefs to the city of Acre, for about three miles, both on the sea and under the sea there are many shoals. Acre has a harbour made out of one of the reefs, from which reef a cable's length should be kept; on the east is turris Muscarum:[3] and if it will chance that one comes to the port, he should approach from a distance of three miles, from the chapel of Saint Andrew, on account of the reefs that are above it, on the right-hand side until he sees the house of the constable at the Tower of the Flies; and then he can proceed into the port, so that his vessel is moored in line with the castle of Cayphas or Porphyria and the Tower of the Flies, and in this manner he will remain safe in the harbour. From the site of the tower or of the church to Carmel is ten miles by sailing south-west. Carmel is a high, flat-topped mountain extending as long as an island, both under the sea and above the sea; it looks back towards the north-west and on its summit is a church dedicated to Saint Margaret. On its north side is a certain reef that extends for a mile. From Mount Carmel to Castrum Peregrinum[4] is five miles by sailing south. From Pilgrims' Castle to Caesarea is 20 miles by sailing south. From Caesarea to Arzufussum[5] is 15 miles by sailing south. From Arsuf to Joppa is ten miles by sailing south-west. From Mount Carmel to Damietta no mountains are to be found along the coast, but the land is open and lacks landmarks and white rocks protrude from the sand. Inland, proceeding through from the shoreline there are high mountains that are called the Mountains of Jerusalem: and all the mountains that can be seen up to Carmel are twin-topped.

This is the coastline that extends from Joppa to Damieta

First from Joppa to castrum Beroardum by sailing south south-east. From Castrum Beroardi [sic] to Ascalon is ten miles. From Ascalon to Gazara is reckoned 15 miles by sailing south south-east, from Gazara to Darum is 15 miles by sailing south south-east. From Darum to Caput Beroardi is 30 miles south-east from the head of the bay of Rixa. From Caput Beroardi to the bottom of the Gulf of Rixa is 30 miles by sailing south-west. From that Caput is 30 miles by south and west towards the north-west. From the said Caput to Caput Staxum is estimated at 30 miles by sailing south-west: the said Gulf of Staxum curves round for 20 miles **(p. 87)**. From Caput Staxum to Rasagasaron is 50 miles by sailing west of south-west. From Ragasaron to Faramia is 30 miles by sailing west of south-west. From

1 The White Cape.

2 Casal Imbert or az-Azib, a castle site.

3 Tower of the Flies.

4 Pilgrims' Castle.

5 Arsuf.

Faramia to the River Tenexa is 25 miles by sailing west. From the River Tenexa to Damieta is reckoned 60 miles by sailing a quarter wind west of north-west. Damieta is a city, whose river is large: seeing that the depth of the river mouth has been calculated to be around six palms when the water is low and around eleven palms when it is in flood. From the city of Acre to Damieta is reckoned 275 miles by sailing south-west.

This is the coast reckoned from Damieta to Alexandria

First from Damieta to Burlum is said to be 70 miles by sailing west. From Burlum to the mouth of the river Sturio is open sea 30 miles in length by sailing west south-west. The sea is round and curving for 30 miles and has a broad and deep channel for 5 miles to the north-west. From the channel of the river Sturio to the mouth of the river Raxetus is 40 miles by sailing west south-west: the said river is large, having a depth of 10 palms during the dry season and a depth of 15 palms in flood. From Raxetus to the tower or island of Bolberium is 25 miles by sailing south-west: on the island are 2 towers near which good shelter may be found. From the tower of Bulcherium [sic] to the city of Alexandria is reckoned 18 miles by sailing south-west. Alexandria is a large and beautiful city, having a focal point visible from outside whose margins are daily flooded by the waves; it is commonly known as the Farus and it makes the city famous.[1] If anyone comes by sea from the east, from the north-east or from the north he can see the Farus: likewise if he comes from the north-west the tower of Farus will seem like vellum. The city has two gates: one on the east which is controlled by the tower of Farus: and if anyone comes to this gate he must keep close to the reef commonly called Memon, arriving near the Farus tower he should proceed for a cable's length and there is a shoal to the south and he can anchor a cable on the Memon reef. The other gate of Alexandria is on the west and this gate gives access from the western coast: if anyone wishes to enter this gate he must stick strictly to this coast: the entry is by canals. From Alexandria to Acre is 260 miles by sailing north-east with 3 points to the east. From Alexandria to Damieta there is an increase of one foot in depth for every mile travelled at sea. In the river Sturio a deep red colour is found, on its banks are many palm trees producing fronds. From Alexandria to Turris Arabum[2] is 30 miles to the south-west. From the Tower of the Arabs to the Gulf of the Arabs is 50 miles to the south-west. From the Gulf of the Arabs to Karuberii is 40 miles west north-west. From Karuberii to Crespae albae is 20 miles west. White Crêpes is famous for its many hills of white earth and from the east at the above-

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[1] Robert Irwin writes in *Blue Guides: Egypt* (3rd edition, London, 1993), 628: 'the lantern fell in c.700 and the building was restored by Ibn Tulun in 900. The great earthquake of 1100 dislodged the octagonal tier after which the base was buttressed and a mosque was built on top. During the next serious earthquake of 1307 the ancient structure crumbled and fell. In 1474 Qutaybay built his fortress on the site.' Despite his visits to Alexandria (see above p. 23), did Sanudo here rely upon Solinus?

[2] Tower of the Arabs.

mentioned Karuberii many large arches are seen amongst ruined monuments and white rocks: for two miles in the direction of the Gulf of Raxorii is a low island that shows white rocks on the north-east. This island has a good harbour with six feet clear depth and cable and anchors can be used here, out on the mainland side these can be spared. From this island to the Gulf of Rasorii is 20 miles by sailing 4 points west towards the place that is called Beleze. From the Gulf of Rasarii to Portus Soldani is said to be 110 miles from east to west: the harbour has a narrow mouth which is guarded by the Saracens: in the port great abundance is to be found on account of the many ships and galleys that can anchor there **(p. 88)**. From the said Gulf to the aforesaid port no good anchorages are to be found, just shallow waters rough-bottomed and open and with many reefs. From Port Sultan to the Insula Columborum[1] is ten miles by sailing west north-west: the island is one mile from land and may be approached from the east or the west. The western channel has many reefs under water. Indeed, there are reefs between the coastline and the island up to the harbour. The eastern channel is splendid and extends for half a mile. There is a depth of ten feet at certain points on the east and two cables lengths should be allowed for mooring galleys. The reefs are sheltered from all winds except the easterly that blows along the shore. The said islands are low-lying and are not visible except from about ten miles out at sea: but one village on the east coast of the island is recognizable. Anyone approaching the island half way along its coast will find sweet water. From the Island of the Doves to the point of Rameda no good anchorage will be found, because the mountains tower over the sea from just by the island through the whole of Barbary. From Rameda point to Port Salon is 20 miles by sailing a quarter west south-west: it has a good harbour and a good approach. From Port Salon to Port Malsamat is 20 miles by sailing between the west and the north-west. From Malsamat to Caput Luchi is said to be 15 miles from the south-west and from the north-west. Caput Luchi is free of reefs for half a mile. From Caput Luchi to Port Trabuchi is reasonably reckoned 60 miles by sailing 4 points west by south-west: there is one reef running from the headland to the west, any approach should be by the eastern shoreline. From Port Trabuchi to Patriarch's Island is said to be 40 miles by sailing 4 points west towards the north-west. From Patriarch's Island to Caput Resaltini is 30 miles by the south-westerly and north-easterly winds: the head has 1 reef for half a mile. From Caput Resaltini to Faura is ten miles by sailing four points west towards the south-west. From Faura to Forcellum is ten miles by sailing in the same direction. From Forcellum to Carse is 20 miles by sailing from east to west. From Carse to Bonandrea is 50 miles from east to west: there is a harbour sheltered from all winds except the north-easterly. From Bonandrea to Sulce island is 20 miles from east to west: the island has a safe anchorage. From Sulce island to Caput Resalsis is 60 miles from east to west. On the cape-side of the island, four rivers of sweet water flow into the sea. From Caput Resalsis to Tolmeta is 100 miles by the north-easterly and south-westerly winds: there are 2 very small reefs above

[1] Island of the Doves.

Cape Tolmeta. From Tolmeta to Berniges is 70 miles by sailing 4 points south of south-west: Berniges has a good harbour but reefs are found about half a day out: if anyone wishes to enter the harbour they should keep to the eastern coastline.

Chapter 26: The coast controlled by the King of Armenia from the borders with the Sultan to the lands of the Turks to the north

From Cramela to Mount Caybo to the north-west is reckoned 20 miles. From Mount Caybo to Laiacium[1] is reckoned 15 miles by sailing west south-west. From Lajazzio to Port Pallorum is ten miles by sailing between the west and south-west. Lajazzio has a port and a reef outside it that may be called a reef; on the landward side cables and anchors may be used on this reef. From Port Pallorum to the mouth of the river Malmistra is ten miles by sailing south-west: and it should be noted that the point of Port Pallorum should be respected by a half mile. If anyone wishes to use this port he will find there a white flag that is permanently fixed on the point of Portus Pallorum and he should keep clear of the flag **(p. 89)**. From the river Malmistra to Malo is ten miles by sailing west north-west. Malo has a port, which contains two small islands four miles from land and on which cables may be used: anchor on the landward side where you will find two or three feet depth of water. From Malo, where there is a castle, to the mouth of the river Adena is 20 miles by sailing west north-west. From the mouth of this river to the mouth of the river Tarsis is 20 miles by sailing west towards the wind called Magister.[2] From Tarsis to Curcus is said to be 40 miles towards the west south-west: there is an island at Curcus. From Curcus to the point of the mouth of the river Saleff is ten miles by sailing west with the Sirocco.[3] From the Saleff to Lina de Labagaxa[4] is ten miles by the north-easterly and the south-westerly winds: the point of Labagaxa is very flat and there are sands on the bottom and shallow water for well over a mile. From Lena de Labagaxa to Port Pinus is 15 miles by the south-easterly and north-westerly wind: the port has ample room and a good depth. From Port Pinus to Port Cavalarius is ten miles by sailing four points west of south-west. The port has good anchorage and a good depth. From Port Cavalarius to Port Prodensalius is reckoned 15 miles by the east and by the west winds: the reef has an anchorage within and good depth: there are walls on the reef and anchorage nearby. From the reef of Prodensalius to Sequin is said to be 60 miles by sailing 4 points west of south-west: in Sequin anchors can be used and shelter had from the west wind; there is a river there that flows into the sea. From Sequin to Stallimuri is 20 miles by the north-easterly and south-westerly winds: in Stallimuri anchors can be used and protection had from the westerlys. From Stallimuri to Calandrus is reckoned 30 miles by both the south-westerly

[1] Lajazzio, modern Ayas.

[2] Blowing west north-west.

[3] Blowing west south-west.

[4] The strand at Labagaxa.

and north-westerly winds, and it has a good harbour. From Calandrus to Salmade is 25 miles by sailing 4 points north-west towards the west. From Salmade to Anthioceta is said to be 20 miles by sailing between the west and north-west. From Anthioceta to Castrum Lomshoaldum is reckoned 25 miles by sailing 4 points west of north-west. From Castellum Lomshoaldum to Candelorus[1] is ten miles by the east or west winds. Candelorus is a city that has a port and is sheltered from the south-west. From Candelorus to the reef of Saint Focha is reckoned 30 miles by sailing west north-west: from the said reef to Old Satalia[2] is 40 miles by sailing 4 points north-west of west. From Old Satalia to New Satalia is said to be 40 miles by the westerly or easterly wind. New Satalia[3] is a large city, with a reef outside it that extends for eight miles in the sea: the reef has its own name of Agiopendi and a good harbour is to be found there. From New Satalia to Renathia is 15 miles: the said Satalia has a good and secure port entirely on the mainland, into which a river flows. From Renathia to Cyprianae is ten miles: the said Renathia has a good harbour on an island secure from both sea and land, and has plenty of river water. From Cyprianae to Portus Ianuensis[4] is ten miles: the port is safe and has plenty of river water on its beach, while the people of the port guard themselves against the Turks by both land and sea. From Portus Ianuensis to Chipascus is reckoned eight miles: it has a good harbour and a river: however, precautions are taken with regard to the inhabitants of the land. From Chipascus to Cambruxa is six miles: there is good shelter and plenty of water, from the port there is an island about three miles out to sea. From Cambruxa to the reefs of Childonius is ten miles but it is small and has shelter when an anchor is used: however, it has a nervous feel to it from the seaward side although it can be secured from mainland peoples. From the reefs of Childonius to Saint Stephen is three miles: it has a good harbour and plenty of water, however, there is a threat from the people of the land **(p. 90)**. From the port of Saint Stephen to the reefs of Finigha[5] is 15 miles: it has a good port in the reefs near the land, plenty of water but insecurity on the landward side: six miles inland there is a large village: also both Greeks and Turks have established settlements in the neighbouring mountains. From Finigha to Saint Nicholas of Stamitis is 15 miles: it has a good harbour and is secure towards the sea: on land a guard is kept: the port has a narrow entrance and sweet water is available on the shore from a river flowing into the sea. From Saint Nicholas of Stamitis to Caccabus is five miles: it has a good harbour and on the reefs water may be had from cisterns and the mainland lies opposite the port: a watch is maintained on land because of bad people. From Caccabus to the island of Correntis is 20 miles: it has good shelter and is secure from the people from the land and has plentiful water in cisterns. From the island of Correntis to Ghya is four miles: it has a good

1 *Coracesium, Candiloro*, modern Alanya.

2 Variously rendered *Satalia senis* or *vetere*. It was on the site of Side (Eski Adalia).

3 Modern Attaleia or Antalya.

4 The Genoese Port.

5 Modern Finike.

harbour secure from the sea but less secure on land: on the beach water from a river is available. From Ghya to the island of Castrum Rozo is 20 miles: it has a good harbour and plenty of water; its landward side is secure: the harbour is next to the coast and many reefs surround it. From Castrum Razo [sic] to the island of Polcelli is 15 miles: there is a good harbour there secure from the land: there is not an ample supply of good water; three feet under the water in this area is a large reef. From the island of Polcelli to Megradicum below Patra[1] is 15 miles: it has a good harbour on the east but water is scarce and a watch has to be kept on the land. From Megradicum to Perdichiae is 30 miles: it has a good port and plenty of water with no difficulties regarding the land. From Perdichiae to Saint Nicholas de Livixo is four miles: there is a good port, plenty of water and security on land. From Saint Nicholas de Livixo to the head of Trachilus is five miles: there is a good harbour, water in abundance in cisterns on the island and security on the mainland. From Trachilus to the port of the land of Macri is 15 miles; it has a good port, but in its entrance there is a reef about two or three feet under the water: there is plenty of drinking water and security with the land. From Macre to Copis is ten miles: there is a good harbour that is safe both from the sea and from the land: there is plenty of water in cisterns on the island. From Copis to Guia is 20 miles: there is a good port, secure on the landward with plenty of water both on the island and on the shore. From Guia to Prepia[2] is ten miles: it has a good harbour in summer with security with the mainland: from this place a river seven foot deep may be entered that has water. Here ships are loaded that take timber to Egypt.

Chapter 27: The paid crusaders of the Holy Roman Church that will join the Christian army, concerning Egypt, how the river Nile ought to be controlled; in which it is shown how the island of Raxetus can be occupied, and concerning the numbers of the aforesaid and how many can stand together; by showing how the infidels can be forced to hand over the land of Egypt to the faithful of Christ

Now it should be examined, thought about clearly and believed that the people who are signed with the cross or those who receive pay from the crusade levies received from the faithful of the Holy Church, as discussed earlier, will have been recruited in all parts of the Christian world [and] will come together as has been said, when the Christian army will have been gathered together in due order in the aforesaid coastal camps. The army will find itself prepared and supplied with both a fleet and other necessities, as there is need, and for the armed men sweet water and lands await. All the 50,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry will be found the appropriate stipend without distinction: by counting in this number the 15,000

[1] Patara.

[2] The remains of this large medieval site are on the coast at Baba Dag, see George E. Bean, *Lycian Turkey* (London, 1978), 33. Many of the sites mentioned in the preceding paragraph, though not identified by Bean, lie within the compass of this book and the route described by Sanudo can be followed on Bean's maps.

foot and 300 horse that comprised Part 1 of this Book 2: hope is to be placed in God and doubt removed that with the help of the same in whose name this business is undertaken the River Nile will surely be controlled: if they control or will control the Nile, straightaway they will have the island of Raxetus with no opposition: this is not thought extravagant: and there they can quickly build fortifications and at their will they can make settlements as appears appropriate to them and especially in the upper head or part which is nearer Kayro [sic] and also Babylon **(p. 91)**. And so it must be considered because on account of the huge armament and the strong arm of the army of the Christian people and the aforesaid ships, that the whole of the remaining provinces of Egypt will be conquered and subject to Your Holiness. And if Your Holiness decides not to enlist so large an army because it is too large to keep together nonetheless it can go forward with 40,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry at the stipends previously assigned, and bring the business of Egypt to a good end: the river of Egypt being entered [it will be] in that state in which it remains at the present. And if anyone wants to argue or to speak out that you might consider getting the Tartars well-disposed to you and changing the voting procedure: perhaps it is possible that they will oppose you, since the majority may have converted to the sect of Machomet. The Tartars can enter Egypt in favour of the said sect and bring help. Clearly, there are Turks and other Saracens scattered throughout Romania and all other parts of the East, who likewise might ask them for support and aid: not only Arabs and some of the other Saracens in Africa: who altogether or individually will support the Egyptians or bring them aid and assistance. To which petition it can be replied, that with God's help and with the men of your Blessedness mustered in such great numbers, as has been said, with the order and protection already outlined, they reasonably ought to be able to control the Nile. And if they assert control of that river they will either occupy the great part of Egypt or they will completely disrupt it. So what follows from this, that however large the number of Saracens to be found in Egypt, so much the shorter and swifter will be the campaign, when they have been unable to keep the land or defend it, so the Christians will take away the food with which the infidels should be sustained and immediately they will go hungry: nor can supplies be found or brought from elsewhere in Egypt, on account of the reasons rehearsed earlier: nor can anything be brought to them by sea since it is guarded by your men; nor can food or help be brought from the upper Nile, from Ethiopia or anywhere else, so great will be the plight of the Egyptians. They will be compelled by extreme necessity to withdraw and give up the land because of famine. For all of which reasons it can be seen clearly that the infidels cannot protect Egypt, nor go against your men they being present in such great numbers as already mentioned. If Almighty God deigns to grant his grace to them so that they may carry out their task with faithful heart: namely your men will seize Egypt in your name and on your behalf, as well as a huge treasure as they can extract, which may be as large as can be imagined or reported: namely just as from the land of Egypt they receive and have their sustenance, so also they carry off from all other parts all the commerce of India, causing them to come to the West via Egypt.

And with a favourable outcome a large force ought to be maintained there by your Blessedness: also the Promised Land, which has long been the handmaiden of dogs and a tributary to the Saracens with God's will, may be conquered by force by your men: but also other infidels and schismatics everywhere will be subjected to Christian lordship and may wish to convert to the true religion of Jesus Christ putting aside their wiles, ill-deeds and schisms, those who do not wish to convert may be put to the sword of the Christians. And if anyone wants to examine how much the said cavalry and infantry earn as a stipend, rations and other expenses each month and for one year: this question can be tackled politely: 30,000 armed men each earn 3 gold florins every month: which amounts to 90,000 florins in total **(p. 92)**. Besides, 10,000 men each helping the other, each 1 earns 5 gold florins, which amounts to 50,000 florins. The food for all 40,000 warriors costs 20,000 florins per month. Besides the cavalry with stipend, food and remount each cost 30,000 gold florins per month [sic]: that amounts to 30,000 gold florins in total per month. For the ambassadors sent to the Tartars, with appropriate gifts and those to other peoples with others costing likewise, each cost 5,000 florins. For a whole month this amounts to 190,000 gold florins or in 1 year, 22 times 180,000 florins: by having always the best men as described above. Shipping and wood for building shelters, weapons and clothes for protecting the army as described, principally marked with the sign of the cross can amount to 200,000 gold florins. Besides, for prelates who will have been with the army, for brothers, for secular clerics, for the infirm and for women going in the army and for foreign allies for whom there will have been a payment and for other expenses, following bountifully and liberally and which might be appropriate, in the first year perhaps 320,000 florins might be spent, since when I have said from the food 40,000 men in necessity be used for 50,000 men. The total sum for the first year is 28 times 100,000 florins. But yet in the second year, in which it must be hoped in God that the business of Egypt will be completed the same men with ships, wood and other items will not need more than 22 times 100,000 florins: on account of all kinds of supplies that can be sourced locally and seasonally. So all together for 2 years the cost will be 50 times 100,000 florins: reckoning the florin, as said in Part 1 of this Book 2, to be worth 2 Venetian soldi grossi: for this the business will be well and amply carried through.

Chapter 28: In which certain questions and arguments against the power of the Christians are advanced: namely once the land of Egypt is conquered the Christian can take possession of the land of Jerusalem and Syria against the power of the Sultan and of the Tartars and other infidels: and concerning the cost of gaining Jerusalem and Syria and the justification of the friendship of the Tartars

And if anyone doubts or wishes to complain: it has been said how, according to your discretion Egypt will be occupied once it has been conquered: but attention must be given as to how the Holy Land and Syria, that are the prime objectives,

will be conquered. First of all, surely it is well-known that there are no large rivers, lakes or marshes in Jerusalem, Semo and Syria through which the campaign can be brought to a good and desirable end, as was the case with Egypt? To which it can be replied that the intention of any faithful Christian ought to be pure and simple and primarily the task of entering deep within the Holy Land and of ruling it in a prosperous and peaceful manner: and the same can be said, that the matter can be put in hand from the coast of Egypt. Since without them the Holy Land cannot be conquered, nor held, nor ruled in peace by the faithful. To that point raised above that there are no rivers, lakes, watery places or marshes in Jerusalem or Syria into which the offensive may be taken and the infidels destroyed or injured, or where they can be **(p. 93)** utterly defeated. This is correct: but there the sea influences the whole land, many of the provinces adjoin it and many cities are on the shore or in its hinterland: so the campaign can be conducted from the sea. And although this can happen as it is told, Your Holiness must not hold back a good number of soldiers especially good infantry so that Jerusalem and Syria may be taken by force: and the same applies to coastal shipping, especially those with oars for transporting horses and other things necessary for the army. Now it can be objected and said to the contrary that however many cavalry and foot are taken to Syria and Jerusalem, they will be strongly opposed by those who may have fled from Egypt bringing together men from all the lands of the infidels and uniting those who now live there: and the great power of the Tartars and of the other Turks and Saracens who dwell in the East and in Africa if they shall have tried to break your power. To this it can be said and truly replied and in Part 2 of this Book 2 is more fully laid out that if the Tartars descend upon the Promised Land and Syria in the summer time, they will have no ability to stay there on account of the intense heat which is found in those parts and on account of the shortage of pasture that they will be unable to find at that time to feed their animals. And the same applies to the Turks and any other peoples that may come from the North to the aid of the said land: and especially to those who come with livestock as has been discussed regarding the Tartars. Especially when the Tartars or a people unfamiliar with the Promised Land may have arrived, by seeking the favour and approval of the Saracens rather they turn themselves into a burden rather than a source of help, since they achieve nothing other than to empty the land and consume all available food. These things having been considered the captain of the Christian army, being sensible, would remain in the towns in the summer time and by building forts, primarily in coastal areas and garrisoning them with good infantrymen and the best cavalry, who would invade and raid whenever it suits them and they should proceed destroying food stocks in as many provinces as they can. And if anyone asks how the great and impregnable fortresses held by the Sultan and by the Saracens, his subjects, in Syria and Jerusalem may be attacked and captured: to these it may be replied briefly that by destroying the food in the provinces, they will come under extreme necessity and ultimately and in a short time will give up the land and the fortifications and depart from the land and the forts on account of the famine: since no help can be brought to them from anywhere after the Christians

have gained control of the sea and the land of Egypt, seeing that the Promised Land, Semi and Syria, presently occupied by the Sultan, are located as they are in a confined area: namely, on one side it faces towards the west and the provinces adjoin the sea: on two other sides, that is the east and the south they are almost surrounded by a great desert. However, if anyone considers the truth, are there no dwellings in any of these deserts? To this it can be replied that the land of Alapii has its border in the desert where Arabs called Bedouins live spending all their time in Beria or other level places, under tents using and living from their animals which they herd. They have especially good horses for running swiftly; sometimes they keep themselves in the territory of the Sultan at Babylon: at other times they move to the land of the Tartars that borders them and often come into contact with Baldachin, where the Tartars hold sway. The land that the Sultan holds to the north borders the Kingdom of Armenia and on the river *Aqua Frigidae* it borders the Tartars as has been said. The land is long from the north to the south and narrow from the east to the west: and all the rivers that are found there over which the Sultan now rules flow across the land and are not always full of water **(p. 94).**[1] That being so, neither the Tartars nor anyone else can bring any aid to this land, unless it is with immense labour and huge costs. And if anyone asks how you would hold the Promised Land and Syria in the face of the Sultan's forces having consumed the land? You nevertheless can fight with the enemy on level ground. Also towns can be rebuilt and fortifications erected or repaired so that you can withstand the power of the Sultan. To which it can be added that when the sea is free to your men with an abundance of suitable ships that will hold many people that can take large numbers of horses and men wherever they wish to land there is no doubt that with God's help they can take the land from the enemy and make themselves so strong in any part of the land before the enemy can advance against them. By the same means they can position cavalry and infantry wherever it seems necessary so that they can raid the enemy and destroy food stocks so that no food may be found: especially since the coastline of the Promised Land and Syria is reckoned to be about 400 miles long. So although the Saracens have a lot of people there is no way by which they can guard the coast and defend so much from the Christians, who may take whatever they wish. So for the reasons above and others that can be said and the time and place appointed by speaking humbly and devoutly, it is clear that once the land of Egypt is conquered and why holding to the plan outlined above, that the infidels cannot protect the Promised Land, Jerusalem and Syria from the Christians. And as has been shown of these provinces, so likewise can be demonstrated of many other lands and provinces in which the infidels or schismatics hold sway: to which the same argument applies: seeing that when Your Holiness orders such a great number of ships to be prepared, well-strengthened and fitted with oars at the prow for the transport of horses: and also other ships for carrying other things essential for the army and for transporting cavalry and foot to descend on the land at will, while the power will be at hand to them in their

[1] *Non per longum quotidie dilabuntur* is not clear in meaning.

armed strength and courageous disposition, just as the power of Your Holiness will be at hand, as much from that which can be extracted from the land of Egypt by your paternal rule as from that which Your Holiness can ask and raise from your subjects and supporters, as has been reported above, nor with God's help is anything to be doubted, by considering how it is situated and how its boundaries are defined by the sea, the whole empire of Romania, which, great as it is, both that part which is occupied by the Turks and that which is held by the schismatic Greeks and by other nations which hold it in subjection and occupy the land of the aforesaid empire, why should your men, ordered as described above and with the requisite ships, not subjugate it to your power or bring them to destruction? The inhabitants of the land will soon fall into the hands of your men and finally submit to your lordship. As this is the case with the Roman Empire so it is true of Barbary and the whole of Africa. In the same way, after Your Holiness has established himself in Egypt, he may send his ships to the Indian Ocean to control that sea and subjugate the islands and the coastlands of those parts. It can be seen from all this that the Holy Church of God can swiftly return to its former state. So that the very venerable patriarchs, your subjects and vassals, who a long time ago were driven from the personal inheritance of their predecessors can return to their seats and occupy them peacefully together with those who were removed in those parts and their suffragans: namely the venerable Patriarch of Antioch, the Patriarch of Alexandria and the Patriarch of Constantinople; not least the venerable Father the Lord Patriarch of Jerusalem, on account of the dignity of this most holy place; and also in Africa to that see in which the venerable father and most excellent doctor the blessed Augustine was once bishop **(p. 95)**. Again, many venerable and holy places can be visited, where the saints formerly stood and made their dwelling: and especially those places that it pleased our Lord Jesus Christ to visit with his most holy feet for our redemption, which Your Holiness can restore in due course to his own satisfaction. And although it may be shown that the Tartars might in some ways resist the faithful of Jesus Christ, nevertheless in all ways it is praiseworthy and therefore advisable that if the friendship of the aforesaid can be had as outlined in the first part of this work then it should be obtained by sparing no expense: and not only the love and friendship of the Tartars is to be sought: but also roused in all other nations that seem useful in carrying out this business. For in the exercise of arms and of wars, all security and every precaution and all discussing beforehand which can be given by the prudent and sought by the wise [should be carried out]. For all of which undertakings both strenuous and profitable, no expense should be spared in this high affair: the costs of fitting out such a large army should not be borne by Holy Mother Church, but by all faithful Christians on account of the hope and faith which they ought to have and to place in the most high Creator so that for such a praiseworthy and blessed outcome we deserve to approach with joy.

Chapter 29: Certain observations for the lords who will oversee these deeds of war wisely and prudently and to certain notables too

All grace and all gifts come from God and without him there is nothing good. And man is not strong enough nor does anything and can do nothing unless it is given and granted to him by God. For certain the commander and director of this great force deserves the grace of God. First, with every thought and with great foresight he should look to a successful outcome. Second, [he should proceed] with great bounty and with due order. Third, he should not despise his enemies: and listen to, pay attention to and hear those things that they can do to harm or oppose him. Fourth, he should do what he can to preserve his men and lessen the danger to them: and not to engage in battle except with great caution. Fifth, he should see to all essential supplies, especially wheat: for many a good undertaking has failed for want of bread. Sixth, he should prize men over things. Seventh, so that the mission proceeds along the path that seems best according to your discretion so long must it be defined by the end for which it was begun. Eighth, do not do unto others what you would not like done to you: and have great care and attention that each and every ship in your land receives its supplies. Ninth, do not put aside important matters for trivial ones. Tenth, consider carefully the condition of your people: and what sorts of people live in your land: and especially that they have enough rather than satiety. Eleven, a good lively and sound beginning betokens a good end. Twelve, to love the common good rather than your own: for this reason Rome grew: do what you can according to reason and not what you may do in fact. Thirteenth, hear all things well and afterwards discuss them with few men. Fourteen, reward the good and punish the evil: for this reason the Roman Empire increased. For it is better to have a good name than to have great wealth. Fifteenth, honour the ministers of the Holy Church and receive them well: also receive merchants and treat them well: and for all grace given to you always give thanks to God, with praise and blessing, Amen.

In the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the Living God, Amen: Certain Notes (p. 96)

Discretion is the mother of all virtues: and indiscretion is the mother of all vices.
Ingratitude is a burning wind, drying the source of piety, the dew of pity and the flow of grace.
Who has not charity has nothing.
Chrysostome says: wisdom is not to know the eloquence of God; but to live according to the eloquence of God.
Money is the root of all evils.
No virtue is greater than patience.
What is better than gold? Jasper: which jasper? Feeling: which feeling? Reason: which reason? Manner.

When the gentiles come to the Church of God to become Christians, among the precepts of God that are read the conclusion is thus: Do not do to others what you do not wish to be done to you.

First, it is right and proper that those things which must be considered be considered with reason: then tested by experiment, so that reason is confirmed by experience or by true example. Courage without reason is like a sword in the hands of a madman. It is written that while Aristotle was approaching death[1] his disciples asked him to teach them some weighty word: groaning he said, I entered this world humbly, I lived in it anxiously, I came out of it confused, unknowing and ignorant.

To your potent Magnificence, granted by our Lord God, Marinus Sanutus, called Torsellus, from Venice recommends himself and his family humbly and cordially.

[1] *Monti* in the text may be a misprint for *morti* as that makes better sense here.

Book 3
Keeping, Holding and Possessing the Holy Land of Promise

Here begins Book 3 of the same work from which it can be known the manner in which the aforesaid land, after it has been subjugated to the rule of the Christians, should be kept in a good, quiet and peaceful condition to the praise of God and to the honour of the Holy Roman Church **(p. 97)**. Book 3 is divided into a prologue, parts and chapters.

Prologue

And so, by the grace of the Creator Egypt, the Promised Land and Semi, and the whole of Syria up to the *Aqua Frigida* has been researched and the results set out in Part 4 of Book 2 of this work, and it is foreseen how those lands now ruled by the Sultan may be subjugated to Christian rule and likewise, attention is directed to how these lands may be kept together from the attacks of the infidels to the praise of God and the glory and honour of the Holy Roman Church; and the state prosperity, peace and ease of all faithful Christians in those parts and not only for the health of their bodies but finally to the health of their souls. However, in this work I propose and speak sometimes spiritually, sometimes temporally and sometimes both together insofar as the material and nature of facts allows. And since this cannot be accomplished or even put in hand without the help of the All-powerful, because He must be prayed to for the achievement of all undertakings, not only the greatest but also the smallest: namely by putting God before all others, by showing due obedience and reverence to Him in all things, as is truly written in the Gospel of St John the apostle and evangelist: 'Whoever loves me will keep my word and my father will love him and we will come to him and make our home in him: whoever does not love me will not follow my words, etc.'[1] Again, the Lord has spoken through the psalmist: 'Unless the Lord has built the house, those that build it labour in vain. And in vain do the guards watch, unless the Lord watches over the city.' [2] On account of this so that the said things may be fully accomplished and firmly maintained as has been outlined, it is right and proper to revere Him in all things and to pay Him full reverence: so that by this means each individual Christian may draw nearer to God. Likewise, it must be acknowledged

[1] John 14:22, 23.

[2] Psalm 126.

and believed that diseases, which have come upon people and will happen from the beginning of the world until now, are allowed by God; and by him, as it is believed, are introduced, or for gaining greater merit in a future life: as the famous Apostle Paul tells: 'We must go through many hardships to reach the Kingdom of God.'[1] Or they are sent because of the grave sins and abominable behaviour that abound in this world. The miseries and trials sent by God are such that from them a greater reward awaits in a future world, this is rather specific to some rather than for the mass of people. And on account of diseases and tribulations which are inflicted on the people of one empire in general or to some province or city so that abominable sins and evil deeds may be punished as is recited in holy script **(p. 98)**. From the time of Noah floods have been sent to the whole earth at the behest of the supreme protector. Likewise, from the time of Lot five burned towns were thrown suddenly to the depths. And for this reason because they had been sinful, various tribulations, plagues and adversities were sent against them and continued to be so, it is proper to avoid both carnal and spiritual flaws and sins: since nothing good can be taken from them nor is there any good result. And because the Holy Land is more worthy than other lands distant from it, on account of the health of the human population, which our redeemer wished to appoint as the navel of the earth and is greatly to be held in reverence than any other parts of the world. Anyone there should turn away from sin more keenly lest he should offend God in that place, inasmuch as it is chosen by God, by how much is it beloved by God with greater zeal. And as I may follow my intention and proposition, some part of this work which a certain most honest man, as well as many others, has compiled on the histories of the east, especially of the Holy Land, which I can summarize in my short work as greater evidence of the truth: because there will be industry and caution and the Holy Land must be held and Divine worship freely maintained; but also because it must be gained in the first place the Christians must have wisdom and doctrine. For while these things will not have come to an end, the failures may not be known which these things sustain from the first: however, I look from the end so that these things are manifestly and evidently known. From tales then from history, we can see when the Holy Land went under the yoke of perdition and when it left the Christian rite: what must be done regarding this affair, to save the land from the force of the infidels and keep it forever, from the foregoing it can be known and more clearly seen, according to me the all-powerful God our father will consider us worthy of His grace and pity. This book is divided into 15 parts as noted below.

Here begins Book 3 of the same work, containing an infallible and true instruction for preserving, holding and possessing the Promised Land, against the attacks of any infidels, after it will have been conquered from the hands of the Saracens, having 15 Parts.

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[1] Acts 14:22.

Part 1

Part 1 tells how the Promised Land has been ruled by various peoples, having 14 chapters.

Chapter 1: Why the Promised Land is attractive to every nation and why the inhabitants are so often oppressed or thrown from the land

All manner of peoples inhabit the Holy Land. First, its location exposes it to all. It is situated in the middle of the habitable world and like a point of circumference. It faces Africa, Asia and Europe. Second, this shows it as it reveals itself as a threefold masterpiece of the highest creator, having this appearance to the human race: namely a work of creation, of redemption and of the last judgement. This has been touched upon more generally in the prologue of this book **(p. 99)**. By reason of the creation the sons of Cham lived in that land: just as the first created man [laughed] at God so he laughed at his father.[1] On account of the redemption the sons of Sem lived together in that land, from whom sprung Abraham, to whom the first covenant was made in which there were blessings for all his seed in the whole earth,[2] because it is relevant to the redemption of the human race. By reason of the last judgement the sons of Japhet had lived in that land and now live in Europe where they became faithful Christians and true Catholics, from which says the Apostle, 1 Cor. 6, 'Do you not know that the saints will judge this world?' And below 'Do you not know that we will judge the angels?' From the three sons of Noah all people are descended and were divided on the earth after the flood.[3] And the whole world knows that it is bound together and united by the descendants of these three inhabitants of the Promised Land. Now I will say why the Promised Land is common to all the peoples of the whole world, more than any other place: now it may be asked why the inhabitants of this land are often expelled and more often oppressed. For this is more weighty and worthy than other things, God chose this land as is clear from the sayings we have collected. God speaks to that region through the Prophet Zacharias in metaphor, 'Whoever may have touched you, touches the pupil of my eye.'[4] For the pupil from all parts of the body is singled out for special affection and is cleansed from all pollution and harm more quickly. So due to this choice God does not allow that land to be besmirched with sins any longer, rather he frightens it to reform from within or carries it to freedom with scourges or exile. Through Jeremias God says 'I have introduced you into the land of Carmel so that you may enjoy its fruit and its bounty and you have defiled my land. The priests do not ask where is the Lord and keeping the laws they do not know me: and the pastors have no trust in me; and the prophets turn

1 Genesis 9.
2 Genesis 12:18.
3 Genesis 10.
4 Zacharias 2:8.

to Baal and follow idols'.[1] There follows, 'Lions roar over this suppliant people. They have made a waste of this land: the cities are devastated and there are no inhabitants in them'.[2] And God says the same in Isaya, 'If you provoke me to anger the sword will devour you'.[3] For the work of creation admits no brutal inhabitants there but thoughtful ones: the work of redemption uses the faithful and expels the unfaithful: the work of the last judgement chooses the good and sends the evil away as useless. On this account the fan is described as in the hands of the judges so that those who are separated from the deeds may be separated from the land.[4]

Chapter 2: How the sons of Ham first inhabited the Promised Land and why they were expelled

Africa was given to the sons of Cham, Asia to the sons of Sem and Europe to the sons of Japhet, they had plenty of room. For Cham, who we read in the *Book of Clement*, was Zoroaster, was King of the Bactrians. Of him Augustine wrote in Book XXI of *De civitate Dei*, 'Men say that Zoroaster was the only man to smile when he was born'. Nor did that monstrous smile portend anything good. He became the inventor of the magic arts and was defeated in war by Ninus, King of Assyria when he himself was King of the Bactrians. Ninus was the son of Belus Nerontides, King of Assyria and Babylon, Nemront himself descended from Cham as Genesis tells us.[5] They also lived in the Promised Land of which we speak, as we read in Genesis, 'The borders of Canaan were set coming from Sidon to Gerara as far as Gaza, while you proceed to Sodom, Gomorra, Adama and Seboym as far as Lasa.'[6] However, the impious Cham discovered the magic arts: and he took up idolatry from Nino who was of his seed. For on the death of his father Belus he made an image of his father, to which men, because the King had been sparing to whichever kings fled to him, began to give divine honours. With this example many others made images to their deceased ancestors: a Demon considering this, placed himself in these human idols and began to give responses so that he brought many to idolatry. After that, men thought that any such thing might be made from an idol and heavenly power, just as one thing is made from mind and body. And so they began to offer sacrifices to the idol as if it was God: and the whole world lapsed into idolatry. And so all other things straying, Abraham since he was an astrologer by training, from the reason and ordering of the stars could know the builder. It is said that an angel appeared before his face and taught him so that he began to sense more clearly, this should be believed since he came from a faithful home. Whence the Hebrews say that the Chaldeans threw Abraham and his brother

1 Jeremias 2:7.
2 Jeremias 2:15.
3 Isaias 1:20.
4 Matthew 3:12.
5 Genesis 10:8. Nemront is Nimrud.
6 Genesis 10:19.

Aram into the fire through which they had dragged his sons **(p. 100)** because they did not wish to worship the flame. Aram being suffocated, Abraham was freed with the help of God. And since this was done around 75 years, in year 68, after the aforesaid idol was first made and the Promised Land as well as other lands plunged into idolatry, he advanced at the behest of God from his own land to the Promised Land, so that after the expulsion of the idolaters the seed of faithful Abraham might dwell there: and this not immediately but after 400 years. 'Not until', says God, 'their evils are complete.' [1] For Divine justice advances with slow paces: and the benign Creator looks out for us, to pity us, ignoring our sins, if perhaps the sinner converts and lives.

Chapter 3: How the people of Israel, descended from Sem through Abraham: having expelled the sons of Cham or reduced them to slavery, dwelt in the Promised Land

And so the sins of the Amorites being completed, 767 years after the flood. The people of Israel, by many marvellous events, were freed from the slavery of Egypt, they crossed the Red Sea with dry clothes and there the Egyptians were drowned. They were fed in the desert for 40 years, their clothes and sandals did not wear out, under the leadership of Moses they accepted the law of God so that they became a special people to him: from the deserts to the miraculously flowing Jordan under the leadership of Joshua, while they entered the Promised Land the Angel, the commander of the army of the Lord, ordered Joshua as a sign of the holiness of the chosen land: 'Take the sandals off your feet: for the place in which you are standing is holy.'[2] And first being circumcised with a stone knife, so that they were distinguished from the idolaters in mind and body, they proceeded to take Jericho by surrounding it: they circled the city following seven priests with seven trumpets before the Ark of the Lord, and last of all came the common people, and this they did for seven days: on the seventh day, however, they did this seven times and on the seventh time the people shouted and the walls of Jericho fell down and altogether they entered the place which had stood against them and took the city: they killed everyone there from infants to the old including women; also they cut down oxen, sheep and asses with the edge of their swords.[3] Beware, reader, although the justice of God advances with inexorable steps; however slow I have been so much the more heavily is it meted out. After the destruction of Jericho they massacred the men of the town of Hay by wiles, and burned the city down.[4] On hearing of this all the kings on the other side of Jordan in the mountains, the plains and the coast, and those who lived in Lebanon, Aetheus, Amoreus, Cananeus,

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1 Genesis 15:16.

2 Joshua 5:15.

3 Joshua 6.

4 Joshua 8:19.

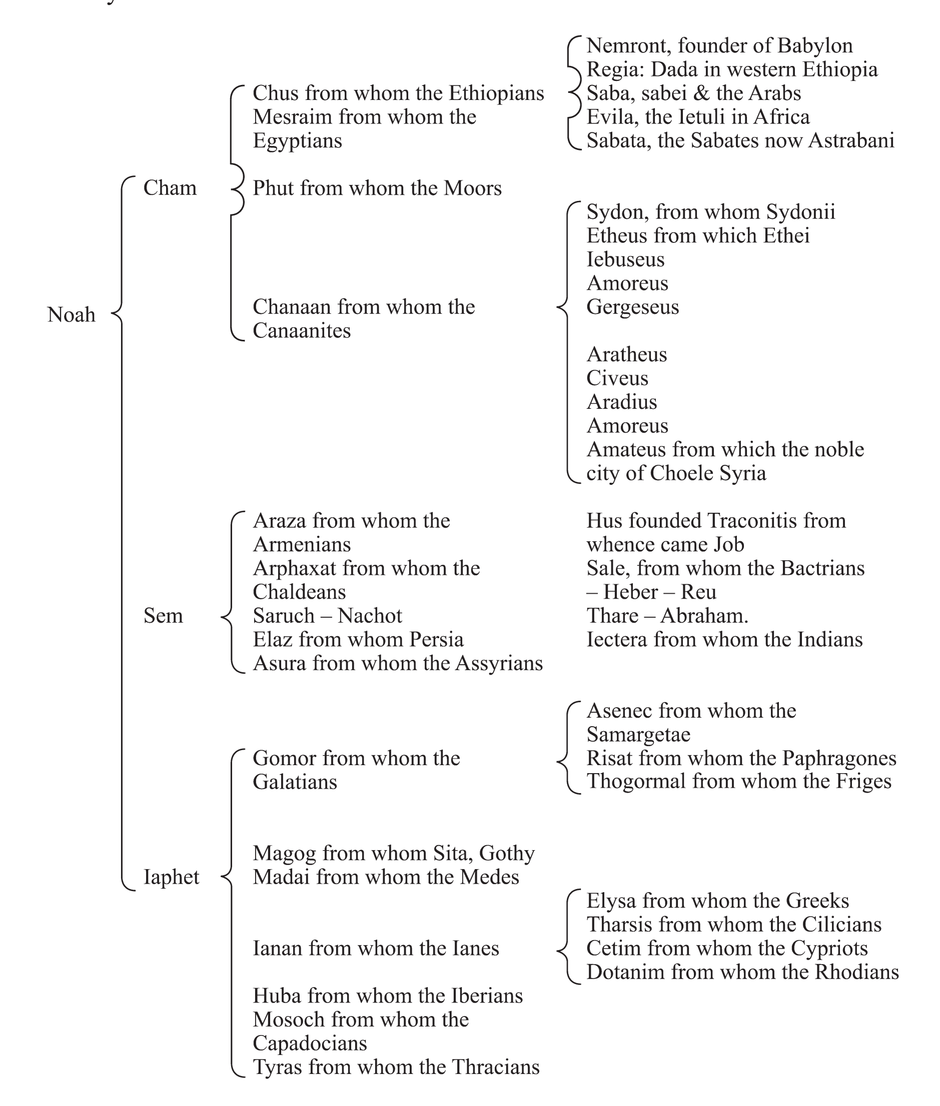
Pherezeus, Eueus and Jubuseus came together to fight against Israel.[1] Meanwhile, the Gabeonites used a trick to make a treaty with Joshua and the people of Israel, saying that they had come from a far away land: on account of this deceit they were condemned to slavery as hewers of wood and carriers of water.[2] Five kings came together against Gabeon because of this treaty, and Joshua attacked them suddenly and defeated them and they watched whilst those running away were killed by hailstones:[3] and the sun stood still at the request of Joshua, while the people avenged themselves on their enemies and the whole army returned safe and sound and no one dared to fight against the children of Israel. Thus was God's mercy shown to his chosen as well as severity to his enemies. Finally, the people of Israel slew 31 Kings who had opposed Joshua. Now was completed the curse that Noah had placed on his son who had laughed at him. He said 'Cursed be the son of Cham he shall be a servant of servants to his brothers'.[4] first to the Jews then to the Romans: and he said 'may the Lord God bless Sem and may Canaan be his servant'. He cursed the son of Cham, not the person, since the Lord had blessed him: as it is written, 'God blessed Noah and his sons.'[5] After considering these deeds of Joshua, no land was acquired unless it was for permanent, peaceful and quiet occupation: after the Lord of Israel had given peace and all the nations in the region conquered, he said to all the people of Israel, 'Be careful to keep all that is written in the book of law and keep to your Lord God: and then the Lord God will keep evil far from you; and nothing can harm you: one of you will overcome a thousand enemies; because your Lord God will himself fight on your side. But if you wish to follow the errors of these people and intermarry with them and make friendships, know that your Lord God will not destroy these before your eyes: but these will be a snare and a noose for you and a mote in your eyes, until you remove it and expel it from the land that has been given to you.' **(p. 101).**[6] All of which will appear verified in the following.

Chapter 4: How the said sons of Sem conducted themselves under 14 judges

Holy Scripture teaches that Israel served the Lord all the days of Joshua and the elders, who died a long time after Joshua. After Joshua's death Israel consulted the Lord through the priest Finees as to whom should be chosen as their war leader: and the divine response was that the tribe of Juda, with the tribe of Symeon should go up to Jerusalem, attack it and burn the city.[7] However, they could not expel Jebuseus: but allowed him to remain there under tribute. He held it and various

1 Joshua 9:1.
2 Joshua 10:1.
3 Joshua 10:7 etc.
4 Genesis 9:25–26.
5 Genesis 9:1.
6 Joshua 23:6 etc.
7 Judges 1:1 etc.

other places. It is well-known about Jerusalem, for according to Honorius it was built by Sem the eldest son of Noah and called Salem.



The Jews say that this Sem was Melchisedech, who was King Salem. Josephus says this too because he was the first who established priesthood for God, and built a temple and named Jerusalem Solima: but Iebusius, the son of Canaan, dwelt there, from which it was called Iebus: from Iebus and Salem David called it Jerusalem as if it was Jebusalem. Salomon decorated it with gold and jewels and called it Jerosolyma as if it was Jerosolomonia. Hadrian after he had destroyed and rebuilt it called it Helius from his own by-name Helya, taking the place of the crucifixion

and the tomb within the walls (**p. 102**), and paving over neighbourhoods and squares; and constructing an aqueduct by which it was cleansed from filth when it rained. They also say that in this place Jacob saw the ladder standing on the ground and stretching up to heaven and the angels of the Lord ascending and descending it with God at the top: and he called the city Bethel.[1] Bethel is also called Luza.[2] It is also called the Holy City.[3] When he speaks of the dead raised up at the time of the passion of Christ, because they had entered into the Holy City. The names contained in these verses are: Solima, Luza, Bethel, Jerosolyma, Iebus, Helya, Holy City called Jerusalem, and Salem.

But what does it mean now when scripture calls Jerusalem Luza or Bethel? Perhaps the temple is called Bethel because it is the house of God: Jerome also has something to say on this point, 'Abraham returned to Bethel from whence he had come': which place he saw: he says it is a very small town 12 miles from Jerusalem. [Jerusalem] is also called 'the daughter of Syon',[4] because it is lower than Mount Syon; and is protected by it as a daughter by her mother. In the Psalms it is described as 'on the sides of the north, the city of the great King',[5] because on the north side of Mount Syon is the City of Jerusalem, as the Glo[ssator] says of Isa[ias] 14 'in the sides of the north'. It is also called Ariel.[6] 'Woe to Ariel, Ariel the city that David captured'. In Matthew 21it is also called Castellum either from its appearance or from its fortifications: 'Go into the castle that is opposite you'. Returning to the history we say because Effraym also climbed Bethel, it was called this before Lazus: nor did he destroy Jebusius, but allowed him to live alongside him as a tributary: likewise they made treaties with three other tribes and transgressed the commands of the Lord.[7] After this transgression God sent his Angel who addressed the assembled people that having received so many blessings they had breached the covenant of the Lord: stating that the gods whose altars they had not kindled would be their ruin: and the people cried and called that place, the Place of Weeping or of Tears.[8] After this, however, no one kept the laws or precepts of the Lord; but those who did not know God and the wonders he did for Israel sprung up; and they served idols and intermarried with alien peoples. And God was angry with Israel, as we read in the book of Judges, and the Lord handed them over to raiders: who kept them hostage and sold them to their enemies who lived round about; nor could they resist their adversaries. And the Lord imposed the Judges who had freed them from the hands of the raiders; but they did not wish to hear him, worshipping other gods. For when the Lord

1 Genesis 28.

2 Genesis 35, Joshua 18 and Judges 1.

3 Matthew 27.

4 Isa[ias] 1:11.

5 Bongars gives Psalms 27:3 in error for 28:2.

6 Isa[ias] 29.

7 Judges 1:21.

8 Judges 2:1.

The Judges of the Jews
40 Moses
20 Joshua
90 Jothomel
8 Athoth
40 Deeboora
40 Gedeon
Sangar
3 Abimelech
31 Tola
22 Tayr
6 Jepte
7 Abesan
10 Aylon
8 Ahdol
20 Sanson
40 Hely
31 Samuel
King Saul

stirred up the judges pity was shown to them and he heard the groans of the afflicted and freed them from a wasting death. After a judge had died they reverted to their old ways and many became worse. So the sons of Sem, lived in the Promised Land, now sinners, now turning back to the path of prudence, from the death of Joshua to the time of kings they were under the judges for around 351 years.

Chapter 5: When the people began to have kings; and when the kingdom was divided into two, Juda and the ten tribes; and the end of the second Kingdom

When the prophet Samuel, the last of the judges, grew old he appointed his two sons as judges of the people; neither of these inclined to the paths of the father, but inclined towards avarice taking bribes and perverting justice; the people could not bear their insolence and asked for a king to be set over them[1] and approved by God, after Saul who was for the first year pure and then depraved and rejected by God, David reigned, a prophet of the Lord, with strong hand and a beautiful face.[2] Hearing Goliath, a giant six cubits and a palm tall, blaspheming the God of Israel, fired with zeal for the divine honour, he chose single combat with him: saying to the king himself [who had said] 'You cannot fight this Philistine because you are a boy': he replied 'because a lion and a bear came and took away a lamb from his father's flock, which he was guarding; he followed them **(p. 103)** and hit them and removed it from their mouth; and when they came against him he took them by their jaws and choked them': and he said 'he had killed the bear and the lion and this he would do to the Philistine as if he was one of them'. And so it was done; he overcame him with a sling and a stone and in the name of the Lord: and he cut off his head and took it to Jerusalem to frighten Jebuseus. And after some years he became king and expelled Jebuseus. King David was gentle and humble and gave everything he had to religion. Because of this he was despised by Micol, his wife and the daughter of Saul, because he had danced before the Ark of the Lord, he replied: 'I will be more vile than the game I have played and I will be more humble in my

[1] 1 Samuel 18:1 etc [sic] instead of 1 Kings 8:1. It is unclear why this Protestant notation is used in three marginal references on **(p. 103)** and **(p. 104).**

[2] 1 Samuel 17:4 etc [sic] instead of 1 Kings 17:4.

eyes before the Lord, who chose me rather than your father',[1] for he had regard for the lowly on earth and in heaven. Under King David the power of the people of Israel was increased by marvellous means. For he freed Israel from the tribute of the Philistines: and placed Moab, Syria of Damascus and Idumaea under tribute. For the Lord served David in all things, to which he turned his hand. After this Soloman his son reigned[2] who had a most praiseworthy beginning and rose in such glory that the daily diet of his court was 10 fat oxen, 20 sheep and 100 rams, deer, roes and oxen taken in the hunt: and fish were brought in daily: he had 40,000 chariot horse and 12,000 for riding and was wiser than all the Orientals, Egyptians and Jews. Just as his beginning was auspicious so Soloman made a foul end with great crimes, for when he had become an old man, his heart was corrupted by women, so that he followed foreign gods; nor was his heart at one with his Lord God, as his father David had been; but he worshipped Astarate the goddess of the Sydoni and Camos the god of the Moabites, and Molac the idol of the Amonites; so he took all his wives from foreign peoples who piled up incense on their altars and made burnt offerings to their gods. Therefore the Lord became angry with Soloman who had turned his face from the Lord God of Israel, and he said to him because you do not keep my covenant or my laws I will break up your kingdom; tear it from the hand of your son and: I will give it to your servant. However, I will not do this in your days on account of David your father: I will take it from your son. Nor will I take away the whole kingdom, but I will give one-third to your son and Jerusalem which I have chosen on account of my servant David.[3] Therefore after Soloman his son Roboam, who was very tyrannical, reigned. At the beginning of his reign the people begged him to lighten the very hard yoke that his father had placed on them, spurning the counsel of the elders he consulted his young companions and replied: 'my father increased your yoke; I will add to it: my father flayed you with whips; I will flay you with scorpions.'[4] The people were incensed by these words and ten tribes withdrew from his kingdom: he continued to reign over Judah in Jerusalem. Sefach, King of Egypt came to Jerusalem and plundered the Temple.[5] The ten tribes that had seceded made a king of their own, Jeroboam, a former servant of Soloman's: who, lest any of the people should return to the obedience of Roboam on account of frequent visits to the Temple, took advice and forbade his people to go to Jerusalem to worship God; and he made two golden calves and showed them to the people to worship, saying 'These are your gods, O Israel, that brought you from the land of Egypt.'[6] And under 18 kings the peoples of the 10 tribes worshipped these calves. Then the prophet Abdo, was sent to Jeroboam whilst he was sacrificing, and foretold that Josiah would be King

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[1] 2 Samuel 21:22 [sic] instead of 2 Kings.

[2] 1 Kings 14:17.

[3] 1 Kings 21:4.

[4] 1 Kings 12:1 etc.

[5] 1 Kings 14:25.

[6] 1 Kings 12:20.

and would burn the priests on that altar; and that the King's hand would wither as a sign and the altar broken up: the hand would be restored to health by the prayer of the prophet: for Jeroboam believed the priest of the idol, who said his arm had become paralyzed from work; and the altar broken in two from its weight rather than what the prophet and experienced had shown.[1] Achyas too foretold the death of Jeroboam devoured by dogs in the town and by birds in the countryside. After Baasa had killed Hieu the son of Anan; and Helyas, after the prophets of Baal were slain and after 2 princes of 500 men and those with them were killed by lightening, threatened the death of Ochozia after he had sent messengers to consult Beelzebub the god of Acheron: but meanwhile Micheas prophesying accurately was struck in the jaw. Heliseus also threatening injury sent one of the sons of the prophets to besmirch Jeu, to injure the house of Ahab for the blood of the prophets **(p. 104)**. Finally, Osee called the ten tribes to penitence: and Amos denounced the waste of the impenitent which Micheas had deplored. Therefore, ignoring the voices and miracles of the prophets, they did not wish to repent: and so God handed them over to the kings of the Assyrians. And first three tribes via Teglatsasar and then the remaining seven via Salmanassar were moved beyond the mountains of Persia and Medea, beyond the mountains of the Caspian; then settlers from Cuta in the region of Persia and from other places, were sent in their place [to Samaria] and when they began to settle there they did not fear the Lord, who sent lions against them to kill them, from which they had no knowledge of the ways of God; and he sent one of the captive priests to them to teach them how to worship God. These Cutei are said to come from Cuta, and the Samaritans from Samaria, and so on account of idolatry the greater part of the descendants of Sem were expelled from the Promised Land.

Chapter 6: The course and end of the Kingdom of Juda and Jerusalem

Now returning to the Kings of Jerusalem who ruled after David and Soloman we say that Abia ruled after Roboam and that he was a bad man.[2] After him came Asa, who began well: for he cleared out the filth of the idols and defeated the Ethiopians in war,[3] acted foolishly in the end: he ordered the Prophet Anani to be seized and bound, on account of which he became seriously ill with a pain in his feet, but however did he seek the Lord.[4] After him came Josaphat, who followed his father in his good deeds but was rebuked by the Prophet Jeu for his friendships with evil men.[5] When the Amonites, Moabites and Arabs invaded Juda, the King forbade weeping and brought all the people to the temple to appeal

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1 1 Kings 13.

2 3 Kings 15:2.

3 1 Paralipomenon 13:1.

4 4 Kings 15:9, 2 Paralipomenon 14:1.

5 2 Paralipomenon 16:7.

Saul	
40 David	
40 Salomon	
In Samaria	In Jerusalem
22 Jeroboam	15 Roboam
2 Nadab	3 Abia
24 Baasa	41 Asa
2 Ela	24 Josaphat
70 Zambri	8 Ioram
Amri	Ocozia
12 Achab	1 Athalia
2 Ochozias	16 Amasias
28 Ieu	52 Ozias
17 Jonathan	16 Jonathan
16 Ioas	19 Achaz
41 Jeroboam	29 Ezechias
23 No king	55 Manasses
6.m Zacharias	2 Amon
1.m Sellum	31 Iosias
10 Manahen	31 Ieconias
2 Faccia	31 Sedechias
20 Facee	70 Babylonian Captivity
8 No king	John the priest
9 Osee	This figure continues below ch. 10

to the Lord, and he defeated the invaders.[1] Because he made an alliance with King Ocozia whose deeds were evil, the ships that he sent to Ophir and to Afyon Gebir were smashed. After him came Iorum, who turned to idols and made the people of Jerusalem return to idolatry: he also murdered his six brothers: on account of which Edom withdrew from his lordship. The Arabs invaded Juda, destroyed the royal palaces and took away his wives and killed his sons, especially Ozia. He fell chronically ill and died from corruption of the bowels. After him came Ocozia, who did bad things against the Lord and reigned only one year and died. After him came his mother Athalia: seeing that with the deaths of her sons she could rule, she killed all the seed of the kings, except Ioas, the son of Ocozia, who, while still breast-feeding was hidden for six years by Ioiada the wife of the chief priest and the blood sister of Ocozia:[2] in the seventh year Ioiada brought together the chief priests and the Levites and the hundreds and made him king and caused the protesting Athalia to be killed. They destroyed the altar and the temple of Baal that Ioram and Athlia had set up and they killed the priest of Baal before his altar.[3] After this came Ioas who caused the restoration of the temple to be undertaken and who lived according to the laws all the days of Ioiada: but after her death he turned away from the laws of God[4] and corrupted the nobility by his example: because when Azaria, who was the son of Ioiada or Barachia, complained to Zacharias he had him stoned between the temple and the altar. And after this, as Epiphanius says, the people did not openly receive a response in the temple, either from Dabyr[5] or from Ephod as they had before. Finally, he allowed himself to receive divine

[1] 2 Paralipomenon 17:1.

[2] 4 Kings 9:29; 2 Paralipomenon 22:1; 4 Kings 11:1; 2 Paralipomenon 22:11.

[3] 4 Kings 12; 2 Paralipomenon 13:1.

[4] The name of God in the original is not capitalized again until **(p. 116),** see below.

[5] A Dabyr is presumably some part of the priestly vestments which is used like the Ephod to consult the Divine Oracle, see Exodus 28.

honours: on account of which, according to the Jews, he developed a depressive lassitude; and two of his servants struck him and he died. After him came Amasias, first he did all that was right in the sight of the Lord, and mustering the army against the Idumaeans and the Amalkites he struck down 10,000 from Edom; also another 10,000 were thrown from a mountain;[1] finally, he worshipped idols that he brought from Amalech, so daring because they give replies and because the Amalkites had perished, because they had not worshipped them properly: as a result he was defeated in battle: and 400 cubits of the walls of Jerusalem were thrown down and the treasure of the temple and of the king was carried off: and then a faction rose against him, he fled to Lachis and there he was killed. After him came Ozias, who, together with Azarias, did what was pleasing in the sight of the Lord: he put the Amonites under tribute; rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem; he was fond of agriculture; he presumed to take the priesthood unto himself, and so he was struck down with leprosy.[2] After him came Jonathan who did good things before the Lord: he built the gate of the flock and the sublime gate, which is said to be beautiful in the Acts of the Apostles **(p. 105)**: concerning which see below, Part 14, Chapter 8. He conquered the Amonites and made them his tributaries. After him came Achaz, who was evil; he threw one of his sons into the fire as an offering to an idol. Isyas wished to give him warning: not wishing this he sent a sign to the whole house of David of a virgin giving birth,[3] because if all did not believe this they would perish: which was brought about by Titus and Vespasian. After him came Ezechias who, having called the priests and Levites together, opened the temple and repaired the implements of the temple and he destroyed the shrines and statues. For his merits in one night an angel destroyed 185,000 Assyrians who came against him, while they were in their camp.[4] for the divine fire burnt their bodies but left the spoils intact. After him came Manasses who rebuilt the shrines his father had destroyed and erected an altar of Baal and placed a wooden idol in the temple of the Lord: and burnt one of his sons:[5] Jerusalem ran red with the blood of the prophets: he caused his relative Isaya to be torn apart with iron rods next to the pool of Sylo, who, when he was restricted at the beginning by his wounds, sought water to drink and he did not want to give it to him. The Lord from on high put water in his mouth and he died. On this account God sent the King of the Babylonians against him, devastated Juda and afflicted Manasses a miserable captive in Babylon with many torments: when he understood that this was due to the hand of God, he repented and prayed carefully and God pitied him and returned him to his kingdom, when he destroyed the idols and returned to the worship of God. After him came Amon who did bad things before the Lord following his father's early example; his

1 2 Paralipomenon 25:1; 4 Kings 14.

2 2 Paralipomenon 26:1; 4 Kings 15:1; 4 Kings 15:32; 2 Paralipomenon 27:1.

3 4 Kings 16:1; 2 Paralipomenon 8:1; Isaias 7:11.

4 4 Kings 18:1; 2 Paralipomenon 29:1.

5 4 Kings 21:1; 2 Paralipomenon 33:1.

servants devised treason against him and killed him in his palace.[1] After him came Josias, who in the fourth year of his reign when he was 12 according to Josephus displayed amazing piety and justice:[2] for he brought back the people from idolatry; and reformed their depraved ways as someone older. In his eighth year he cleansed every city and province from the worship of idols. He wished to stop the King of Egypt from crossing his land to attack the King of the Assyrians; he died from an arrow wound. Jeremias mourned him with all Judah and wrote funeral odes for his burial that are still used by the singers and chorus: they also planted a fountain and a tree near where he had died. After him came Ioachim, the eldest son of Josiah; he did evil before the Lord,[3] he harmed himself by seizing the prophet Uriah who had fled to Egypt, whom he had followed, brought back and killed most vilely.[4] Nabuchodonosor came and took Jerusalem and dragged off Ioachim, bound as a captive: but he sent him away under certain tribute taking hostages from the seed of the royal house, Daniel and the three boys. He imprisoned the prophet Jeremiah and ordered the destruction of the city and the temple and the burning of the book of Baruch.[5] After he had refused three-years tribute, the King of Babylon returned and killed him, took away treasures from the temple and from the palace 2,000 princes and 6,000 strong men and 1,000 craftsmen. After him came Sedechias,[6] another son of Josiah, he did evil before the Lord and he refused tribute to the King of Babylon, who after he came around Jerusalem and returned sent the commander of his army to surround and close off the city **(p. 106)**. Then Jeremiah was brought out of prison where he had been placed three times and he openly prophesied that the city should be handed over to the Chaldaeans: for this reason he was placed in a pit by the nobles with cords around his neck. At last the city was starved into submission and Sedechias was captured as he fled and brought to the King of Babylon in Reblata, who reproached him for his lies and ingratitude, and said 'The Great God holding you in contempt for your evil has handed you over to me', and he caused his sons to be killed before his eyes, and him to be blinded and led in chains to Babylon where he died. Thus ended the Kingdom of Judah and Jerusalem.

Chapter 7: Tells of the death of Jeremias and Ezekiel; and the captivity of the rump of Judah in Egypt and how Cyrus gained Babylon

Nabuzardan, commander of the army of Babylon, burnt the captured city and the temple of the Lord; the captives and the treasures of the temple were taken to

1 4 Kings 21:18; 2 Paralipomenon 33:20.
2 4 Kings 22:1; 2 Paralipomenon 34.
3 4 Kings 23:36.
4 Jeremias 18.
5 Jeremias 36.
6 4 Kings 24:18.

KINGS OF BABYLON
44 Nabucod son of Merodac Baladan
Nabucod
Evil-merodac
Ragasar
Labosadas
Balthasar
KINGS OF THE PERSIANS
Darius. Cyrus
Cambises.c.9
Magi.c.9
Darius.c.9
Xerxes.c.9
Sogidianus.c.9
Darius notus.c.9
Artaxerxes.c.10
Ochus.c.10
Arsanius.c.10
Darius.c.10
Alexander.c.10

Babylon, and Jeremias was given his freedom;[1] and Godolias was placed in charge of the poor of the land and of the vine-dressers who paid taxes to Nabuchodonosor, King of Babylon. After this Jeremias sat down and sang this lament in Jerusalem, and with bitter breath he said; 'How lonely sits the city that was once full of people!'[2] Now with the city abandoned the seat of the people, which has grown accustomed to being dominated by its enemies, lies humbled amongst its enemies: 'the mistress of peoples has become like a widow', deprived of a king, abandoned by the priest. 'The prince of provinces is now under tribute', see above Chapters 5 and 6: of the King of Babylon, 'lamenting she wept aloud during the night': because she had no rest during the day: likewise during the night and at a time of rest she consoles herself with her tears: then the eyes that had raised themselves to idols washed themselves with their tears, etc. The remnant of Judah went into Egypt against the advice of Jeremias; and with them they took the prophet and the word of the Lord was made to him at Tampnis:[3] 'gather large stones and encase them in mortar under the brick wall in the gate of Pharoah's palace, and say to them: so says the lord, behold I will send my servant Nabo: and I will place his throne on these stones, and he will attack the land of Egypt and you will perish with the Egyptians.' And the people stoned Jeremias with the stones which he had placed under the brick wall: the Egyptians honoured the prophet burying him next to the mound of the Kings in memory of his good deeds: for he had chased away the asps and the crocodiles with his prayer; they also relate that the dust of that place cures the bites of asps and puts crocodiles to flight. Alexander the Macedonian coming to the tomb of the prophet and recognizing the rites of the place, transferred the body to a grand tomb in Alexandria; and from then on crocodiles have been banned from that land. In the fifth year of the captivity Nab[4] invaded Lower Syria and conquered it together with the Moabites and the Ammonites; and finally he entered Egypt and overthrew it and killed the king, and putting others in charge he led the Jews that were there away as captives according to the prophecy of Jeremiah. Fourteen years after the captivity Ezekiel was taken in spirit to the highest mountain in Israel and shown a plan of the city and the temple. He prophesied to the people in Chaldea. At one time a throng of captives came to him by the River Cobar: against whom the Chaldeans

[1] 4 Kings 25:8.

[2] Jeremias, Lamentations 1:1.

[3] Jeremias 43:8.

[4] Nebuchadnezzar II ruled Babylon 605–562BC and reputedly built the Hanging Gardens of Babylon.

rushed in force believing it to be a rebellion: Ezekiel through his prayers, walked with all his people over the waters of the river to the other bank, and although the enemy tried to follow them they were drowned. And again through prayer he procured an abundant supply of fish for the people. He judged the breakers of the law especially those from the tribes of Dan and Gad because they had offended against the Lord, by honouring the guardians of the law impiously: and he showed a sign against them, as Epiphanius says, because their sons and all their flocks died due to serpents, on account of which stirred up they destroyed the prophet under a heap of stones and they dashed his brains out and buried him in the tomb of Sem and Arfaxat, in a double cave, similar to the tomb that Abraham made in Ebron. Daniel judged the Jews too at the time of their captivity, who, with his three associates, were not bound by any desire in the world: but shunning the royal food and wine, lest they should be defiled, were nourished by vegetables.[1] Then God gave knowledge and discipline in every book and wisdom to these young men **(p. 107)**: and to Daniel the understanding of all visions and dreams. And the king found in them ten-times more wisdom, knowledge and understanding than in all the wise men of his kingdom. And the Lord freed Daniel's three friends from the midst of a burning furnace, because they did not wish to worship a golden statue.[2] Daniel was also spared from a pit of lions because he had not wished to stop worshipping the God of heaven. After this Balthasar the King of the Babylonians held a feast with 1,000 of his nobles[3] and drinking with his wives and concubines from the vessels which Nabuchodonosor [Nebuchadnezzar] had brought from the temple of Jerusalem and praising his Gods with the same: because he understood that 70 years had passed and the Jews were not yet freed: a hand appeared writing on a wall; appearing before the face of the king, 'he was disturbed and his thoughts alarmed him, and the joints of his loins dissolved and his knees knocked together'. The magi, soothsayers and wise men of Babylon having been summoned could not read the writing or make an interpretation to the king although the interpreter was granted a purple robe and a gold collar for his neck and the title of the third in the kingdom. Daniel was summoned and he said, 'Nabuchodonodor, [the King's] father had had the supreme glory in the kingdoms; but because of his pride his heart was affected and he was cut off from humankind and given the heart of an animal so that he appeared in his foreparts like an ox and in his hind parts like a lion: according to the rules of tyranny, they are at first voluptuous and stubborn and in the end are given to cruelty and rapacity; so he became as stupid as an ox and ate what oxen ate and many other things of this sort until he realized that the Most High had given him the power that he had in the kingdom of men and whatever he had wished for. Since you know all this, you; Balthasar his son, are not humble in your heart, but opposed to the Lord of heaven who has raised you; the

[1] Daniel 1:8.

[2] Daniel 3:20.

[3] Daniel 5:1. Belshazzar was joint ruler (553–539BC) with his father Nabonidus (556–539). They lost their throne to Cyrus the Persian.

utensils from his house have been brought to you and you, your courtiers, wives and concubines have drunk wine from them. Therefore the hand has inscribed, mane, techel, phares; and this is its meaning: Mane: the Lord has counted your Kingdom and completed it: Techel: you have been weighed in the balance and found wanting; Phares: your Kingdom has been divided and given to the Medes and the Persians.' That same night Balthasar was killed. For when Cyrus was besieging Babylon and the river Ganges drowned one of the royal knights while swimming across to confirm his allegiance: the king was angered and decided to be revenged on the river, bearing witness that what had consumed a distinguished knight should be made passable with the water scarcely reaching the thighs. He summoned an army of diggers and lashed together 460 boats, and that very night of the vision and the feast before said the waters were made dry, the city captured and Balthasar was killed just as Daniel had prophesied: Darius succeeded him, to whom Cyrus deferred as if he was superior in all things.[1]

Chapter 8: The relaxation of the captivity under Jesus the chief priest: the rebuilding of the ruined temple

Jesus was the son of Josedech the son of Saraya the priest.[2] This Josedech, as is said there, left when the Lord transported Judah: and he is the same who according to some was the brother of Esdras as is shown in 1 Esdras 3. The priests ruled over the Jews for many years after the captivity in Babylon. In the first year of Darius Daniel had prayed to the Lord that Darius and Cyrus would free his people.[3] For he understood that 70 years since the destruction of Jerusalem had passed as said by the Lord to Jeremias.[4] Darius was prevented by death from issuing the permission [to return]. After the death of Darius, Cyrus took on the monarchy of the East; in the first year of his reign he was stirred by the words of Isaiah 45 which had been spoken 60 years before, 'The Lord says I have stretched my right hand to my beloved Cyrus: I will subject peoples and kingdoms to him: he will build a temple for me in Jerusalem:'[5] he gave permission to the Jews to return and to build a house for the Lord; and he did not wish to excel but to help those excelling. The edict of this foreign king, at the time of the crusade, should instill caution in the leader of the Christians and provide an example, see below Part 7, Chapter 4. Indeed, because he was not born in Chaldea but had acquired possession of it, he chose rather to stay in the land of his birth. Seeing this Daniel again prayed that a mind to license should be given to the king, and that he should approve the repatriation of the people. There was among the Jews a certain Zacharias who had been born in Judaea who had blessed Salatiel in his son, calling him Zorobabel which means

1 Daniel 5:31.
2 1 Paralipomenon 7.
3 Daniel 9:1.
4 Daniel 9.
5 Isaias 45:1.

Master of Babylon, as if it might be said that he was master of the captivity of Babylon: to whom the prophets made exhortation and at the same time the young Haggai was not yet one of the prophets.[1] First they rose up from the tribe of Judah, and then men from Benjamin and the Levites so that they might go up to Jerusalem **(p. 108)**: and 50,000 went up: 42,360 Jews not counting their servants and maid servants:[2] under Zorobabel, the leader and Jesus the high priest: Cyrus sent back with them a part of the utensils of the temple of the Lord to the number of 5,400 [pieces]. In the year of the return the people came together and made morning and evening sacrifice at the rebuilt altar: in the second year, in the second month they laid the foundations of the temple. Then the Samaritans, for whom see above Chapter 5, since they could not stop the work, made gifts to the princes of kings who favoured them, about all of which Cyrus was ignorant;[3] on this account the walls were built no higher than the foundations during the reign of Cyrus.

Chapter 9: The deeds of Judith, Esdra, Nehemia and Esther under the priests Ioachim, Eliasib and Iuda

On the death of Cyrus Arfaxat a certain Mede rose up in Ecbatana, and repaired and fortified it, reconciling certain parts of Medea so that he should rule the whole of Medea: for Cyrus had moved the seat of the kingdom from the nobility of Medea to Persia. This Arfaxat was Cambises the son of Cyrus, who is called Artaxerxes by Esdras, who was also Assuerus and in Judith is called Nabuchodonosor;[4] and he increased the state of monarchy in pride and sent to all those who lived in Cilicia, Damascus and the Promised Land demanding far heavier tribute from them than his predecessors and all opposed him.[5] He sent Holofernes the commander of his army to take over everything in Cilicia and Mesopotamia as far as the sea; and the kings of all the cities and provinces humbled themselves through their ambassadors and went before him with coronets and torches leading singers; but they could not lessen his ferocity, unless he destroyed cities and temples: for Nabuchodonosor had decreed that he should destroy all the gods of the earth and that he alone should be worshipped. When the sons of Israel heard this they were afraid lest he should do the same to Jerusalem and the Temple [sic], and they fortified the narrow ways; and they obeyed the orders of Ioachim the priest and covered both the altar of the Lord and themselves with sackcloth and ashes. Therefore, Holofernes wanted information as to what sort of people this was: Achior, leader of the Ammonites, replied that they had come from Chaldea and from servitude also to the Egyptians and Babylonians and that they could not be overcome unless their God was angry with them. Then Achior was sent so that

[1] 1 Ezra 1.
[2] 1 Esdras 2:64.
[3] 1 Esdras 2:7; 3:2; 3:8; 4:1.
[4] 1 Esdras 4:6; Judith 1:6.
[5] Iudit 1.

living with the Jews he would be captured with them and punished; and he should know that there is no god except Nabochodonosor. Holofernes found a water channel by which those in the city were supplied: a tumult of the people arose and Ozias the priest decreed five days in which to expect the pity of God. But Judith, a widow and a morally pure woman from the tribe of Reuben, argued with the priests because they had put a limit on the mercy of God, and with their blessing she put on perfume and dressed herself in her festive clothes: and Holofernes was immediately smitten with her and the Assyrians said 'who could despise such a people that had such beautiful women?' Demanding the reason for her arrival, lest she should tarry with his people he ordered her to be lodged in his treasury: while she sought the opportunity to go out and pray. Judith was persuaded to visit Holofernes; and she drank and feasted with him; he became drunk and Judith cut off his head while he was asleep and caused it to be placed on the wall as an insult to the Assyrians. Seeing the corpse of Holofernes they said 'one Jewish woman has brought confusion to the house of Nabuhodonsor'. The Jews pursued them for 30 days and seized the spoils. Achior was circumcised and placed among the people of Israel. Ioachim with all the priests visited Judith. She climbed up with song to Jerusalem and she gained her desires together with the purple canopy of Holofernes woven with gold and precious stones and all his goods and she lived for 105 years.[1] The princes across the river [Jordan] wrote to Cambyses that Jerusalem had been rebuilt and that it was hostile to the kings; nor could the king gain access to Syria: on account of which the work of God was delayed until the second year of Darius, King of the Persians. To this Darius Zorobabel, since he had not succeeded in inclining the spirit of Cambyses to the work of God, came in order that he should make a pledge to the God of Israel, that if he made him king he would restore the temple in Jerusalem and send back all the treasures; when Zorobabel heard that Darius was King he approached him and was honoured by him more than he could have hoped: for he slept in the royal chamber with two other chamberlains.[2] Next, the King put on a feast for the two satraps **(p. 109)** of the Persians,[3] and the prefects of India and Ethiopia and the governors of the 127 provinces. That night the king woke up and remained awake. He asked his attendants which one of the king, a woman or wine seemed the stronger; promising gifts to him who answered most wisely. The first said that the king was the stronger because men surpass all animals and the king surpasses all men. The second urges wine: because although the king prevailed in vigour of spirit it was wine that brought that vigour. Zorababel said that women excelled both: for they surpassed both the king and others who gave life since they gave life and nourishment, and men gave their souls for them: and it seemed to him he said that the king's concubine could box his ears and bring pain to the king when grieving and joy

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[1] Judith 2:4; 3:8; 4:1; 5:1; 6:1; 7:6; 8:1; 10:3; 12:1; 13:9; 14:14; 15:10; 16:13, and 1 Esdras 4:5.

[2] 2 Esdras 3:1.

[3] 2 Esdras 3.

when rejoicing: above all things, however, truth prevailed because it was unchangeable and ever-lasting. When they all judged that truth was the winner the king said to Zorababel that he should ask and command what he wished. He asked for the construction of the temple and the return of the treasures to Jerusalem. The king rejoiced on account of his oath; and wrote letters to the princes beyond the river that they should not hinder this work but rather support it from the king's revenues. Zorababel, carrying the treasures of the temple and returning through Chaldea, brought many from the tribes to Jerusalem. After the death of Darius his son Xerxes became king and after him another son Artaxerxes: at that time Ezra, a descendant of Aaron, who had recovered the law from the Chaldeans and found favour in the eyes of Artaxexes and received permission to go to Jerusalem to show and teach the law to the people:[1] and he had letters to the princes across the river to provide Ezra with all essentials; and the ministers of the temple were freed from all tribute; he also had the power of removing and appointing the judges according to his wisdom and of punishing any defiance. He came with 17,000 men and they rested for 3 days; on the fourth day they delivered to the house of God what they had brought with them; and then Ezra, the priests and the princes judged that foreign wives and those born from them should be sent away. Nehemia was the butler of the same Artaxerxes and while he was in the castle of Susa he heard strangers speaking Hebrew;[2] and learned from them the condition of Judah and Jerusalem; and understood from them that the city was without walls and that the people of God lived there in affliction; for by day they endured the orders of their enemies and by night robbers came in and filled the streets with the bodies of the dead: Nehemia wept and did not eat his choice bread. The king knew the cause of his sadness and gave him permission to go fixing the date of his return; letters to the princes beyond the river and honouring him as if he were his legate. He sent the commanders of his army and his cavalry and gave orders for the rebuilding of Jerusalem. He brought with him many of the sons of the captivity: coming to Jerusalem he rested for three days and rising at night he went round the ruins of the walls with a few companions wondering how he could rebuild them. On the fourth day he spoke to the crowd saying 'Come let us rebuild: and we will no longer be despised among peoples.'[3] Nehemia and Helyasyb the chief priest with many of the people built the walls with six gates, the neighbouring peoples causing them great problems. On this account Nehemia armed half the people and placed them outside the city; the other half did the building with one hand building the sides and the other holding the sword. After the wall was built he ordered that the gates be shut before sunset and opened at sunrise and he called the people together to hear the law. Seeing that the city was empty he asked the nobles to live in Jerusalem. He blessed the inhabitants and sent throughout the people so that one tenth should live in Jerusalem: he returned to the king and died at an advanced age and was

[1] 1 Esdras 7:1; 2 Esdras 8:1.

[2] 2 Esdras 1:1.

[3] 2 Esdras 2:18 and 3:1.

buried in Jerusalem. After this another king, Artaxerxes, came to the throne and his disobedient queen Vashti was killed and the King chose Esther as his consort, orphaned of both parents she had been adopted by Mordecai,[1] who walked up and down in the vestibule of the palace to watch for his adopted daughter. At that time two eunuchs who were janitors were angered and plotted the death of the King; because it was not concealed from Mordecai. Esther told the King this in his [Mordecai's] name and they were hung and this was recorded in the Annals of the King. After this the King promoted Aaman the Amalekite of the race of Agag and all the servants of the King bowed before him except Mordecai: recognizing him as a Jew he persuaded the King to foster peace asserting that 'difference is the stepmother of peace';[2] he said that the Jews in his Kingdom used new laws and ceremonies contrary **(p. 110)**. Then the King gave his ring to Aaman so that he might judge the people. He wrote letters in the name of the King to all the provinces that on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month all Jews should die and their goods be pillaged. When Esther heard this she made a fast for the Jews[3] and on Mordecai's advice, exposing herself to danger, went unsummoned to the King, leaning on one maid, the other holding up her train and when he saw her from the corner of his eye, she fainted: then the King extended his golden sceptre towards her as a sign of mercy[4] and trying to console her said: for subjects approaching unsummoned, the penalty was death; but she was his consort adding that anything she wished she could command. Esther asked that the King and Aaman should come to supper on that day; and that after the meal the King wished to know her petition, Esther postponed things till the morrow asking if they would dine with her on the following day. Aaman went out rejoicing when he noticed Mordecai not bowing before him, on the advice of his wife and friends he ordered a cross 50 cubits high to be prepared on which to hang Mordecai.[5] That night the King could not sleep and ordered the Annals to be read to him: and it was read how he had been saved from death by Mordecai, and on the King asking what honour he had been bestowed on him, it was replied 'Nothing'. Then the King asked who was in the palace and Aaman was found. For he had come to suggest the death of Mordecai to the King. Summoning Aaman he asked 'What should be done for a man whom the King wished to honour?' Thinking this applied to him he replied, 'he ought to be clothed in a royal mantle with a diamond coronet and to sit on a royal horse and the first in the Kingdom should hold the horse and lead it through the city: this honour should be paid to whom the King wishes to honour.' And the King said to him, 'Go and do this to Mordecai.' After doing these things Aaman returned home, grieving he heard from his friends: 'If Mordecai, before whom you have begun to bow down,

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1 Esther 2:7, has Mardocheus in the text.

2 Esther 3:1.

3 Esther 4:16.

4 Esther 5:1; 15:7.

5 Esther 6:1.

is a Jew then you will not succeed, rather you will fail'.[1] And behold messengers forced him to go to Esther's dinner and at a suitable time the King said 'Ask what you will, Esther'. But she [said] 'give me my life for which I ask and my people for whom I beg, lest we perish': and the King replied, 'And who is he who dares to do this': and the Queen replied 'our enemy is that Aaman'. The King was angry and entered the surrounding garden: Aaman meanwhile begged the Queen for his life: the King returning ordered Aaman to be nailed to the cross that he had prepared for Mordecai: and all the things that were his he gave to Esther. When she told him that Mordecai was her uncle, the King gave to him the ring which he had taken from Aaman. Mordecai wrote letters revoking the first [letters] and those who were prepared to kill the Jews were placed in their hands. The name of the Jews was made famous; so that many joined them under Juda the high priest.

Chapter 10, The evil against Johannes the priest and his successor Iuda; the death of Onia at the time of Alexander and Ptolemy's persecution of the Jews; the translation of the Divine law by seventy interpreters at the time of Eleazar the priest

After the death of Artaxerxes another Artaxerxes succeeded who [was known as] Ochus: he sent Vagosus as prefect to all the provinces across the river. The high priest of the Jews in Jerusalem was Johannes, who had succeeded his father Juda; his brother Jesus aspired to this priesthood and was envious of him and so he became a friend of Vagosus: in this confidence he argued with the chief priest and produced such an anger that he killed his younger brother: Vagosus was incensed by this event, went up to Jerusalem and banned entry to the temple. He [Johannes] did not yield asserting that he was purer than the body, with which they had profaned the temple. He purified the temple imposing a tribute for seven years on the ministers, by which they were absolved with the intervention of Nehemia. He promoted Ocho, Arges and Arsanius and appointed Sarabala, who was from the Cutei,[2] as head of the region across the river. On the death of Johannes, the high priest, his son Iadus succeeded him, his brother Manasses wanted the high priesthood and married Isacha the daughter of Sarabala, presuming to minister although it was banned by the people of Jerusalem, he did not divorce his gentile wife: angered he moved with his wife to his father-in-law, who, with the permission of the King of the Persians, promised to build a temple for him at Gariza as good as that in Jerusalem. After Arges his son Darius was King: and in the same year Alexander the Great pursuing war against the Persians slaughtered his enemies time and again **(p. 111)**. He besieged and captured Tyre. Then Satabala, choosing 8,000 from his men, came to Alexander and said that he would rather follow him than Darius. Then he revealed that he had a son-in-law Manasses for whom he wished to build a temple and an altar; and that he would be useful to Alexander,

1 Esther 7:1.

2 The Samaritans.

The Kings of the Jews from the Time of the Babylonian Captivity to the Time of Christ
4. Jesus.c.8
26. Ioachim.c.8
12. Elyasib.c.9
15. Judas.c.9
41. Johannes.c.10
54. Iadus.c.10
17. Omas.c.10
16. Symon.c.11
17. Eleazarus.c.10
9. Omas.c.11
12. Symon.c.11
19. Onias.c.11
31. Jesus.c.11
11. Johannes.c.11
4. Alchimus.c.11
3. Judas.c.11
19. Jonatha.c.11
8. Symon.c.11
22. Johannes.c.11
Aristobolus.c.12 38. Alexander.c.12 Alexandra.c.12
2. Hyrcanius.c.12
37. Herodes.c.12

because the Jews would be weaker if they were divided. Alexander granted this and he built it and the temple stood until the destruction of the Romans. Alexander wrote to Iado the priest while he was still besieging Tyre to provide help and supplies to his army equal to the tribute that he had previously given to Darius. The high priest said that he had given his oath to Darius and could not break faith while Darius was living: Alexander was angry with the Jews as a result, so that they would learn from him to comply with his wishes. Tyre being captured and Sarabela having died he hurried to Jerusalem and the Jews fearing him turned to the Lord. God said to the priest in a dream, 'Take courage and decorate the city with wreaths: he and the other high priests and priests should dress in lawful clothing and go out to meet Alexander'. These things being done Alexander dismounted when he met the high priest with the others and worshipped the four-lettered name which was in gold leaf above the Cydarin; and he worshipped the high priest and said to his soldiers, who thought that the mind of the King had become deranged, that when he was still in Licia in Macedonia he had seen God in that habit who had promised him the Kingdom of the Persians. He entered the city and sacrificed in the temple of God according to the instructions of the high priest: not converting from true piety to their religion but thinking to convert them with evil pride to false gods: as Augustine says in *De Civitate Dei*,18. After the sacrifice and after Daniel had been read he cancelled the tribute in the seventh year. When Alexander died by poison, Onaias the son of Iadus was high priest.[1] Alexander confined to his bed understood that he was dying; and called his companions who had been fed with him from his boyhood and divided his kingdom amongst them while he was still alive; and when he had ruled for 12 years he died.

For he did not want to pass on a united monarchy in case anyone should appear to be equal to his power; but divided the kingdom between his 12 companions, of

[1] 1 Machabees 1:7.

whom 4 ruled and the others faded away. In Egypt, Ptolomeaus the son of Lagus; in Asia, Antigonus; in Syria, Demetrius; in Macedonia, Philippus: according to what was prophesied in the tenth vision of Daniel, Chapter 11. Alexander 'a strong king rising up and he will rule with great power and do what he likes: when he stands' in his flower 'his kingdom will be destroyed and divided to the four winds', because Egypt is in the south; Syria in the north; Asia to the east, Greece to the west. Ptolomeaus added Syria to his kingdom and wished to add Judaea and to go up to Jerusalem on the Sabbath, knowing that the Jews would not fight against him and with no opposition he did so. He took many captives from Judah and from Gariza to Egypt and put them for sale and they were taken away by the merchants of other nations and were dispersed around the world more than in any other captivity: on account of which it is said in Acts 11 that they came together in Jerusalem from all the nations under heaven. Eleazar, the son of Symon, succeeded Iustus at the time when Ptolomeus Philadelphus ruled in Egypt, the son of the above who was most studious and a lover of books. When he asked Demetrius who had charge of his books and the number of his books, he heard that there were 20,000: but he knew that soon they would amount to 50,000. And when it was announced to him concerning the law of the Jews that had come from the mouth of God; and on account of the holiness of the law could only be translated with the favour of God; for Theopompus when he was writing wished to insert them in his histories and went mad in 30 days. Theotectus too went blind for the same reason; but repenting they were saved: he wrote to Eleazer the high priest that he should send Jews skilled in the Greek language to him together with the law of God who might be able to translate it **(p. 112)**. Eleazer sent 6 experienced men from each tribe to interpret the law and since there were 12 tribes there were 72 translators in all. When the business was done the King sent the interpreters back to Eleazar with gifts; among other things there was a gold table decorated with precious stones half a cubit in width, however, the craftsmanship surpassed the material.

Chapter 11: The division of the Jews under Onia against those warring against them in Syria and Egypt; and the persecution of the Kings of Syria, Seleuchus and Antiochus, against the Jews; and the deposition and death of the other Onia; also the wonderful deeds of Machabeus

After Judaea had endured the vexations of the Ptolemies, the Kings of Syria brought their afflictions. For during the fighting between Antiochus the Great and Ptolemy Epiphanes, Judah was placed in the middle and torn into opposing factions: according to Jerome Super Danielem: some favouring Antiochus and some Ptolemy. Then Onias the priest, the second son of Symon the Just fled to Egypt with many Jews: and was honourably received by Ptolemy; and the King granted them the area around Heliopolis where he built a temple just like the temple of the Jews; fulfilling the prophecy of Isaiah 19: 'In that day the altar of God will be in the midst of the land of Egypt': because it remained standing up to the time of Vespasian. When Antiochus held Judaea the army of Ptolemy mounted

an invasion, captured Judaea and many cities; and took many of Antiochus' nobles with them to Egypt. After the invasion Antiochus had fled to the sources of the Jordan; returning to Jerusalem he was well received. Having taken the defenses of the invaders on the citadel of Jerusalem he persecuted those who had opposed him and knowing that the Jews were well-disposed he gave them considerable gifts. Antiochus was succeeded by his evil son Seleucus Eupator who was inexperienced.[1] Onias was the chief priest of the Jews, after Symeon the son of the elder Onias. At the time of this Onias, on account of his piety, the laws were well obeyed and the temple was made bright with great gifts: thus Seleucus so that he might distinguish himself, paid for the ministrations of the sacrifices. However, Symon, from the tribe of Benjamin, suggested to Apolonius, who was governor of Coelesyria and Phoenicia, that the treasury at Jerusalem was full of money and that it could all be gained for the King. And when he reported this to the King, the King sent Helyodorus to Jerusalem to rob the treasury, taking the cash gifts to the temple not objects. The chief priest informed Helyodorus that the cash was deposits and for widows. On the appointed day, when Helydorous had entered having distributed his men around, there was fear throughout the city. The priests in their priestly robes threw themselves before the altar and invoked God to declare the law regarding the deposits. The face of the high priest revealed his troubled mind; for his face and its changing colour revealed the sadness of his mind; and all extended their hands to heaven; and the all-powerful virtue of God made great proof of his presence. For on his entry into the temple two young men rose up: Josephus seems to want them to be angels: and the two cursed him for as Machabees 3 says, 'there appeared a terrible horseman who trampled on him and broke him'. Onias feared the anger of Seleucus and prayed to God and revived him; Elyodorus made sacrifice to God, returned to the King and bore witness that he had seen the great works of God with his own eyes. And replying to the King, who was keen to know what had happened and who to send him again, 'if you have an enemy or a traitor send him thither and you will find him shrived if he should return at all'. After this Antiochus his brother who was a hostage in Rome, knowing the laziness of his brother and wanting the kingdom, he secretly left Rome and was allowed to return at the behest of the senators; and having returned he first made himself kind to all: he was so eager in doing things and fierce against his enemies, that he was known as Epiphanes by the people, that is famous as 1 Machabees 1 calls the root of evil. About this time the people of Israel began to move away from the law of God. Having taken the kingdom, he revealed his innate evil through the death of his brother. This he had hidden in order to gain the kingdom. And the sons of Belial held sway in Israel, and they asked to make male prostitutes in Jerusalem that is brothels of young men **(p113)**; and because of this the Israelites wrote to Antiochus:[2] and they built a gymnasium in which they taught foreign customs and left their

[1] 2 Machabees 3:1.

[2] 1 Machabees 4:6; 2 Machabees 1:5.

foreskins that is they did not circumcise their young men.[1] Such great sins were punished.[2] For Onias the chief priest had no children but he had two brothers, who both wanted the high priesthood: and in order that they might please Antiochus they adopted the practices of the foreigners and they adopted foreign names. Thus Jesus was known as Jason and John, that is Menelaus. Jason having many supporters gained the priesthood from Antiochus with the promise of money, and then, as Augustine says, the fire of the sacrifice was extinguished that had lasted the 70 years of the Babylonian captivity. Later, Antiochus removed Jason and appointed Menelaus, who followed Onias to Antioch; for he had gone to the King on account of the deeds of his brothers, in the hope that he might be able to change the King's mind: and since he had failed he remained in Antioch where Menelaus had him killed by Andronicus, whom Antiochus had made governor of Judaea. News of this murder having come to the King, he inclined to pity and shed many tears, recalling the seriousness and modesty of the departed. And he ordered that Andronicus be dismissed, dragged round the city and slain in the same spot where he had killed Onias. However, Antiochus went again down to Egypt (see following chapter): and then armed men fighting in battle lines were seen in Jerusalem for 40 days;[3] and all prayed for these visions to be converted to good ones. Then Antiochus was driven out by the Egyptians, he came to Judaea, plundered the temple and killed 80,000 and as many more had bound and sold; and moving to Antioch he sent Apolonius with an army to kill everyone of adult age. Returning from Egypt for the third time, he plundered the temple and placed an image of Jupiter in it forbidding the practice of Mosaic sacrifices; and he appointed sinners there.[4] Then two women were accused of having circumcised their children and with children at their breasts they were dragged through the city and thrown from the walls.[5] Eleazar one of the chief scribes, because he did not wish to eat pork contrary to the law was killed by flogging. A mother too with seven sons (see following chapter) ended her life in dire torment. Then many Jews either from fear or from desire fulfilled the commands of the King. There was a man living in Modyn, named Matathias from the stem of Joachim, who was one of 14 priests formerly set up by David.[6] Modyn is next to Emaus about 60 stades from Jerusalem. The King's messengers came to Modyn, setting up an altar where they forced the Jews to make sacrifice and they had invited Matathias: he, however, refused, and a certain Judeus came to make sacrifice, and Matathias killed him together with the messengers and destroyed the altar and cried out 'whoever is for the Lord should follow me'. Many abandoning everything followed him into the desert. Then the messengers of the King brought war to them on the Sabbath who had not blocked

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[1] 1 Machabees 1.

[2] 2 Machabees 4.

[3] 2 Machabees 5:1.

[4] 1 Machabees 1.

[5] 2 Machabees 6.

[6] 2 Machabees 7:1; 1 Machabees 2:3.

up their caves. Matathias told them to fight on the Sabbath. Hence Bede on Matthew, 'What is not allowed in the Law necessity allows you to do: whether it is said that the Sabbath is to be kept, the Macchabees fought on the Sabbath: thus, he says, today if any sick man breaks the fast he shall not be held guilty.' And he was placed outside the laws of the King. And with combined force he destroyed the altars and killed as many of the sacrificers as he could. He was leader for one year and on his death he commended the customary laws to his five sons: saying bodies are mortal; the remains of the holy follow the order of immortality. After him his son Judas arose and clad himself in a cuirass like a giant; he had the likeness of a lion placed on it and he brought glory to his people:[1] from whence it is said from Machabeus comes from 'Macho', which means a fight: and 'bea, beatus' as if he took joy in fighting. Apolonius, the governor of Samaria went out in great strength against Judas; Judas running to meet him, attacked him with many men and the survivors fled and he took spoils from them and the sword of Apolonius and he fought with him every day. Seron, too, the governor of Lower Asia camped with his men and the transgressors of the law at Bethsura: Judas exhorted his small force that sat down in tears to place their trust not in numbers but in piety: and in the fight with the Syrians their leader was killed and the survivors chased; the fear of Judas counted for much with the peoples. After this and similar victories Judas consecrated the temple on the 25 September, the third anniversary of its profanation:[2] and this dedication was remembered by posterity. And they chose Judas as chief priest and they celebrated for eight days according to the rite of the Feast of the Tabernacles,[3] recalling that it was but a short time ago that they were living in caves **(p. 114)**. Then they built a wall around the citadel and fortified Bethsura, so that it was like a castle.[4] The neighbouring peoples bearing this with difficulty were persecuting the Jews and Judas warred with them to the end. Those who were in Galaad came together against the Jews. And when letters requesting help were read to him, messengers coming from Galilee, announced that forces from the Ptolomies, Tyre and Sidon had assembled against the Jews, Judas said to his brother, 'Go to Galilee and free our brothers: I and Jonathan will go to Galaad; and what is the will of heaven so shall it be',[5] and both were victorious. Antiochus heard about Judas' victories when he was going through the highlands, he roared in his anger that he would make Jerusalem the graveyard of the Jews: and immediately a bitter pain came upon his intestines and falling from his chariot, he was crushed and worms poured out of his body and the army was oppressed by his stench. When he could no longer bear his own stench he was brought to his senses, he said 'it is right that a mortal be subject to God'. He

[1] 1 Machabees 3:1.

[2] 1 Machabees 4:36.

[3] *Scenophagia* or Sukkot, a major Jewish festival celebrated on the fifteenth day of the seventh month.

[4] 1 Machabees 51:1 Machabees 6.

[5] 1 Machabees 6:1.

promised that he would honour the Jews and that he would proclaim the worth of God everywhere: he wrote to the Jews so that they would obey his son: and he died wretchedly in the mountains in a foreign place. His son Eupator succeeded him: in turn Demetrius the son of Seleucus [succeeded him]; they were savage against the Jews; against them Judas fought battles and winning victories he made a treaty with the Romans who wrote the form of the treaty in bronze and sent it to Jerusalem in this manner: 'May it be well with the Romans and the Jews and may there be peace forever. But if war should come to the Romans the Jews should send help without any payment: and the Romans will do the same for the Jews'. Then they wrote to Demetrius, 'Why have you oppressed our friends and allies the Jews? If therefore they come again to us we will give them justice and wage war against you by land and sea'.[1] At last Judas fell in battle, preferring to die courageously rather than seek safety in flight and he surrendered the whole region to Bachidus[2] who had been sent by Demetrius; and he imposed an evil rule in the area and he persecuted the friends of Judas. These gathered together and chose his brother Jonathan as their leader: he revenged the death of Judas and fled from Bachidus. Alchimus, who was appointed chief priest by Demetrius, began to destroy the walls of the temple interior and the works of the prophets, but he was struck down with paralysis and died in great agony. After this evil men from Israel brought Bachidus again into Judaea, and because events turned out against him he made peace with Jonathan and departed: and Jonathan stayed in Magma judging the people.[3] Then Alexander the son of Antiochus Epiphanes came to Ptolomais and ruled there: on hearing this Demetrius confirmed the peace with Jonathan: and Jonathan entered Jerusalem and built a wall around Mount Syon. Alexander also wrote to Jonathan: 'We hear that you are powerful and experienced and that you should be our ally; and today we appoint you the chief priest of your people so that you may be called the King's friend' and he sent him a purple robe and a golden crown. When Demetrius heard this he was saddened and freed the Jews from tribute and conceded many other things. Eventually Jonathan was imprisoned by guile in Ptolomais and murdered, Symon his brother succeeded him. He buried Jonathan at Modyn and set up seven pyramids to his father, his mother, his four brothers and to himself, and placed columns around on which he had weapons and ships engraved as an ever-lasting memorial. He removed the yoke of the gentiles from Israel. He built a gateway for himself at Joppa and extended the borders of his people and for his lifetime everything was secure.[4] Ptolomaeus the son of Abobus, the son-in-law of Symon, wished to be leader, and gave a banquet at which he planned to kill his father-in-law, using those who had murdered his brother Jonathan: on news of their arrival they [Symon and his sons] were killed

1 1 Machabees 8:23.

2 1 Machabees 9:18.

3 1 Machabees 10.

4 1 Machabees 14.

by him and Johannes became the chief priest.[1] Here ends the history of the first book of the Machabees. This Johannes was called Yrcanus from the conquest of the Yrcani:[2] he opened two of the shrines around the tomb of David and took from them more than 3,300 talents which he gave to Antiochus who was besieging Grypho the King of Syria in Jerusalem to pay for the siege to be lifted; on his death he left five sons.

Chapter 12: How kings began to rule again in the Promised Land

On the death of John Hyrcanus, since none of his sons was competent to rule, his wife Alexandra who was good at arranging things put herself over Judaea and her sons. The eldest son Aristobulus **(p. 115)**, growing tired of this maternal domination, placed a diadem on his own head and imprisoned his mother and three of his younger brothers and appointed his second brother Antigonus with him and then killed him and reigned alone for one year. His wife having no son by him freed his brothers from prison and made the eldest Alexander ruler: he was called Ianeus, and he had a wife called Alexandra. He was so evil that he killed around 50,000 Jews in 3 years. And when he enquired by what agreement he might be reconciled with the Jews he heard 'if he dies': on this account he ordered 80 men with their wives and children to be killed in the squares of Jerusalem. Knowing that his two sons were detested by the Jews, on his death he left the Kingdom to his wife Alexandra, who had gained the good will of the people by opposing his tyranny. In her reign she made the eldest son Hyrcanus chief priest thinking that he would be king. He became ill, Aristobulus the other son with the support of many declared that he would rule after his mother; after she had died he fought with his brother: at last peace was signed so Aristobulus ruled: under him Hyrcanus was satisfied with honours. Antipater the Idumean was with Hyrcanus, who had fled from mercenary service and from Jerusalem, and was a brigand around Ascalon. Among his various captives was a gentile, a young man, the son of Herod who was of Idumean stock and the priest of Apollo in Ascalon; he was in such great favour with Hyrcanus that he appointed him controller of his household. And so he persuaded Hyrcanus, complaining that he was surrounded by treason; and he fled to Aretas the King of the Arabs, with whose help he might regain the kingdom. And so he had gone to Petra that was the centre of the kingdom and he came with an army and besieged Jerusalem; but he did not prevail since Scaverus the leader of the Romans for the price of 300 talents favoured Aristobolus. Hyrcanus was frustrated with Arab promises and took himself to Pompey when he came to Damascus: and it was agreed that when Pompey besieged Jerusalem, dissension was stirred up in the city; for the supporters of Aristobulus garrisoned the city, and those of Hyrcanus competed to hand it over to the Romans; but the defeated

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[1] 1 Machabees 15.

[2] John Hyrcanus (134–04BC) greatly expanded Israel by conquering Samaria,108/7 BC.

supporters of Aristobulus withdrew to the temple. Having been received in the city Pompey attacked the temple; the Romans advancing profaned the temple and stabled their horses in the colonnades: on account of this they said that formerly Pompey was the most fortunate of men but from then on he lost his wars; on the next day he entered the temple, admired the site, the decoration and the religion, he took nothing away and ordered that it be cleansed. He imposed tribute, made Hyrcanus high priest and appointed Iscaurus agent in Syria and Judea. He then returned to Rome, taking with him as captives Aristobulus, his two sons, Alexander and Antigonus, and all his daughters. After this Antipater took power in his region, because he put his son Herod in charge of Galilee: the latter had an active character and killed the chief of the robbers with his following: Galilee returned to peace to such an extent that he was hailed as 'the father of Galilee'. When Antony came Herod and his brother Faselis were betrayed because they held great wealth by force, but so great was their reputation that it surpassed Hyrcanus; and Antony killed Hyrcanus since these two were the most suitable for running things, and he promoted Herod and his brother to be procurators and declared them Tetrarchs. After this to settle a dispute Herod hastened to Rome; Antony persuaded the Senate that Herod should be declared King of Judaea: and he was crowned there in the presence of Augustus and Antony in the tenth year of the principate of Octavian. Now the time was fulfilled, with a foreign king in Judaea, that the Saviour should come as promised by the law and the prophets, as Jacob said: 'The sceptre shall not be taken away from Judah, nor a leader from his thigh until he shall come who is to be sent'.[1] Therefore, in the thirty-second year of the reign of this Herod, Christ was born. After the death of Herod Caesar divided the Kingdom of Herod into four parts; Judaea and Idumea he gave to Archelaus; Galilee to Herod Antipas; Iturea and Trachonitis to Philip. Archelaus was accused of tyranny before Caesar and was exiled to Vienne: then Judaea was administered by Roman procurators. Behold the lordship of the Promised Land had come to the sons of Japhet: not yet, however, were the sons of Seth expelled, because they had not yet completed their iniquities.

Chapter 13: The cruel and impious persecution against Christ and the Apostles ***(p. 116)***

Born from Heaven by a virgin, Herod was disturbed and all Jerusalem with him: and he destroyed all children of that age in Bethlehem and in its territory. In the fifteenth year of Tiberius Caesar, when Pontius Pilate was procurator in Judaea and the aforesaid Herod had died of old age, John the Baptist came, promising a baptism of repentance, and to those asking if he was the Christ; he replied 'I am not the Christ',[2] and said, 'he who comes after me is more worthy than me: the

1 Genesis 49.

2 John 1:20.

strap of whose sandal I am not worthy to undo'. And gesturing with his finger he said, 'behold the lamb of God,[1] behold him who takes away the sins of the world'. But the faithless generation of John wanted to believe that the testimony came to him from within himself not from Christ: since John made no sign: Christ would shine forth with many miracles, on account of which he said: 'I have a greater testimony than John: if I do not do the works of my father, do not believe me.'[2] For while he did things in the flesh not of the flesh, but of God; overcoming nature, changing elements, raising the dead, healing the sick and combating the hold of demons, so they shouted.[3] 'What is it to you and yours Jesus of Nazareth? You come to destroy us': as he showed, because he did these things with his Father. He brought flesh to the wise so that through these things they knew that he was God. But they said: 'What do we do? For this man makes many signs'.[4] If we let him go the Romans will come and take away our place and our nation. It is expedient that one man should die for the people and not that all should perish: from that day they plotted to kill him. It is true, O Jews, that up to the present day you deny the Son of God: on account of this the Romans came and took away your place and nation, as described in the following chapter. They, because they thought rashly, behaved sacrilegiously: they bought him from a treacherous disciple for 30 pieces of silver, a ludicrous price for our salvation: they came after him at night with sword, torches and weapons, who prostrated all with one word: they mocked and spat upon him whom angels wished to care for: they bound him and dragged him to Pilate's headquarters, who was alone without sin, and they said: 'if this man were not a wrong-doer, we would not have brought him to you'.[5] The gentile prefect, knowing that they had brought him out of ill-will, sought to decline the case. First, by renouncing jurisdiction: 'take him back and judge him according to your law'. Second, by examining him briefly. 'Are you the King of the Jews?' and again 'Where do you come from?' Third, by dismissing the case: 'I find no cause against him'. Fourth, by changing the outcome because he sent him to Herod. Fifth, by inflicting a punishment: 'I will whip him as much as you order or send him away unharmed'. Sixth, by changing his mind: 'Then Pilate sought to release him'. Seventh, by a censorious reproach: 'Should I crucify your King?' Eighth, by making an unbalanced suggestion: 'Whom do you want me to release? Barabbas or Jesus called the Christ?' Ninth, by a form of washing: 'water being brought he washed his hands in front of the people', saying, 'I am innocent of the impiety of the Jews':[6] the gentile Pilate, separating the gentiles. Tenth, with a damnable curse:

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[1] The capitalization of the name of God begins again in the original printed text at this point.

[2] John 5:36.

[3] Luke 4.

[4] Luke 11:47.

[5] John 18:30.

[6] John 18:31; 18:33; 19:9; 18:38; 19:12; 19:15; Luke 33:7; Matthew 17:17; 27:24.

'You see.'[1] O blindness of the Jews, O madness of fanatics! What is to be said: 'Not him but Barabbas'.[2] should he be killed, who raised the dead: and the murderer released who will kill again? But the evil-doers shouted, 'Crucify him, crucify him: his blood be on us and on our children'.[3] for this is still against those living and against the children of the evil-doers, their prayer was fulfilled in sin. When the Lord was crucified Pilate wrote an inscription and placed it over his head, 'Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews'.[4] If 'Jesus' means both Jew and Saviour, who affected all men with blessings and by healing he ought not to be condemned to death. If he is both Nazarene and beautiful he ought not to be fixed to a cross. If King of the Jews he ought not to be spat on and made sport of by the unworthy. But the priests of the Jews said to Pilate, 'Don't write King of the Jews, just because he said I am King of the Jews': Pilate replied 'I have written what I have written'. Nor could the Jew efface him by killing him, since the gentile supported and held him as the true king. Then the Jew shook his head before the cross and said 'Vah, you who would destroy the temple of God and in three days rebuild it save yourself'.[5] Indeed O Jew if he saves himself he cannot save others: for he cannot be saved who does not persevere till the end: how much the less can he be the Saviour? Therefore, he who begins he will make perfect **(p. 117)** and he will save. For he does not need salvation who is the true salvation of all. Likewise, the chief priests with the scribes and the elders said 'If he is King of Israel, let him now come down from the cross and we will believe him'.[6] O venomous language, words of wickedness: an evil speech: it is not this Cayphas you non-prophet, by prophesying shortly before which you said: 'it is better that one man should die for the people, lest the whole race should perish',[7] for you did not say that by yourself, now you would speak from your own experience and you will lie. For if you do not want to believe that a monument should be restored in four days,[8] how can you believe if he came down from the cross still alive? What seems to follow: 'if he is King of Israel, let him descend from the cross; or rather ascend it?' So to you O Jew, is he cut off from your mind because the Lord reigns from wood, so that you deny the King, because he hangs in wood? Therefore, he will not come down: but he will stay on the throne of his Kingdom next to the inscription of a King, where it is written 'Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews': in Greek, Hebrew and Latin: from whence and in short time he is expected. For he died within a few hours: 'from the sixth to the ninth hour there was a shadow over the whole earth'.[9] And

[1] John 18:40.
[2] John 19:6.
[3] Matthew 27:25.
[4] Luke 19:19.
[5] Matthew 17:40.
[6] Matthew 27:42.
[7] John 11:50.
[8] John 11:17.
[9] Matthew 47:45.

about the ninth hour Jesus calling in a loud voice, gave up the ghost: this was a sign of divinity. And behold the curtain of the temple was torn; and there was an earthquake, that did not stop while the Lord was hanging; and graves opened, as a sign of the future resurrection: on this account the Centurion said: 'Truly he was the son of God'.[1] We die with a lowly voice or none at all, but he, who had come down from heaven, expired with a triumphant voice. Clearly there is great weakness to die, but to die thus was great courage. Indeed, what is the weakness of God is much braver for humans. He said, 'I have the power of putting down my spirit and I have the power of picking it up again'.[2] Human guilt can raise their hand against him in death; but this is not to lay down his soul; but rather to push it onward: for the impious Jew does not have the ability of placing the soul, but of losing it; but he pulled the noose, when his filthy spirit is not sent forth but is lost [as a suicide]. Alone in death [Our Lord] placed his soul and handed on his spirit; because with his virtue he returned to life, he alone having control of life and death. With him and not before him 'many were the bodies of the saints that slept, arose and appeared to many'; so that he was 'the first fruit of the sleepers and the first-born of the dead'.[3] At length the chief of all the priests and the Pharisees, with the permission of Pilate, guarded the tomb marking it with seals; but with the seal intact the Lord arose,[4] with an earthquake the Angel appeared, in a snow-white mantle, thundering in appearance but kind to the pious, saying 'Don't be afraid', but fierce to the wicked. Then some of the guards came to the chief priests and reported what had been done;[5] and meeting with the elders they agreed to give the soldiers a great deal of money, saying: 'say that while you were asleep the disciples came and took him away'.[6] How poorly was this lie made up? Since sleeping no one could assert this testimony. After the resurrection he appeared: not to all but to witnesses of the resurrection chosen by God, speaking of the Kingdom of Heaven for 40 days, after which he ascended into heaven and sat at the right hand of God.[7] On the fiftieth day he sent the Holy Spirit to the Apostles who were weeping and praying in an upper room on Mount Syon.[8] A crashing din sounded in the atmosphere, just like a strong wind and parted tongues appeared to them, just like fire, resting on their heads, the spirits having a double effect; namely that they were fluent in speech and filled with grace. There were in Jerusalem religious men from every nation under heaven; and hearing the sound they rushed to the disciples and each heard them speaking in their native language. Then Peter rising up and

1 Matthew 27:54.
2 John 10:18.
3 Matthew 27:52; 1 Corinthians 15:20; Apocalypse 1:5.
4 Matthew 27:66.
5 Matthew 28:3, 5.
6 Matthew 28:13.
7 Acts 10:41; 1:3.
8 Acts 2:1.

preaching, converted 3000 men.[1] Then Peter and John went up to the temple, Peter said to a lame and paralytic man (according to the glossator) asking for alms; 'Gold and silver have I none, but what I do have I will give to you; in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, arise and walk'; his sickness was cured. To a wondering people Peter said, 'This miracle was done in the name of Christ'; the priests and temple magistrates came upon the scene; and were angry because they praised Jesus whom they had condemned; and especially the Sadducees who denied the resurrection; they arrested them and put them in prison; there were many who heard the word and believed and 5,000 were converted. On another day the chief priests were gathered together with many of the priestly caste, elders, Pharisees and scribes; and calling them they warned them not to talk anymore in his name **(p. 118)**. To whom they [replied] 'we can only speak of what we have seen and heard'. Then by the hands of the Apostles, signs and wonders happened and the number of believers increased; and they placed the infirm in the squares so that the shadow of Peter touched them and cured them.[2] The head priest and the Sadducees laid hands on them and put them in the public prison; an Angel freed them through an open door and, *dilutulo*,[3] they entered the temple and taught the common people. Then the magistrate warned them officially not to speak any more in his name. After this Stephen was stoned and persecution was made in the church in Jerusalem,[4] so that all the disciples numbering more than the Apostles dispersed throughout Judea and Samaria. In this diaspora many of the disciples were chosen to go out beyond the borders of Judaea, among whom were the Magdalene and her sister Martha together with the blessed Maximus afterwards Bishop of Aachen, and many others. Then the Apostles, taking care for the future since they would be travelling abroad, ordained James Bishop of Jerusalem: then Herod Agrippa killed the other James, the brother of John, with a sword;[5] and seeing that this pleased the Jews he put Peter in prison. Caius Augustus assigned Herod two vacant tetrarchies and allowed him to be called King. Claudius, who was the next Emperor,[6] having sent Herod Antipas into exile (Herod Antipas was the son of Herod of Ascalon who had taken Herodias the wife of his brother Philip as his own) gave his [Herod Antipas's] fourth tetrarchy to him. He, [this latter] indeed was Herod Agrippa, grandson of Herod of Ascalon. He was the son of Aristobolus whose mother was Mariamne on whose account Herod of Ascalon had converted to Judaism. Herod Agrippa ruled the whole Kingdom of Judaea and was the brother of Herodias. Agrippa his son succeeded Herod Agrippa but only in part of his kingdom, that is

1 Acts 3:1.
2 Acts 4:20; 5:12; 5:17.
3 The meaning of *dilutulo* is unclear.
4 Acts 8:1.
5 Acts 12:23.
6 Gaius Caligula, Emperor 37–41.

[he ruled over] the two tribes and a half beyond the Jordan. And that was the end of them [the Herodians].[1] Of those three called Herod there are some verses.

> 'Asclonita killed boys; Antipas John;
> Agrippa James, shutting Peter in prison.'

Chapter 14: The destruction of Jerusalem: the expulsion of the Jews from the area by the sons of Japhet, namely the Romans

The impiety of the perfidious race of the Jews being completed with the death of Christ and the persecution of his Apostles and of the Church, when Albinus succeeded Festus as Procurator of the Jews and Albinus in turn was succeeded by Florus who, with Veronica present, the sister of King Agrippa who had gone to the Temple for religious reasons, flogged the worthy men of Jerusalem with whips on a solemn day and put yokes on them, so that he might end the obstinacy of the Jews with this insult: but the Jews would not tolerate it and declared war against the Roman Empire. In response, Vespasian was sent by Nero as commander of the Roman army, with his elder son Titus among the officers. Throughout the whole of Syria the cruelest slaughter of the Jews was enacted; even those who lived together with the gentiles in various places were counted among the enemy; and places were filled with unburied bodies even of women and children. Prodigies also emphasized the isolation of the Jews as Josephus says in Book 8 of *de bello Judiaco:*[2] for a constellation stood over the city in the shape of a sword and comets appeared during the year. On the Feast of Unleavened Bread,[3] when an ox was led to the shrine it gave birth to a lamb in the middle of the temple court. The eastern bronze gate of the temple, that can barely be opened by 20 men and that has high bolts, was seen at the ninth hour of the night to open of its own accord, and could hardly be closed by order of the magistrate. Armies with iron chariots were seen throughout the whole area. On the night of the Pentecost as the priests entered the temple as was their custom to celebrate divine rites, first they felt a movement and rustling, and then they heard a voice, 'Let us leave here'. A certain John[4] the son of Ananias, who was common and unsophisticated for four years before war broke out, when the city was at peace and very rich, came to the feast day and began to

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1 Herod of Ascalon was Herod II or Herod the Great (c.74–c.4BC) who was King from 37BC. He married Mariamne, heiress to the Hasmonaeon Kings of Judaea and himself became a Jew. Herod Antipas (c.20BC–39) his son ruled Galilee as tetrarch from 4–39 until exiled to Gaul. Herod Agrippa I (10BC–44) was Herod the Great's grandson. By Mariamne Herod had a son Aristobolus who was Herod Agrippa's father. Herod Agrippa II (c. 27–c.93) was his son whose death ended the Herodian Kingship.

2 In fact Book VI, lines 280–301 (Loeb edn III, p.461). There is no Book VIII.

3 *In festo azimorum*; the Feast of Unleavened Bread was a seven-day holiday and begins the night after Passover.

4 Jesus in Josephus.

shout: 'The voice from the four winds is against Jerusalem and the Temple; a voice against all the people': and through all the neighbourhoods and even at night he moved about shouting. Thinking him unworthy some snatched him up quickly and had him whipped: and took him before the Roman Prefect and he was whipped till the bones showed, and he neither asked for mercy nor wept but at each lash he said 'Woe, woe to Jerusalemites'; he did not reply to questions as to who he was or why he spoke thus; nor was he harmed by the lashing since he was scourged every day, nor did he bless those who offered him food **(p. 119)**. For seven years and five months he walked around the walls shouting the same words and eventually he added: 'and woe is me' when a stone struck him and he died. Therefore, 40 years after the sin-offering was acknowledged the punishment of the evil Jews arrived; in which all the Apostles, especially James the bishop of Jerusalem unceasingly warned the people of their sin, so that they might be able to repent of their evil deed. Since the Jews were rushing to disaster the Holy Apostles and other disciples for the proclaiming of the word of God went to every province of the world. The Church too that was gathered in Jerusalem accepted the divine order to leave and moved to the town of Pella across the Jordan, so that with the holy and the just removed vengeance may be taken on this place from heaven, as well from the sacrilegious city as from a wicked people. For these things being done the Jews took to open war and they were immediately riven by internal disputes. For the city of Jerusalem was toiling under fire and ruin; to be sure large numbers were killed; blood filled everywhere; there was no respite there, and with each moment it grew less; there was no place away from danger, nor was there the chance of flight; everywhere there was terror, the groans of the dying, the desperation of the living: and the curse was fulfilled, 'his blood be upon us and upon our children'.[1] How deceived you are O priestly city and Kingdom? You are accustomed to conquer without arms, to strike the enemy without battle, since Angels watched over you. Now indeed acknowledge that Barabbas lives for Jesus the Saviour has been buried; because in you sedition rules, peace having been buried by you today. For no one dies of piety in such great disasters; where only the passage of time can relieve such misery; there no care for burials but only the intention of destruction. At last with many of the corpses thrown from the city walls, Titus groaned aloud and raised his hand to heaven, he protested that this should never be ascribed to him since he had wished to show lenience if surrender and the surrender of arms had been agreed. Maneus Lazarus asserts that he was told that through one gate 15,880 corpses were brought which were buried by public subscription. Meanwhile, many fled to the Romans; some swallowed gold and gems, because informers were watching everything. It is reckoned that a certain Assyrus, the opinion comes down from others, who was eager to find treasure, against the rule of surrender and the command and promise of Caesar examined the stomachs of 2,000 men. Also, some of the Jews who had fled to the Romans were unused to eating and could not eat; some rushing at food could only eat like invalids or infants; others were heavy

[1] Matthew 27:23.

with food; their stomachs stiffened, the channels of food were blocked, the veins of the liver which attracted the food burst, the faculty of eating perished as greed increased; many just having seen food died of joy. Inside the city too those who seized food were watched. There was among the others Maria a woman of property, who through fear of war had moved from across the Jordan to Jerusalem; the faction leaders contested with each other to secure her wealth; and they raised the price of food that came from their hands; then cruel famine came amongst them; she had a small child whose loud wailing increased and affected the mother towards the son; and turning to him she said, 'What can I do for you little one? For whom I believe that death waits? I hoped that if you grew up you would look after me or bury me on death. But wretched what can I do? No refuge is given to me living. To whom can I give you or in what tomb bury you lest you become food for dogs, birds or wild beasts? O stomach cruel to me a source of pleasure before hunger consumed you, give back to your mother what you took'; for she had no indifference of love, necessity convinced her; averting her gaze she picked up a sword and chopped the boy in pieces and placed part of him on the fire: the smell spread to the leaders of the revolt, who following it threatened the woman with death unless she let them share the food; but she [said] 'I have served your part to you, I have prepared food from my stomach for you'; and saying this she revealed choice limbs and put a choice meal before them with this greeting: 'This is my meal and this is your portion; see if I have cheated you: see one hand of my boy, his foot, half his body. But why step back? Don't be better than a mother, weaker than a woman. I have prepared such a meal but you have forced a mother to eat her son: never sweet son were you sweeter to me; I owe my life to you' **(p. 120)**. Stories of such evils came to the Romans. But Caesar raising his hands to heaven protested: 'I came to war, but I found not men but the madness of beasts: surely they choose their offspring from animals and nurture them in hunger and select foreign bodies. This above all is savagery that it should devour limbs that a mother has born. I am clean from contagion; I absolve myself to you, since you are powerful in heaven; you know that I have frequently offered peace from my disposition and it does not shame me to ask as victor because I wished to spare them. However, 110,000 were killed through the period of the siege and some 47,000 were captured. The Romans were exhausted by the slaughter; they sought to sell the captives as slaves. But because there were so many for sale, there were few purchasers; there were not less than 30 properties sold for 1 nomisma, as Hugh of Fleury[1] says. The arch with the treaty with Rome with four bronze columns and ornate decoration was dismantled and set up in the temple of Peace. This is what Christ had prayed through the prophets to his Father: 'You O Lord pity me and revive me and I will take retribution from them.'[2] By Moses too he had predicted a long time ago: 'Revenge is mine and I will repay them in due time so that their

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1 Hugo Floriacensis, Benedictine monk and writer who died c.1118. He wrote a four-volume Ecclesiastical History in 1109 and three chronicles of the Kings of France.

2 Psalms 40:11.

foot slips.[1] And again, ‘Evils will come upon you in the later days, when you commit evil in the sight of the Lord, provoking him with the works of your hands.’[2] Concerning this last captivity of the Jews Daniel had prophesied.[3] ‘After forty weeks[4] Christ will be killed and the people who deny him will not be his and people will come with their leader and destroy the city and the sanctuary and the end will be waste and after the end desolation is appointed’. After this Symeon the son of Cleophas, according to the Bishop of Jerusalem as accused by certain heretics that he was of the seed of David and a Christian. At the time of Trajan he was subjected to various tortures for a long time; finally with all admiring even the evil Jews he bore the sacrifice of the cross when he was an old man of 120 years. Then the Jews were dispersed throughout the world. They fought against their neighbours in Libya and in Mesopotamia rebelled against the Romans. From this point onwards Trajan ordered Quietus to drive them out of the province; against them Quietus drew up his troops and killing many thousands of them, from this procurator the Jews were expelled from the empire; at last Hadrian, because there were still traces of the city remaining, ordered that the city be completely destroyed. The Jews hiding in the area removed themselves from the place where the Ark [of the Covenant] had stood; and he ordered that no Jew should remain in that area; and from then on there were no more Jewish bishops: and Marcus was the first to be appointed from the gentiles. The persecution of the Jews against the early Church stopped too. On their expulsion they began to serve the faithful of Christ in the Promised Land and with all speed to the yoke which is easy and the burden light.’[5]

Part 2

Part 2 contains the beginnings of the Eastern Church, having 4 chapters.

Chapter 1 : The glorious progress of the Eastern Church

The Church in Jerusalem, Alexandria and Antioch flourished with illustrious saints and famous martyrdoms. I shall select a few from many. Theophilus the sixth bishop of Antioch composed a book and many pamphlets against the Marchionites.[6] Babillus his successor, with public support, forbade the Emperor

[1] Deuteronomy 32:35.

[2] Deuteronomy 31:29.

[3] Daniel 9.

[4] Daniel 9:26 has 62 weeks and not 40.

[5] Matthew 11:30.

[6] The Marcionites were an early Gnostic sect that practised baptism of the dead, did not accept the Old Testament, and believed that Christ was not the son of the God of the Old

Numerian[1] from entering the church interposing his own hand because when he was in Antioch he had sacrificed to idols: on the last day presenting himself to the Emperor and opposed to his royal majesty, he replied: 'God has made me his humble servant and the pastor of his people; so when I saw you coming like a wolf, lest you should devour any sheep I have banned you from the sheep fold'. Erasmus, bishop of the same city, hearing of Diocletian's edict,[2] went to the desert where he lived for seven years, near Mount Lebanon; at that time divine food was brought to him by a crow; wild animals put aside their natural ferocity and visited his cell. Philip, the most illustrious of the Romans, assuming the prefecture of Alexandria, was converted to the faith by his daughter Eugenia and sent an account to the Emperor Severus noting that Christians had benefitted the state: that they therefore ought to be allowed to live in cities without persecution: for they were allowed to live in the suburbs in great numbers; to which the Emperor assented **(p. 121)**. Then in that place the dignity of the Christian name began to flourish; and the whole of Alexandria was like one church. Philip too was ordained from prefect to bishop; calling with prayers and tears he chased demons and instructed the blind. Origen[3] too was learned in the schools of Alexandria and one of the best known of the early doctors of the Church. Peter the Alexandrian,[4] never wished to sit on the bishop's throne, but only on the footstool; on which the clergy and people many times questioned him, and in silence heard his response: 'believe me my sons, if you saw what I see, then you would understand priestly power and what grace they possess; you will be frightened in the presence of majesty and I do not dare to sit in the cathedral'. For the fiery splendour coming from that chair had appeared to him, in his face the holy man was lit up so that he did not know himself in his body. Who was such a fighter for the Church as Athanasius:[5] how great a doctor was Didimus,[6] I cannot explain briefly. As a small boy putting aside the appearance of the body he brought about such a great illumination of the heart that he became a doctor of the Church and wrote many things with the use of secretaries. Narcissus, the Bishop of Jerusalem, ran short of oil for his lamps on

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Testament but of the good God. They were absorbed by the Manichaeans. Theophilus is not listed among the main writers against the Marcionites.

[1] Roman Emperor from December 283 to November 284.

[2] Issued in February 303, with the agreement of his imperial colleagues Maximian, Galerius and Constantinus.

[3] Origen (c.185–254) by tradition an Egyptian and teacher at the Catechetical School of Alexandria (founded c.190).

[4] Patriarch of Alexandria, 300–11.

[5] Athanasius (293–373) was Patriarch of Alexandria from 328 until his death with many periods of exile, 335–46, 352–61, and 363–5, occasioned by his opposition to prevailing court Arianism.

[6] Didymus the Blind (c.313–98) was a lay theologian at the Catechetical School of Alexandria. Despite losing his sight as a child he wrote commentaries on most of the books of the Bible.

the vigil of Easter, with faith he ordered that they be filled with water; then praying silently for a miracle the water was changed into oil, and immediately gave out a clearer light.[1] He was succeeded by Alexander from a Cappadocian family who by virtue of his prayer came to Jerusalem: it was revealed to Narcissus and to others that they should keep him as bishop in that holy place. On the same day as he arrived a large group of brothers who had come to meet him heard the voice which came from heaven: 'Take on yourself the bishopric which is designed for you by God'. To that place with the grace of devotion came the sacred Queen Helena,[2] the mother of Constantine, and sought the place of the crucifixion of the Lord then scarcely known to anyone: because the ancient persecutors of the Christians had placed a statue of venus there, so that if any Christian wished to worship Christ there, he would seem to worship Venus. She ordered that the more knowledgeable of the Jews be burnt to ashes if they did not show her the place; they handed over Judas who had this information from his father: the place was revealed and the cross discovered by digging; the Devil shouted into the atmosphere: 'O Jesus of Nazareth I offered everything to you and I who first caused you to be handed over by Judas am now undone by Judas'. Helena built a most beautiful temple on the spot of the crucifixion. Then the tenth persecution of the Christians being ended and tranquillity and peace being returned to the faithful the glorious Church developed for many years and an image of heaven took over the earth.

Chapter 2: The cooling of the former fervour of the Church and its consequent affliction by Cosroe

But after the love of Christ had grown cool among the faithful of Christ it became influenced by carnal activity especially among easterners and especially among Syrians, and the merciful Father began to warn his people with scourging and to punish them with whips. In the year 584 the Persians plundered and burnt Armenia and pressed the Christians hard: at the very least they burnt the Church of the 40 Martyrs.[3] In the following year Antioch was overthrown in an amazing fashion by divine will.[4] Indeed, there was a citizen there who made alms and hospitality readily available, so that no day passed without a pauper or a guest; however, on a certain day when evening came and he had found none such, he saw an old man in white clothes with two companions standing in the centre of the city; and

[1] Narcissus (c.99–216) was the thirtieth Patriarch, 185–211. This legend comes from Eusebius. Alexander was the thirty-fourth Patriarch, 211–51.

[2] Saint Helena of Constantinople (c.246/250–330) found the True Cross in 325 and built the first church of the Holy Sepulchre over the find spot.

[3] There are many churches with this dedication in the east, but probably that at Sebaste is intended here.

[4] In 525 a fire destroyed half of Antioch and on 20 May 526 an earthquake killed some 250,000 people.

inviting them to his house he received this reply: 'Could you not save this city O man of God with our Symeon, lest it be turned upside down?' When these words were spoken he shook the towel that he was holding in his hand over the centre of the city immediately buildings were thrown down. And when he wished to throw his towel over the other part of the city, he was barely restrained by the prayers of his two companions: he saved the man astonished by seeing this from his house, consoling him with his survival, and nothing in the world compared to it. At the same time the Western Church was affected by a great scourge from God. In Italy there was a great flood, so that the Tiber flowed over the walls of the city and lay over many areas; through the Tiber a large number of snakes with a huge dragon made their way to the sea; and there followed the worst plague which they call black and Pope Pelagius died.[1] So great was the mortality that in the city many houses remained empty **(p. 122)**: but when Saint Gregory had been elected Pope[2] and that pestilence had not yet ceased, at Eastertide he ordered a procession with litanies, and the icon of the Virgin which Saint Luke had painted and which was agreed to be most like the virgin to be carried most reverently before the procession. And behold the whole infection and turbulence of the air yielded before the image and after it a wonderful calmness remained. Around the image, too, the voices of angels were heard singing: 'Rejoice Queen of Heaven, Alleluia; because you have repaid those who have carried you, Alleluia; He has risen just as he said Alleluia'; and immediately Gregory who was following replied: 'Pray for us, Lord, Alleluia'. Then the most glorious Pope saw above the castle of the Crescentii[3] an angel wiping a bloody sword and returning it to its sheath. And he was permitted to carry out all manner of virtuous acts, especially in alms-giving and works of piety. He wished that the names of poor men from overseas be recorded in writing. In 585 a wonderful gift was made to the Jerusalem Church. In the town of Saphet, with the confession of Symeon the Jew, the tunic of our Lord Jesus Christ was found: and was solemnly placed in Jerusalem in the place where the Cross of the Christ is venerated, by the bishops Gregory of Antioch, Thomas of Jerusalem and John of Constantinople.[4] Thus the Lord, who had been very angry, remembered pity. But because the gifts were ungratefully received, with neither the rigour of the innocent nor the sweetness of mercy we were buried rather than lifted up; they returned to the path of justice in the year 618. In the fifth year of the

[1] That is the Bubonic plague. Pelagius 11, Pope 580/1–590, died in Rome on 7 February 590.

[2] Gregory I or the Great, Pope 590–610, was born c.540 into a wealthy Roman family.

[3] Castel S.Angelo. The Crescentii family dominated Roman politics from the 970s to 1012, fortifying many hilltops along the approaches to the city and some ancient sites within the city.

[4] Gregory I of Antioch (571–94), Thomas is an error for John IV (575–94) and John IV Nesteutues Patriarch of Constantinople (582–94).

Emperor Heracles,[1] Cosroe, King of the Persians[2] with an army of infidels attacked the Holy Land of Promise, he killed up to 90,000 men and captured Damascus; nor did he spare the holy city, having broken down the walls on all sides he levelled churches, holy places and altars, to the ground where the feet of the Lord had stood, going in unclean like a dog he profaned everything. Then the Patriarch Zacharias[3] was captured along with many others; the Holy Cross, on which the price of our salvation had hung, was carried off to Persia: though to enter or violate the Tomb was prevented by divine intervention. So the Christians by name paid the penalty for living like pagans, leaving behind their baptismal oath they were allied with them in sin.

Chapter 3: The victory of Heraclius against Cosroe

Heraclius Augustus hearing of the pillage of the Holy City of Jerusalem and of the Promised Land and touched inwardly with grief of the heart, since he could not use his power against this most powerful of kings, he probed the spirit of Cosroes with many prayers, so that when a tribute was proposed and accepted he retreated and withdrew to his own lands. He sent unskilled ambassadors, and in the following year occupied Egypt, Libya and Carthage, when Heraclius inherited his patrimony before he assumed the imperial diadem. Heraclius created his son Constantine Augustus; and in the tenth year of his principate having gathered an army he advanced against him taking with him the icon of the Holy Mother of God, which in Byzantium[4] is said to be not by the hand of man but drawn by a divine miracle. When Cosroes heard of this he turned to flight and all territory through which he retreated he burnt. Heraclius too wasted cities and districts through which he crossed. Then Cosroes appointed two Praetors, Sarbara and Sarabara, to contain Heraclius. The latter understanding this appointed troops to deal with them and with the remainder of his force he crossed the Euphrates and the Taurus Mountains; and reached the River Saron[5] and fortified the bridge. Sarabara pitched camp in front of the bridge; then many Romans attacked the Persians in disorganized fashion, and when the Persians pretended to flee many were killed in ambushes. Then a horde of barbarians shot arrows at the Romans from the river bank; and finally a huge Persian attacked the Emperor in the middle of the bridge whom the Emperor speared and threw into the river; at this the barbarians turned to flight. Through the intercession of the glorious Virgin he defeated the prefect. A

[1] Heraclius (born c.575) Emperor 610–41. He had a positive image in both Christian and Islamic writing as the restorer of the true cross and a contemporary of Muhammed.

[2] Cosrhoes II or Khosrau Pavez, Parthian King 590–628.

[3] Fifty-sixth Patriarch of Jerusalem, 609–32.

[4] *In Bizantio*.

[5] *The Alexiad* XII, Chapter 2. The river rises in the Taurus Mountains, flows past Mopsus and enters the Syrian Sea.

severe hailstorm fell on his army and killed many, whilst the Christian battle line remained unmolested. After this Cosroes sent another officer to stiffen the soldiers and he fought hard with Heraclius until the ninth hour; calling on the Holy Mother of God he defeated and slew him and many Persians were killed so that a large part of the Roman army became rich from the spoils.

Chapter 4: The return of Heraclius and the restoration of the Holy Cross to Jerusalem ***(p. 123)***

Returning to Cosroes we might say that he was highly elated, as he had ordered that he be regarded as God by the neighbouring peoples whom he had conquered; and to be called 'King of Kings and Lord of Lords'; he made a silver tower for himself and inside he constructed a golden throne with sparkling gems and he gathered there the four phases of the sun and the moon and a map of the stars; through fine and hidden channels he sent water, so that he seemed to cause rain as God. He sent his son against Heraclius; and it pleased each prince that they should fight each other on the bridge; and to whom chance should give victory then he should rule. The All-powerful God, smitten with the tears of the Christians, gave the victory to Heraclius. Cosroe's army was converted to the faith and placed under his power. Then Heraclius, crossing the whole of the kingdom which Cosroes had subjected to himself, arrived at his capital and found him sitting on the golden throne and trembling he greeted him and gave him a choice saying: 'For his part because you have handled the wood of the Holy Cross honourably however unworthy, if you adopt the faith of Christ the Kingdom of the Persians with his patrimony will be granted to you for life, making peace one with another, if you remain the same you will die by the sword.' But staying the same his head was cut off. He picked up the wood of the Holy Cross and all the people were rejoicing with boughs and with candles; some went to meet it and others followed. The sweetest odour, a wafting breeze of divinity, diffused itself through the breasts of men right up to Jerusalem, from where Cosroe had taken the Holy Cross from the shrine. When the Emperor after coming down from the Mount of Olives wished to enter the city on a royal steed and with imperial trappings, through the gate, by which the Lord had entered at the time of the Passion, the stones fell immediately from the gate and closed off one wall forming a continuous entrance way. All wondered at this and astonished looked up and saw the sign of the cross shining in bright flames in the sky; the Angel of the Lord taking it in his hands said: 'When the King of Heaven would complete the sacrament of human redemption he entered through this way, he did not display himself in purple or crowned or riding on the best of horses but humbly sitting on the back of a donkey and left the example of humility to his followers'; on saying this the Angel immediately ascended into heaven. Then the Emperor put aside his imperial insignia, took off his shoes and put on a linen girdle, taking the cross in his hand, tearful and with eyes looking up to heaven he hurried to the gate: and there humbly approaching the hardness of the stones felt the celestial

rule: and immediately the gate rose up and allowed him to enter. The glorious Augustus burst forth in praise and said: ‘O Cross more splendid than all the stars, famous throughout the world and much-loved by men, holier than all things: you alone were worthy to bear the talent of the world; bearing his sweet dignity, his sweet weight, save this crowd gathered in your praise today’. And he placed the Cross in its place.

Part 3

Part 3 contains the Muslim persecution of the Eastern Church and its anxious condition up to the first passage of the western peoples, having 8 chapters.

Chapter 1: The lapse of Heraclius into heresy and the devastation of the Holy Land by Humar and Mahumeth

After these things, the holy man Modestus by name was installed as Bishop of Jerusalem, who among other things repaired the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which had been destroyed by Cosroe: just as Maximus the Patriarch[1] rebuilt that which had been founded by Helena. When he had set in order the faithful churches thrown down by the evil Cosroes; the places dedicated to God were stuffed full with regal splendour, and at the same time he joined with Cyrus, Bishop of Alexandria and Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople to proclaim the heresy of the Monothelites **(p. 124)**, that is one nature in Christ:[2] by which Heraclius Augustus after so many victories was corrupted and moved away from the Catholic faith. Whence by divine judgement the Agarenes led by Humarus began to disrupt his empire seriously. Humarus, the son of Captab, Prince of the Arabs, took over Jerusalem, Phoenicia, Damascus and the whole of Syria and Antioch;[3] for he could more easily keep firm hold of his native land that had been devastated by Cosroes. Humerus rebuilt the Templum Domini, as now is, which Titus had destroyed. Then Saphonias was Bishop of Jerusalem,[4] the successor of Modestus. Also the Saracens and Turks under the leadership of the false prophet Mahumeth, came from their homes and devastated the empire of Heraclius, in a short time they occupied everything from Syrian Laodicaea to Egypt, not without the spilling of much Christian blood; and driving out their sins, they made the remaining Christians their tributaries not only in Jerusalem but elsewhere, but

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[1] Modestus, Patriarch 632–84; Maximos III, 339–48.

[2] Cyrus or Kyros was Patriarch 630–41; Sergius I was Patriarch 610–38. Monothelitism was declared a heresy at the Third Council of Constantinople, 680–1.

[3] Umar the Great or ‘Umar ibn al Khattab’ (c.586–644) succeeded Abu Bakr (632–34) as the second Caliph. The conquest cited took place 638–42.

[4] Sophronios I (634–8).

oppressed them with the hardest yoke; nor was full freedom restored to them until the time of Pope Urban II,[1] that is for around 470 years. From the twentieth year of Heraclius the Saracens, who were formerly subject to the Persians, turned things around and from then it was called the Kingdom of the Saracens instead of the Kingdom of the Persians.

Chapter 2: The vile beginnings of the seducer Mahumeth and how he gained power[2]

This Arab, of the stock of Ismail the son of Agar the handmaid of Abraham, since he was a boy he was brought up in idolatry in a place in Arabia called Salingua. He was left in poverty on the death of his father Adimeneph and his mother Fatonia. On his own he passed through life, first leading an ass then camels; at last reaching maturity he traded in Palestine and Egypt, mixing with Christians and Jews he learned many things from the New and the Old Testament; but he passed as a learned man. Travelling through many places selling diverse goods he came to Corazaym. The mistress of that province was called Cardiga, who admired his wares and made him her familiar; and he persuaded her with false speeches that he was the Messiah whom the Jews expected; she handed over many of the Saracens to him as much for his great experience as for the falseness of his prophecies. Sergius the monk joined him, excommunicated on account of the heresy of Nestorius and driven from the comfort of the faithful.[3] He taught a dove by feeding it to take seeds from the ears of Mahumeth: when Mahumeth saw him perching on his shoulder he placed a perch in his ear. After this Sergius persuaded the people that he, whom the Holy Spirit should point out, ought to be placed in authority over them. At the appointed time he sent the dove in secret, which the people believed was the Holy Spirit speaking in the ear of Mahumeth and revealing holy things to him. Then he began to make new laws from both Testaments; so that it should please many he made some changes of substance [and] he said that they were revealed to him by the Holy Spirit. So that he might embellish the lie, he bound them with the horns of a bull, which just like the dove from his ear was accustomed to take food from his hand; when the hungry bull heard his voice he ran to his hand as if it was a trough; and he carried a law on his horns as if it was

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[1] Odo de Lagery (1042-99), became Pope Urban II in 1088 and set the First Crusade in motion at Clermont in November, 1095.

[2] The material on Muhhamud in Chapters, 2, 3, 4 and 5 is taken from Petrus Alfonsi, *Dialogus contra Judaeos*, see John Tolan, *Petrus Alfonsi and his Medieval Readers*, (Gainesville, 1993), 29–33 and note 2 on page 203 below.

[3] The Nestrian Church still exists. Nestorius (d.451) maintained that Christ had two persons, human and divine. It is unclear why it was reckoned heretical other than it was provoked by the prevailing court monotheletism. It was condemned at the Council of Ephesus in 433.

a divine missive. He hid pitchers full of milk and honey, placing them in a certain place and said to the people that the new law should be declared by miracles, so that God shows his reward to his servants. Therefore he showed them a place to dig and finding the pitchers the people were convinced; the laws of the Israelites bound them as tightly as if they were their own; and so the false prophet declared himself to be the Messiah. Cardigam married him and the Arabs dwelling in the Kingdom of the Persians joined him. So he gained dominion in the east as far as Alexandria. Cardigam, noting that he frequently fell down with epileptic fits, began to grieve that she had married an impious man. He comforted her saying that he fell down and behaved thus in the face of the Archangel Gabriel speaking to him, because he could not withstand his splendour being only a mortal man.

Chapter 3: The brigandage and carnal sins of Mahometh ***(p. 125)***

Before the spread of his power, he was detested by the people of Mecca,[1] because allied with brigands from the beginning who were weighed down with foreign money, making raids he deceived the simple to receive him as the Prophet. Therefore, rejected he went away to a deserted town where the Jews lived in great number, wishing to promulgate his law. First he took the house of one of his pupils; then he sent Amazeta the son of Adhimelec on an expedition with 30 mounted men to seize the camels of Corais when they returned from Syria; to whom Abegel the son of Isen hastened from Mecca to meet and chased them off with 300 men and Mahumeth, as if a prophet, could not prevail in small things. On another expedition he sent Hugida the son of Alant the son of Amical with 40 soldiers; against whom Ebecephy came out with his men; when many of them shed their blood they did not take on the protection of the prophet. On the third expedition he sent Zaid the son of Ebicadad, with 20 men; and they found no camels for they had already passed by; nor did they think the prophet was blind by this absence, nor in the future either. Afterwards he went out himself to seize the camels of Corais, when he came to a place called Guedon where he found Mubre the son of Gad Semhalui, and when he did not overcome him he returned empty-handed; nor was he valued more as a prophet than by his own family. Again he went out while Iambo was coming to get the camels of Corais by ambush on their return; and although he fought fiercely for them, he was defeated in the end and left. There were 26 expeditions that he made all involving ambushes; because he associated with brigands not prophets. He was also completely brutish in carnal sins 'like the horse and the mule without understanding';[2] nor did he blush to boast of his foulness in writing, namely that he could equal 40 men in making love; when he described himself as delighted by scented things and by sex. Since he loved Zambet the daughter of Gayssi and the wife of Zaidi, he alleged in the

1 *Mecha*.

2 Psalms 31:11 is Bongar's marginal note, but it is verse 9.

Koran[1] that God had spoken to him about her: 'Since the man Zaidi has fulfilled his desire with her we will give her to you'. What can be more vile to tell than that his wife Ayssa given to lust with Azaphagat whom she loved, [colluded with him] and played the whore and many spoke about this, because he did not repudiate her, but replied that no one was more dear to him, although he had married her as a virgin and still considered her a young woman; above all in the Koran he says to himself that she was innocent in a divine revelation. He even taught that the Jewess Zaphya should be honoured above his other wives when they complained to him about her Jewishness, by saying: 'Am I not she whose father was Aaron and whose father's brother was Moses and who am the wife of Mahubet?' Many other foul and disagreeable things are omitted for the sake of brevity and because they are abominable to relate.

Chapter 4: Other abuses of the law of Mahumet

His law recommends frequent washing, especially at time of prayer so that just as in the baptism of Christians they are washed free of their sins: this ignores that man is only born once both in body and in spirit; and what is rebirth to the sick is a remedial penance not Baptism. It lays down that fasters should abstain from the hour when white and black thread may be distinguished until sunset; however, all night they may enjoy the pleasures of the flesh; thus sinning twice over, first in the timing and secondly in intemperance. For when fasting leads to banishing meat and suppressing excess, the night is prone to lasciviousness and restrains nothing by temperance or abstinence. It also lays down that they should pray five times a day, taking a middle course between the Jews who pray three times a day and the Christians who pray seven times a day. Once a year they should go to the house of God, which is in Mecca; and they should walk round it with a small linen cloth around their waist and throw stones from the mid-thigh at a devil made of stone. They say that Adam built this house for all his children, that Abraham strengthened it and there made vows and sacrifices and left it to Ishmael; Mahumeth improved this with additional observance, adding the throwing of stones from the thigh, lest the worship of his mistress Venus should seem to be left out; for which service Venus granted him this favour, that prayer should be due not only to Venus but to her prophet **(p. 126)**. Other things too were displayed in this religion that smack of idolatry; such as the throwing of stones, which relates to the worship of Venus, but also shows the cult of a woman, who ministers there, shielding her eyes from the light. And so that this cult should spread more openly it should be known, as Petrus Alfonsi,[2] a converted Jew, says that two sons of Loth, Amon and Moab

[1] *In Alcorano*.

[2] Petrus Alfonsi/Moses Sepharadi (1062–1110) a Jewish physician and theologian from Huesca in Aragon who converted to Christianity on 29 June 1106. Much cited for his fables and works against the Jews and knowledge of Islam. Sanudo here paraphrases

were accustomed to visiting this house worshipping two idols one made of white stone called Mercurius the other of black stone called Kamos; and the first was fashioned in honour of Saturn, the other in honour of Mars. They would go up to worship Saturn when the Sun entered the first phase of Libra; because the ascent of Saturn was in Libra; and so naked and with shaved heads they would burn incense. To Mars, too, when the Sun entered the first phase of Aries; because Aries is the home of Mars. The Arabs would worship these idols with them. Mahumet refused to set aside this first custom; but in order to seem to compose something new he replaced nudity with a small piece of cloth or linen; lest he appeared to sacrifice to the idols he enclosed Saturn in the corner of the house so that his face could not be seen only his back; because mars was carved on all sides he buried it and put a stone on top, and to those coming to worship he ordered the stones to be kissed for the sake of humility. He also decreed that all meat might be eaten except pork; for it was said that after the flood the pig was born of camel dung, except for its blood and hide. No food should be forbidden, unless or because it was of human constitution; or due to some other reason such as the Law of Moses; neither of which could be attributed to this false prophet. He allowed four legitimate wives and as many as three could be repudiated. They could have purchased and captive slaves at will and could sell them, unless they were pregnant. But even brute beasts condemn divorce, since even the parents of monsters in their turn do not separate until they have brought up [their offspring]. He decreed that those taken in adultery should be stoned after receiving 80 lashes. The thief was flogged for the first and second offence; for the third his hand was cut off and for the fourth his foot. Those not believing in God and Mahumeth were condemned to everlasting punishment, eternal fire, a drink that was more bitter than gall and which upset the stomach; there was food from the tree called Azahum and it was worse than the vilest taste of anything and rumbled in the stomach like thunder. To those serving the law paradise was promised, that is a garden of delights, irrigated by ever-flowing waters; they ate all manner of foods; anything they desired they found to be with them immediately; they wore silks of all colours and copulated with the most beautiful virgins; they lay on couches and angels like butlers brought milk to them in golden pitchers and wine in silver ones; saying ‘Drink and eat to your pleasure’. A bestial not a human glory was promised to these beasts as Boethius says in Book 3 *De Consolatione*: ‘What should I say to the voluptuous concerning the body, their appetite is full of worry, their satiety is punishment? If they could form blessed thoughts there is no reason that animals might be said to be blessed, but their whole purpose is to hurry to meet their lusts.’ What is more ridiculous than that eternal life is placed in continual corruption. Such is the law that can attract such men in whom the flesh drives out reason.

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the fifth Titulus of the *Dialogue Against the Jews*. See I.M. Resnick, *The Fathers of the Church, Medieval Continuation 8, Petrus Alfonsi, Dialogue Against the Jews* (Washington DC, 2006),146–63.

Chapter 5: How he was a false prophet; his death and how his rule was shared amongst many

The true prophet is known by three signs; from a holy life; against which he had time for impiety and theft, see above, Chapter 3. By the working of miracles; against which he spoke thus in the Koran because God spoke to him: ‘I do not permit you to make miracles, because I fear that you like the other prophets will be contradicted in miracles; but I send you with sword and power’. By the minute foreseeing of future events: which he hindered by the profusion of carnal desire, of which he was completely absorbed see above, Chapter 3. We say therefore that Mahumeth appears to be a false Prophet out of coveting with his eyes, resulting in rape; from pride resulting in the usurpation of power; from sexual desire resulting in carnal lust, which three are the roots of all sins. And many more were turned from God by this seducer than we see converted to God by any other **(p. 127)**. For his teaching is like a creeping crab, affecting not only Arabs, Medes and Persians, Syrians, Ethiopians and Egyptians but the whole of Africa from the east via the south to the west; and even by wondrous means it has diffused to the north. From the beginning of his faith up to his old age he was Antichrist, the son of perdition, at some time he was like a savage whip to loose souls or he is awaited by posterity. For 40 years this false prophet Mahumeth deceived the people and sensing that death was imminent, exhausted by love-making, he said to his friends and relatives: ‘when I am dead place me in a tomb, because I know that after three days I shall be transported to heaven’. He was kept not just for three days but for ten, then not bearing the stench of the corpse anymore, they washed it with water and buried it in the ground. Then many realizing that he had deceived them were annoyed and angry with his law. But the relatives and associates of Mahumeth were fearful of losing their temporal rights and rather coaxed those able to be persuaded; then they chose a successor from his disciples, calling him Calipha, that is successor or heir. Having assumed the dignity he gained support by flattering some and frightening others. The father-in-law of Mahumet, full of honour and agreeableness, acting by himself and with accomplices, removed him from the chief position;[1] and he considered he who came after unworthy not to be thought a greater prophet than Mahumeth; as if God did not speak to him with familiarity; and he said many evil things against him and his laws, setting up new rites; but those who wished to keep his law in the east established the Caliph of Baghdad. They displayed such great reverence to him, that without his nod no one was called sultan; and kings prostrating themselves to the ground humbly kissed his feet. The Caliphate of Egypt lasted to the time of Saladin see Part 9, Chapter 3. The Prince of the westerners who accepted the law of Mahumet placed the seat of his Kingdom in the town of Morochia, which was formerly called Carthage; and he ruled not only a large part of Ethiopia and Africa but also of Spain; he refused to be subject with

[1] This must be a reference to Ali ibn Abi Talib, the cousin and son-in-law of Muhammad. He ruled the Caliphate, 656–61 and was the founder of Shi’ism.

his own people to the eastern Caliph,[1] but thought himself both king and caliph, that is Miramamulinam. He ordered that he and his successors be called the king of the believers, on account of which to the great ease of the Christians, there was great division between the eastern and western Saracens. Ebumer[2] succeeded Mahumet and Humar succeeded him.

Chapter 6: How Charlemagne set out to help the Promised Land[3]

From the time when Humar added the Promised Land to his empire and that of the evil Mahumet, the faithful remained under tribute in the midst of a depraved nation; just like Job in the Land of Hus and Loth in Sodom; and just like a lily among thorns, for almost 476 years as has been said in Chapter 1 above. Nor did the infidels always behave in the same way around the Christians. For at the time of Charlemagne a certain Aaron, known as Repsit,[4] who ruled the east and was moved by such affection for Charles that he wished to please him in all things; and he wished that the Christians and the holy places of the Promised Land should be as much subject to him as to his own people. For after Heraclius was perverted, his vicious son Constantine[5] succeeded, who was deceived by Paul, Bishop of Constantinople, [and] who dishonoured the image contrary to the Catholic faith. Pope Martin after first consulting with 200 bishops anathematized the said Paul and the supporters of his error;[6] for which reason [Martin] was seized and exiled to Cherson. Afterwards Constantine ruled and fell into the heresy of the Monothelites, just like his ancestor Heraclius. After this Constantine[7] his son ruled, who, with the advice of a wise man, made a lasting peace with both the Bulgarians and the Arabs who lived in Damascus. This reasonable and Catholic [ruler] restored the churches destroyed at the time of his great-grandfather Heraclius. He opposed the Monothelites and called the sixth synod of 289 bishops: where it was declared that

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[1] The Ummayad Caliphate set up by Abd ar-Rahman I (738–88) at Cordoba in 757.

[2] Abu Bakr, 632–4.

[3] Charlemagne, sole King of the Franks, 771–814, was crowned the first Holy Roman Emperor in Rome on Christmas day 800. He never went to the Holy Land and his legendary crusade seems to be based on his good relationship with the Sultan, see. E. Joranson, 'The Alleged Frankish Protectorate in Palestine', *American Historical Review*, 32 (1927), 241–61.

[4] Harun al-Rashid (763–809) became the fifth Abbasid caliph in Baghdad in 786. In 797 or 801 he sent an elephant and a clock to Charlemagne.

[5] Regal name of Constans II (641–68).

[6] Reference to the Lateran Council of 649 that condemned montheletism. Martin I (649–55) was taken to Constantinople in 653 where he was sentenced to death. This was commuted through the intercession of Patriarch Paul II to exile in the Crimea where he died. He was the last Pope to be reckoned a martyr.

[7] Constantine IV (668–85).

there were two natures in Christ. Justinianus[1] his son succeeded him, while still a young man and acting childishly he broke the peace which his father had made with the Arabs. He withdrew the army from the sea of Pirates which protected his empire from the force of the Arabs; the Arabs, during the reign of Leo who took the empire for himself, did much devastation in Africa. There followed from these things the unhappy state of the Christians under the rule of the Augustus' and the like to their successors: until the woman Irene[2] ruled the Romans, as if the spirit had already gone from the empire of Constantinople; so at the first opportunity they showed that indeed, with one accord [they made] the imperial laudes for Charlemagne the King of France, acclaiming him and crowning him Caesar Augustus by the hand of Pope Leo in the year of our Lord 802 **(p. 128)**.[3] At the time of Charles the Patriarch of Jerusalem was expelled from the Promised Land by the pagans, he went to the Emperor Constantinus of Constantinople and his son Leo and with him were John the Neapolitan, priest, and David of Jerusalem, Archpresbyter, who sent letters in his own hand to Charlemagne: and with them two Jews Isaac and Samuel. In the last part of this letter was written: 'On a certain day brought to the point of ecstasy I saw a young man standing before my bed who speaking to me softly he touched the bedpost and said Constantine you have asked the help of the Lord in this matter; accept Charlemagne the King of France Champion of the Church in the Lord. And he showed me a soldier armed with a sword, a long spear and whose shield many times gave out flames; and the man himself was old and his face had a long beard, he was tall and his eyes shone like stars. And Augutus who refuses to obey the orders of God, less he can avoid the blame. Having read this in Paris, the King is tearful for the Lord's Sepulchre and ordered Archbishop Turbinus to show the letters to all the people. All urged the King to proceed. Then the King issued a decree, that 'all who could bear arms should go with him against the pagans; and he who did not follow him, was kept back by having four children. And so he gathered a greater army than any other he had formed and set out. When he arrived beyond Jerusalem in the desert that could scarcely be crossed in two days and in which were bears, lions, tigers and other wild animals, the King was singing the Psalms when he came to that verse: 'Lead me Lord in the path of your commandment, because I wish it:'[4] the voice of a bird near his bed was heard, those who were present hearing it were purged. The King continued with the Psalms up to that verse: 'Lead my soul from prison.'[5] And again the bird sang 'Frenchman what do you say? Frenchman what do you say?' The King followed this bird along narrow tracks, until they recognized the

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[1] Justinian II, first reign 685–95, second reign 705–11.

[2] Irene was regent for her son Constantine VI,780–90. In 797 she deposed and blinded him and became empress 797–802. She opposed the destruction of icons.

[3] Christmas day 800.

[4] Psalms 118:35.

[5] Psalms 141:10, but verse 8.

road that they had lost on the preceding day; and after that the pilgrims began to hear the birds speaking thus.

Chapter 7: The return of Charles and the bringing back of relics

Having settled matters and recovered the Holy Land Charles obtained permission from the Emperor of Constantinople and the Patriarch of Jerusalem to return home; first however precious relics were given to him at his request. After a three-day fast, when the Litany was not yet finished, the priest Daniel of Naples opened a chest in which was the crown of thorns, so great was the odour coming from it that everyone thought themselves to be in Paradise. Then Charles prostrated himself on the floor, full of faith, he asked Christ, on account of the glory of his name, his passion and his resurrection that he should renew miracles. And when he had finished praying dew coming from heaven watered the wood and immediately flowers sprang from it; and a great light and odour was present so that all thought his clothes were from heaven and when the Cross was dried, more and more it began to flower; the flowers were placed in baskets prepared for them. The King filled his right glove; then preparing to take up a thorn, he handed it to the archbishop of Évreux standing by; and when the eyes of both were full of tears, without any support he stood on air for one hour; afterwards when he wished to remove the flowers from his glove they were changed into heavenly food, which is now on display at St. Denis. All the sick that approached were cured by the scent of the flowers to the number of 301. There was a man who had been blind, deaf and dumb for 32 years and in plucking the crown of thorns he received his sight; and in a cutting of the cross his hearing and in the scent of the flowers his speech. There was given to Charles along with a part of the cross and the crown of the Lord, the towel and gown of the blessed Virgin, and the clothes that covered the boy Jesus in the cradle, the arm of Saint Symeon, and one of the nails that was taken from the perfume-box; a boy was healed who had a paralyzed left side. Charles returned home with all these things, he put them in a bag around his neck **(p. 129);** and on the way by touching the sacred relics a dead boy was revived and 50 sick men were cured. When he arrived at Aachen countless blind and frail people were cured, 12 demoniacs, 8 lepers, 15 paralytics, 14 lame men, 30 cripples, 52 hunchbacks, and 65 with falling sickness. Then he revealed these things to the whole world, so that on the Ides of June they came to Aachen to see the relics, and there was Pope Leo, Archbishop Turbinus, Theophylact a priest from Antioch and many other bishops and abbots. And there a dead man was brought back to life; and a festival was celebrated with four days of fasting in the month of June.

Chapter 8: The deteriorating condition of the Promised Land, largely due to the devastation of the empire of Constantinople

After these things had happened at the time of the Bishop of Jerusalem called Orestes,[1] his nephew the Caliph of Egypt named Elau,[2] the son of his sister, broke the accustomed truces and ordered that greater tribute and restrictions be imposed on the Christians and their churches levelled to the ground: thus the Church of the Sepulchre like the rest was destroyed. For he feared to be held suspect by the law of Mahumet, because he had a Christian mother, but the son of the caliph called Deir[3] succeeded him and became friends with the Emperor of Constantinople called Romanus Elyopelitanus,[4] and he granted to him that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre might be rebuilt; and this church still stands. This church was rebuilt in 1048. For it had remained a ruin for 37 years. And 50 years after the rebuilding Jerusalem was captured by the Christians: see below Part 5, Chapter 8. After the difficulties of the Jerusalem Church, [the empire] of Constantinople beyond the Arm of St. George and the district of Antioch were almost completely devastated. When the peaceful Romanus Diogenes[5] was Emperor, the most powerful eastern King was Belphet,[6] who marched towards Constantinople with a huge army of Persians and others; straightaway he seized cities and castles and destroyed them all. And everyone fled terrified, not daring to await his arrival. At last the Emperor went to meet him, concentrating his forces and offering battle the Emperor was captured, and much Greek blood was spilled. Then Belphet exalted by this great victory, sat among his princes and placed his foot on the Emperor's neck; and when he had done many such things he let [the Emperor] leave unharmed: the Greeks thought it unworthy that this tainted man should be their Emperor; and they deposed him and blinded him. The aforesaid King of the Saracens, Belphet, occupied everywhere from Cilician Syria to the Arm of Saint George, a distance of 30 days in length and between 10 and 15 days in breadth. And so he controlled Syria, the two Cilicias, Pamphylia, Lycia, Licaonia, Cappadocia, Galatia, Bithynia and a portion of Asia Minor. He destroyed churches and devastated people and all buildings; and a very great terror came to everyone such that no one felt safe within six or seven days [of him]. He brought much harm to the faithful of the Promised Land; because when the Emperor controlled what he has now lost as we said, he sent frequent and considerable aid to them. But when they understood that

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[1] Eightieth Patriarch by the Greek Orthodox tradition (986–1006). He died c.1012. His sister Maria was the mother of al-Hakim and persuaded him to stop his persecution of the Christians.

[2] Fatimid Caliph al-Hakim (996–1021).

[3] Fatimid Caliph az-Zahir (1021–36).

[4] Romanus III Argyrus (1028–34).

[5] Romanus IV Diogenes (1068–71).

[6] 'Adud-ud-Dawlah Alp Arslan ibn Chughri Beg' (1063–72). William of Tyre uses the name Belphet.

everything was occupied by the enemies of the Christian name, they thought that they would be in perpetual slavery.

Part 4

Part 4 contains the wondrous movement of the Western peoples to free the Holy Land at the time of Peter the Hermit, having 13 chapters **(p. 130)**.[1]

Chapter 1: The pious request for help and the beginning of a possible salvation

After the weeping of penitence and the recognition of sin it is usual to hear the prayers of the lowest, not to shun their prayers. They could follow sorrowful Jeremiah by praying to the most pious creator after letting out an affected sigh: 'Remember O Lord what has happened to us; consider and behold our cause of reproach. Our inheritance has been turned over to aliens, our houses to outsiders; our fathers have sinned and are not; and we have borne their iniquities; the joy of our heart is over, our dance is changed to grief, the crown has fallen from our head. Woe to us because we have sinned; on this account our heart is sorrowful; our eyes are made dim because Mount Syon is destroyed and foxes walk on it. You O lord remain for eternity; your throne forever and ever. [2] Why will you forget us for perpetuity, why abandon us for long days? Convert us to you, O Lord, and we will be converted; renew our days as from the beginning. O Lord do not remember our ancient sins; may your mercies speedily anticipate us because we have become very poor.' [3] With such prayers and the like the Omnipotent turned to a certain poor man from the Kingdom of France, living as a hermit in the bishopric of Amiens, who was called Peter the Hermit, not only for his accumulation of merit, but truly he inspired help for the Holy Land as he had visited the tomb of Christ and other places consecrated to Christ to this day as illustrations of miracles. He travelled on beset with toil like a seed and with many dangers, at last he approached Jerusalem and came to the gate of the city and paid a gold coin to the gate keeper as was the pilgrim custom and entered freely. Having entered he noticed that all the holy places were irreverently treated by the infidels if not profaned; and it touched his heart with sadness within; 'Alas' he said, 'is this the city of perfect beauty, the joy of the whole earth?'[4] And seeing that venerable man Symeon the Patriarch of that place[5] treated as if he were a vile possession; and all the faithful sunk in

[1] The names of Christ and God are not capitalized in the printed Bongar's text **(pp. 130–43)**.

[2] Lamentations 5:1.

[3] Psalms 78:8.

[4] Lamentations 2:15.

[5] Greek orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem 1090–9. He left for Cyprus in late 1097 from where he sent supplies to the crusader army. He died in exile before he could be

the deepest abjection and weighed down with innumerable burdens; he said, 'he has destroyed this place of sanctification which the Omnipotent had created, he has handed the festival and the Sabbath on Syon to oblivion and in his hatred and anger he has overturned his King, his priest and his altar.' And by wonderful means distress at the confusion at these things (consider yourself as if you were a holy man, the suffering of a neighbour and divine injuries, your innards would respond to pity and a zeal for Divine honour would surface) began to occupy his mind and disturbed he wondered if there might be a way of salvation; if any remedy for this great calamity might be found; and finding no strength for this in himself he prayed that it might be through him that the dispersion of Israel might be brought together again. One night in the Church of the Lord's Resurrection thinking about this he prayed to Saint Clement[1] as if in agony stretched out on the floor; after a long vigil and intense prayer sleep overtook him; a beautiful form that stood out from the sons of men stood by him; and nodding to his pious prayers, sent him as ambassador to the Pope and the Princes of the West to free the Holy Land. Moved by this divine revelation and burning with the fire of divine love, he set out on his journey to carry out his orders [bringing] letters from the Patriarch of Jerusalem and from others of the faithful.

Chapter 2: The swift gathering of the crusade ***(p. 131)***

When he first reached the parts of Italy, he took himself immediately to Pope Urban II, from whom he had a good reception when he explained his business; then crossing through those parts and kindling the hearts of all to the crusade, having crossed the Alps he carefully invited the princes as well as the Pope, and by preaching in many and various ways he put forward the pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The seed of the word of God fell on good ground; and it grew, he reaped threefold in active men who wore armour and were thus suitable for the war of the Lord; on the other hand six fold in contemplatives and in sacred leaves; for to the six fold, after military service and public acts he was accustomed to give leave; there was a hundredfold in well-instructed priests who according to the Apostle 'are worthy of double honour especially those who labour in the word and in doctrine.'[2] A short time after, in 1095, it happened that the Pope crossed into France [to deal with] difficulties in the priesthood and the empire and with increased scandals and he called a council at Claremont, a city in the Auvergne; where Guibertus[3] was excommunicated who had pushed himself forward for

replaced by a Latin Patriarch.

[1] Pope Clement I (c.80–c.97) or Clemens of Alexandria (d.216) who was said to have visited Jerusalem and learned Hebrew there.

[2] 1 Timothy 5:17.

[3] Archbishop Guibert or Wibert of Ravenna elected (anti-)Pope at Brixen on 25 June 1080. He took the name Clement III. The Western church was in schism until his death in 1100.

Pope, likewise the Emperor[1] and all supporting him; Philip King of France and his wife[2] until they should mend their ways and one retired from the other. Then having dealt with ecclesiastical matters he went out to a certain broad square, because no enclosed space could hold the multitude; and he addressed the people in words of sweet rhetoric. 'A people chosen by God and special to him to you our sermon are directed. A cause of sorrow has brought us to your lands. For from the confines of Jerusalem a serious report has come; because a certain race of Persians, a generation that does not control its heart and whose spirit does not believe in God, they assail the people of God in the Holy Promised Land with fire and sword, partly slaughtering them with the sword and partly taking them captive, plundering the land and destroying the churches; they even circumcise Christians; and in hatred of our faith the sacrilegious pour the blood of circumcision on the altars or plunge into the baptismal fonts. Surely the revenge for such evil rests on you to whom God has clearly given the honourable distinction of arms, greatness of spirit, agility of body, and the ability to abase those walking under his disfavour? Let the reputation of your ancestors move you to emulate them, as well as the greatness of King Charles and his son Louis who by extending the boundaries of the Church overthrew the castles and kingdoms of the pagans. Especially let the glorious tomb of Christ excite your hearts,[3] now possessed by unclean peoples; and other sacred places vilely handed over to them and polluted by their unclean practices, and as the offspring of unconquered parents you do not wish to become unlike your race. If the love of children, parents and wives holds you back remember the words of the Lord: "He that loves father or mother more than me is not worthy of me; and he that loves son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me; he that loses his life for me shall find everlasting life", therefore take up the cross on your shoulders; fortify the way to your chest; and then you will leave your land shut in by mountains scarcely providing nourishment to a host of ploughmen and farmers [and] exchange it for a land that flows with milk and honey that the Redeemer has shown to you by his coming, he has adorned it by his presence, consecrated it with his blood, redeemed it by death and marked it with the site of a most glorious tomb.' In the sermon too he held that 'for men to live be a calamity, to die a happiness, he makes haste to his homeland with good things and repays evil with evil things'. Many who were present at the sermon put the sign of the cross on their shoulders as if the weight of the Lord alleviated them from the weight of their sins and [under] the pleasant yoke of soothing grace they prepared themselves faithfully for the service of Christ; and the first among them was a venerable man of holy conversation, the Bishop of Le Puy, with many other men both noble and common. On the following day at a meeting of bishops the Pope proposed that whoever wanted to make the pilgrimage should go; and

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1 Henry IV (1056–1106).

2 Philip I (1060–1108); in 1092 he divorced his wife Bertha (d.1094) and formed a liaison with Bertrada of Montfort, wife of Fulk IV of Anjou.

3 Matthew 10:37.

with the common consent of all the Bishop of Le Puy, fit for both divine and secular affairs, was appointed Legate. Also the prelates of the Church and other prudent and literate men, according to what they understood in their instructions preached in various parts of Christendom, and Christian people marked with the sign of the Holy Cross a multitude of some 300,000 persons. Among whom were some distinguished and notable men, Hugh the Great, brother of Philip, King of France; Robert, Count of Flanders; Robert, Duke of Normandy; William of England; Stephen, Count of Chartres and Blois, who was father of the old Count Theobald; Raymond, Count of Toulouse; Count Garnier of Gres; Baldwin, Count of Hainault; Beaumont, Count of Aurengia; William, Count of Fores; Stephen, Count of Albermarle **(p. 132),** Rotrou, Count of Desperche; Hugh, Count of Saint Paul; and countless barons. Among others of the worthy men was Gottfridus son of Eustace, Count of Bolougne, duke in Germany, pleasing in appearance, tall, sweetly spoken and graceful in manners; as gentle and kind as if he were a monk rather than a warrior; when, however, he felt the enemy approach no one was fiercer in battle; for he was confident like a lion and feared nothing that happened; and both his armour and his shield could withstand the thrust of a sharp sword; With him also were his two brothers Baldwin and Eustace and their relative Baldwin of Le Bourg the son of the late Hugh of Recest; Guy of Garlande, Seneschal of the King of France; Gerard of Resullion and others. All the barons had agreed that they should not set out together, because they would not be able to find food and other essentials. As March began [one] would see war horses, palfreys and equipment for war being prepared, as well as other relevant things. When the time of departure came all were filled with sighs, tears and sobbing laments; there were few houses from which a pilgrim did not depart, or at least a neighbour; to go on pilgrimage affected many families leaving their house empty; for many men took their children and wives with them.

Chapter 3: The journey of Walter and his band to Constantinople[1]

In 1096 this noble and honest knight gathered a following of many knights and foot soldiers. At the end of March he crossed through Germany and approached the Kingdom of Hungary, which is surrounded on all sides with great lakes and marshes; nor could he approach except along narrow paths which are the gateways of the Kingdom. King Kaloman,[2] a devout man, ordered merchandise to be brought to them and goods to be sold in markets for their convenience. On the border of the kingdom, towards the east, they crossed a river called Maree[3] and entered Bulgaria, some of them did not pay any heed to this and remained there on this side of the river; many of these came to a castle called Malavilla.[4] The Hungarians

[1] Walter sans avoir.

[2] King Coloman (1095–1106).

[3] River Morava, but an error of William of Tyre's for River Sava.

[4] Zemun (Serbia).

despoiled those who remained on this side of the river because the army had gone; they flogged some of them and finally went away. This, when it became known to their comrades, stirred them up and they returned to exact revenge, if the danger of injury and a hindrance to the journey had not been present. Proceeding on their way they came to the first city of Bulgaria called Belgrave.[1] The lord of the land being sought he refused a market to the pilgrims; some out of need, not only out of petulance took things and offered violence to the inhabitants; the citizens took up arms and wounded or killed many of the pilgrims. Walter then brought order to his men and moving off reached a town called Stralisce. The ruler of the city hurried to meet the pilgrims and opened a suitable market; and caused to be returned whatever could be recovered from what they had lost at Belgrave. When they reached Constantinople, the Emperor welcomed Walter, who replied to his question that he led the pilgrims and that Peter the Hermit would expect them there. The Emperor assigned them quarters outside the city and ordered all essentials to be taken to them.

Chapter 4: The journey of Peter the Hermit with a huge host of people to Constantinople

Not long after this, Peter the Hermit led 40,000 Lombards and various others along the same route, until they reached the castle which we said was called Malavilla in the chapter above; and learning of the offence caused to their comrades who had crossed with Walter, they took the castle by force and killed about 4,000 men, losing no more than 100 from their ranks. They found there supplies of food and stayed there for five days. The leader of Belgrave hearing of the hard vengeance of the pilgrims and aware of the harm that he had done the pilgrims (see the above chapter) feared lest he should lose control; on this account he abandoned the city and fled with his family to a stronger castle. Then Peter the Hermit hearing that the King of Hungary was preparing an army against him, ordered all his men to cross the river as quickly as possible, and to transport their carts and supplies into Bulgaria; and they reached the city of Belgrave that they found totally deserted **(p. 133)**; within eight days they reached the city called Niz;[2] this was fortified and its inhabitants skilled in the arts of warfare. The army found a stone bridge and crossing it remained between the river and the city; they asked the citizens to provide markets and asked for hostages for their safety, and they got them; then supplies were sent in plenty. The pilgrims, who were revived by these things that evening, had scarcely found a place of coolness for several days: the hostages were returned safely and the pilgrims went on their way. There were among them Germans, who, perversely gathered together to the number of about 100, when the others had left burnt the mills near the bridge; and the grain within them. The citizens outraged, took up arms and followed them as they withdrew, first they

[1] Belgrade or Beograd, the capital of Serbia.

[2] Nish.

seized the perpetrators of the evil deed and killed them; then they overtook the rear of the army; there mainly were the old, the sick and the tired together with the carts and the cash supply; they killed many people, took some of them prisoner and helped themselves from the carts and the cash. On hearing such sorrowful news Peter the Hermit recalled those who had gone ahead, and all discussed returning; by going back they would see their slaughtered friends and neighbours; and with a great wail they sent messengers and letters asking why they had committed such and so much damage to the pilgrims of Christ; and hearing the reason the more prudent saw that they could not go to the place nor was there time for laying out legal claim for all the damage; and they wished to make something from the return of peace; and redeem the captives and other things: some of the minority, however, called for revenge. Then Peter the Hermit sent some of the calmer ones and they obtained nothing; then he went himself, and caused to be proclaimed on behalf of himself and of all the barons who were in the army, that no one should join those who wished to break the peace; meanwhile the peace-negotiators, aware of the increase in tension, returned from the city with nothing achieved. They could not be restrained by anyone, about 1,000 pilgrims moved against the city; and just as many opposed them. Those who looked down from the walls saw that the pilgrims were winning and considering that the greater part of the army did not wish to involve itself at all in this affair they left in a throng; and finding about 500 of the pilgrims on the bridge, they slaughtered almost all of them. When a large number of the pilgrims noticed this they could not restrain themselves and rushed to help them; but in marvellous fashion the pilgrims were put to flight, since they should have received safety from those who were coming to their assistance, they forced those opposed to them to flee. Then great was the grief and loss of the pilgrims: 10,000 men, many women and children perished and 2,000 wagons were lost. The pilgrims were dispersed and at last on the fourth day came together again, and were placed in a difficult position by the scarcity of food and grief for the dead; they received messengers from the Emperor reproving their audacity; and they forced them to hurry on, promising however to provide food and essentials everywhere and they fulfilled this indeed. And so coming to Constantinople they met up with Walter and rested for some days. The Emperor summoned Peter the Hermit and honoured him with gifts; admiring the little man as honest and one who answered his questions frankly.

Chapter 5: The deeds of the said pilgrims beyond the Hellespont that is called the Arm of Saint George

After some quiet days they crossed the Arm of Saint George in ships prepared by order of the Emperor; and they reached Bithynia which is the first part of Asia; and passing Nicomedia they pitched camp by the sea in a castle called Civitot, situated above Nicaea where their enemies held sway. And they stayed there two months, each day they found fresh food in their own market. Satiated the people grew impatient and wished to explore and formed factions, and proceeded against

the will of the princes; they made a great raid and gained much booty. Although the Emperor had warned them first by word then by messengers to deal peacefully with the Turks the leaders ventured out. It happened one day when Peter the Hermit had returned to Constantinople that the goods were dearer than usual. Then the lesser folk as if free, came together and up to 7,000 foot and 3,000 cavalry preceded towards Nicaea; and destroying all things in the villages and estates through which they passed they brought back great booty and no one was lost **(p. 134)**. The Germans among them took this as an omen for gaining booty, like mad men wishing plunder and glory about 3,000 foot soldiers gathered; moving off towards Nicaea, at the foot of a mountain four leagues from Nicaea they came across a castle and captured it in the face of opposition; they killed everyone inside of both sexes; and seized food and many valuable items; and they fortified the castle because it was a suitable and pleasing spot, until others whom they were expecting should arrive. Meanwhile Soliman[1] the lord and governor of that land, learning of the arrival of the Christians, moved eastwards with love and concern to protect the land, leading a host of armed men; and hearing of the injuries sustained he approached the castle; easily took it and decapitated everyone [within]. Hearing this the wails and cries of the pilgrims in the camps rose and the threatened people felt the pain more sharply, ignorant of war they complained about the cowardice of the knights, who neglected to avenge the blood of their slain brothers; and they chose as captain Gottifredus Buiau,[2] who was their instigator and said openly that they were false knights who avoided war not from providence but from terror. He was strong in such great slanders and lament that all took up arms together and the knight could say to the common people: ‘You know less than me’; and there were 25,000 and they moved directly on Nicaea across mountains and through woods. But Soliman hurried to meet the pilgrims with his army; both sides fought fiercely, but the Turk prevailed and followed the fugitives with slaughter right up to their base camp and there the old, the women and children and the sick were slaughtered. For the Turks had cavalry and the pilgrims only foot soldiers except 500 knights; as many as 4,000 men sought refuge in a certain abandoned fort by the sea lacking doors and windows of wood and stone; when this was known to the Turks, a strong assault was made and there was great danger for the besieged. But Peter the Hermit had gone to Constantinople as we said earlier, informed of the event by messenger, after sighs and groans he prostrated himself before the Emperor, he sought military assistance; for the latter immediately sent his men, who immediately lifted the Turkish siege. Here readers notice how great punishment is brought about by the sin of disobedience; and how dangerous it might be to follow an undisciplined people in sin.

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1 Qilij Arslan, Sultan of Rum (1092–1106). Sanudo follows William of Tyre and his sources in calling him Soliman from his patronymic.

2 Godfrey Burel, in William of Tyre, otherwise unknown.

Chapter 6: The inordinate destruction of a host of Germans, making the pilgrimage under the priest Scandescausco[1]

Just like Peter the Hermit in France, so a certain priest, Condescauscus, preached the cross in Germany; and having recruited 25,000 Germans he set out on the way of pilgrimage. Asif to his neighbours, the King of Hungary ordered that friendship and convenient markets be provided. These seeing the abundance of things and what they could freely acquire began to return out of greed, a sad sight to the pious; for they began to take food and beasts from the field, and to have a bad reputation among women and men,[2] and to harm the country. When all this was reported to the King, he brought together armed men from all sides and followed those moving on; and caught up with them at Belgrave in the midst of his kingdom.[3] The Germans hearing of the King's arrival, and made bold as confederates [in crime] took up their weapons; the Hungarians noticing the growing desperation for preservation of life and the madness of mind after their fashion, concealed their plan; already they fight not with strength but with guile; and they send messengers who recalled how well they had been received by order of the King and how some were ungrateful for these blessings; that a great clamour of evil doers had arisen at the royal court; they knew too that the majority were honest men for whom these evil deeds were displeasing; he did not wish to avenge himself against them; only to punish the guilty. That therefore all should be handled in right order, that they search among themselves and submit their weapons to the royal will; since they were in the middle of his kingdom, they could not resist the King's assembled force, nor reach the edge [of the kingdom]. The priest with the barons protesting hope in the royal sweetness and piety agreed to the request; they forced the threatened people not wishing to go along with this to give up their weapons; when this was done the Hungarians attacked them, not distinguishing between innocent and guilty, and virtually killed them all; some escaped back to their own lands and related this atrocity of savage betrayal.

Chapter 7: The confusion of popular multitudes of pilgrims with no particular leader ***(p. 135)***

After a short time a huge number of people gathered and without a leader set out on pilgrimage. Many barons were lacking from this gathering, no one wished to obey orders and many depraved people did very evil things, so that they killed many in their journey especially in the area of Cologne and neighbouring parts of Germany.

1 Gottschalk, a certain Teuton priest in William of Tyre.

2 *Fetire*, to stink.

3 Belgrade is in Serbia and here Sanudo follows William of Tyre, who followed Albert of Aachen, in this error.

In those parts there was a great count called Emicon[1] who joined the fellowship of that multitude. He neither advised the foolish nor seized the depraved. They passed through Franconia and Bavaria up to the borders of Hungary and reached a city called Mecesemborc,[2] thinking to cross Hungary unopposed; but when they arrived at the pass the way was denied them. For there was there a fortification called Litans, surrounded on one side by the Danube and on the other by deep marshes and containing a troop of armed men. For the King of Hungary had heard that 200,000 foot soldiers and 3,000 cavalry were arriving; and he was fearful lest they might avenge the treachery that he had shown to the earlier pilgrims. The pilgrims stayed firm and sent messengers to the King but they could get nothing; it grieved them that they had laboured in vain and spent much money; and so all, who were in that part of the Kingdom decided to waste it by fire and sword. While they were doing such things some 7,000 Hungarian horsemen crossed the water by boat and seized the pass; the pilgrims considering this attacked them with great force and they destroyed them all except those who took refuge on foot in the marshes. Then the pilgrims flushed with victory believed that they could take the whole Kingdom by force; and they made bridges and ladders in great number for raising by tower and wall and other parts as seemed convenient; and demolishing things with metal implements as they approached the enemy and the castle, the latter were terrified and lost all resolve and thought to die; suddenly, in a short time, all the ladders and bridges were broken and a great many of the besiegers fell down; and all turned to flight, [most of them] not knowing the cause for flight. The Hungarians, seeing this, scarcely believed what they saw with their eyes, they came down from the tower and those who thought they were dead, killed many. Count Emicon returned to his own land; the French barons crossed to Apulia, and there joined others making the crossing.

Chapter 8: The pilgrimage and captivity of Hugh the Great, and the manner in which Bohemund decided to go on pilgrimage

Hugh the Great, the brother of the King of France and the counts of Normandy and Flanders and others set out on their way. In another party was the Bishop of Le Puy and Raymond, Count of St.Gilles. For this man, who was very rich, had sold all his possessions so that he might give all his energy to the business of Christ. These, and others who joined them on the way, leaving their homes separately, crossed the Alps and headed through Italy and Rome to Apulia. Hearing of the arrival of such great rulers, Bohemond, the Prince of Taranto, who was the son of Robert Guiscard, who himself had defeated the Emperor of the Greeks in battle, was besieging Melphi[3] on the shore of the Scaphardic sea and was moved by

[1] Traditionally called Count Emicho of Leinigen, but more recently thought to come from Flonheim.

[2] Meseburg/Weizelburg.

[3] Amalfi.

their example to go on pilgrimage to the Tomb [of Christ], praised the divine impulse which inspired human hearts: finally he ordered two cloaks to be brought, and addressing his warriors both foot soldiers and cavalry he said: 'Whoever is for God, let him be joined with me. O my soldiers now be for God and journey with me to the Holy Sepulchre. Surely none of the martyrs will attain heaven without you?' Then those taking the cross amounted to such a large number of men; just for those who desired and wished to take the cross, the cloth ran out. The better sort of Apulia, Calabria and Sicily, which Bohemond ruled, hearing of this flocked to him; and the middling sort as well as the powerful and innumerable persons from the lower orders too took on the pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre. Meanwhile, Hugh the Great and William the son of the Marshal, crossed from the port of Bari to Duratium, where they were arrested by the governor of the place and sent to the Emperor in Constantinople. For he had ordered that the pilgrims be detained, wishing that all should do homage to him for any place that they might conquer by arms.

Chapter 9: The pilgrimage of Godfrey and the freeing of Hugh the Great ***(p. 136)***

In the middle of August Gotfridus set out on his journey and with him many other counts and barons and the Bishop of Scherpenheuvel[1] too; and on 20 September they reached a town in Austria called Tollieborc;[2] from where the river Lintans flows dividing the empire from the Kingdom of Hungary. Hearing of the carnage of the pilgrims in Hungary, see Chapters 6 and 7 above, they debated among themselves how they might cross that area in peace; and they decided to send letters and messengers, to ask the King why he had slaughtered their brother pilgrims in his kingdom; then they should ask about a peaceful and safe passage. The King and his barons explained the excesses of the pilgrims to the messengers; from which excesses the deed was done, see above Chapters 4 and 6. And he sent his own messengers back with them, who greeted Godfrey and the other barons as friends; and they said to him from reports the King knew him well to be a high man by descent, and a powerful one by reason of the people dependent on him; endowed with sound judgement and vigorous in body and for these reasons he held him in his heart and honoured him together with his noble following. Duke Godfrey on the advice of his barons went to visit the King taking with him no more than 300 knights. The King received him honourably and in all peacefulness. The King first took hostages and granted safety for the journey and plenty of supplies. And it was said that when the army arrived at the castle of Malavilla 1,000 mailed men were sent for their protection to the other side of the river bank; then the people were set off: and having been given seats they bade farewell to the King; they arrived with peace and joy in Belgrave, concerning which see Chapter 3 above. Then they

[1] Scherpenheuvel (*Montis acuti* or Montaigu), Brabant, also known as Aspricolensis. Sanudo is the only commentator to mention him.

[2] Tulln, the residence of the Babenberger, 1042–1113.

passed through the middle of the forest to the town of Niz; and then to Astralice; then through the district of Saint Bacilla and then to the plain where they found an abundance of all good things. There they heard the news of the detention of Hugh the Great; and they sent messengers to the Emperor, saying: that it was dishonourable for such a great man to have been detained for such a long time; and that all his pilgrim friends and companions were annoyed at it. The messengers reported these things and asked carefully for the freedom of Hugh the Great and his companions. The Emperor replied to them without hesitation that in no event would he release them. For he kept his predecessor and lord, Nicephorus, to whom he was steward, in chains as if he were a traitor and an evil man. Therefore, the messengers returned from the Emperor without taking their leave and reported what they had learned. Then the pilgrims devastated everything around them with sword, fire and rapine. The Emperor then promised the release of the captives and then they reached agreement; and when they came before Constantinople, Hugh the Great, William Carpenthier and Clarenbaut de Verdoil having been released came to the standard of Duke Godfrey and to the other barons and they embraced each other with much rejoicing.

Chapter 10: The disputes and agreement of the pilgrims with the Emperor

After this the Emperor sent messengers to invite Duke Godfrey to come to him; the barons advised him not to enter the city. Angry, the Emperor forbade markets to them. The pilgrims spread out through the surrounding country and seized much food and booty. Then the Emperor, against his will, granted a market lest his land be harmed further. After Christmas the Emperor invited the pilgrims to cross the bridge and go to a place called Blachernae, next to the Arm of Saint George, because there was adequate accommodation for all there. However, the Emperor had dealt with them treacherously, as if he had them in prison; they could not move around freely; however, in a harsh winter they were easily persuaded; and around the Arm of Saint George on both sides there was a river of good water, that was small in summer but great from rain water in winter; over this was a bridge that they crossed. Then the Emperor asked the Duke again to visit him; fearing treachery he sent noble messengers, because on the advice of his men he should first wait for the arrival of all his barons. Then the Emperor was furious and sent a large force of archers to the bank of the Arm of Saint George, opposite where the Duke was staying; shooting their arrows they killed many who were going down to the sea; they also wounded many through doors and windows **(p. 137)**. Then Baldwin the duke's brother went out with 7,000 knights and occupied the bridge, lest it was occupied by the Greeks; not hesitating to harm the citizens, they burnt all the lodgings in which they were staying with others nearby; and about six or seven thousand [buildings] were totally destroyed by fire. Crossing the bridge they came to a beautiful meadow; and there was a great battle there, in which many pilgrims were killed; many of the citizens not bearing the press of battle fled to the city; on the next day the pilgrims sent a part of the army for food

and about 40,000 set out; and after 6 days they brought back an abundance of food and booty. Then Godfrey received messengers and letters from Baldwin warning that he should watch out for evil from the Greeks and treachery from the Emperor; and promised his prompt arrival. But the arrival of the messengers was not hidden from the Emperor; nor without bitterness of heart did he hear the complaints of the devastated areas nearby. Accordingly he entered secret negotiations with the barons; then sent fresh messengers to the Duke that he should come to him and that he would give his eldest son as hostage for his safety. This pleased all the barons and when the Emperor's son arrived, Godfrey went to the Emperor; received a wonderful reception from him and from all his courtiers. Finally the Emperor seeing him with his own eyes declared his great love for him, clothed him in imperial robes, calling him his son; and singling him out from others as the defender of the empire he asked him to sit next to him the Emperor; and opening his treasury he gave him incredible gifts; and to all each week he sent great sums of money from the feast of the Epiphany to Easter. After some days of friendly meeting the Duke returned and the Emperor's son was led back to the city with much pomp; and peace on both sides was proclaimed and the end of all strife. At the beginning of March with the arrival of the other barons there was a new spirit abroad. It was pleasing to the Emperor, and all the pilgrims agreed, that they should cross the Arm of Saint George. Therefore, on being asked the Emperor prepared boats and the pilgrims crossed into Bithynia, which is the nearest part of Asia; and camped around the city of Calcedonie, which is situated immediately beyond the Arm of Saint George; whence they could come and go to Constantinople two or three times in one day.

Chapter 11: The journey of Bohemond to Constantinople and his reception by the Emperor

Meanwhile, Bohemond, having crossed the Adriatic Sea in boats arrived at Duratium, whence he crossed through the middle of the desert of Bulgaria, having in his company many powerful and stalwart men. They came to a town called Caystorie and there they celebrated Christmas; but because the locals denied them food as if they were enemies they were forced to seize essentials; and he had damaged that country somewhat. Then they came to the land of Pelagoire, that was scarcely a fertile place; and from a certain castle where many had sought refuge they found great booty and burnt the place down; and they killed those who ran away. The Emperor, hearing this was concerned about his arrival, also because of a former injury to his father, gave a place and time to his men to observe, so that this people might harm him. He put all this in place secretly; sent messengers with a ring, and offered hospitality with sweet words as if he was a favourite and promised that there should be markets everywhere. After the reception of the messengers Bohemond arrived at the river Bardar; and after the greater part of the army had crossed the army of the Emperor attacked those who remained behind. Hearing the uproar Tancred returned with 2,000 men, killed many and captured

many, who confessed that they had done this on the orders of the Emperor. Having crossed Macedonia and as they approached Constantinople, the Emperor feigning grief invited him by messengers to visit him; and while he hesitated, being suspicious of treachery, Duke Godfrey hurried to him, having been sent by the Emperor; at whose request he came to the Emperor, and was honoured with gifts having offered homage; meanwhile Tancred, his nephew by his sister, led the army across the Arm of Saint George. On hearing this, the Emperor was alarmed and dissimulated as follows, all day sending Bohemond new gifts until he crossed to the others arbitrarily. At his time the Count of Flanders crossed from Bari to Duratium, and along the way he was invited as a guest by the Emperor; and after he had settled all things with the Emperor, like the others, he crossed to join them **(p. 138)**. Not much after messengers came from the Count of Toulouse and the Bishop of Le Puy reporting that they would arrive in Constantinople shortly.

Chapter 12: The journey of the count of Toulouse and his men and how the Emperor dealt with them

The Count of Toulouse and two bishops in company with many counts came through Istria and Dalmatia to Duratium; they suffered many adversities on the way from brigands and robbers and from the shortage of food. At Duratium messengers from the Emperor appeared inviting him as with his predecessors; mindful of past events they willingly received messengers and letters in order to avoid future dangers. After they had marched through Epyrus they came to Empelagoire where they found a great quantity of things. The Bishop of Le Puy, detained by others by the amenity of this place was captured by the Bulgarians and later released. To be sure springing up they crossed Thessalonica and Macedonia; then after many days and much hardship they reached a city called Redest, which lies above the Arm of Saint George, believing it was four days from Constantinople. Thither came messengers from the Emperor with invitations as before; messengers and letters of the barons also encouraged him. Forced therefore by their prayers, with others he left the army and came to the Emperor; on being asked he refused to give homage; angered by this the Emperor secretly ordered his men to attack the army of the count and they killed many men; and that secretly so that they might do more harm; he also recalled the ships that took supplies across the Arm of Saint George. Therefore treacherously at night they attacked and slew the pilgrims; they took up arms against the traitors; and by killing and wounding the enemy [caused them to] flee; and having suffered no small set back they were inclined to go home; but they were comforted by the word of God preached by the bishops and the other clergy and remained firm to the holy undertaking. The barons who had crossed the sea accused the Emperor by messengers of treason; he for his part sent for Bohemond and the Count of Flanders, wishing them to appease the Count of Toulouse. Therefore, by these mediators and with the consent of all the barons peace was restored; for as they said there was neither the time nor the opportunity for revenge. Therefore, the Count taken back to the Emperor, made

homage; the Emperor gave him larger and more sumptuous gifts than he had given to the others; so that those who were present were amazed. Also new gifts were granted to all the barons who had gone across the Arm of Saint George. Therefore, with all essential business done they crossed from Constantinople into Bithynia and joined the others.

Chapter 13: The capture of Nicaea and the arrival of the last barons

The barons having come together beyond the Arm of Saint George marched towards Nicaea; and when they approached Nicomedia, Peter the Hermit joined them with his few survivors; to whom the barons gave many things. Then they set out and began to besiege Nicaea on 15 May. Meanwhile, the Duke of Normandy with other counts and many people arrived in Constantinople; for they had passed through Apulia and Duratium; they had made homage to the Emperor, been honoured with many gifts and had joined the others and had been received with great rejoicing. There were 600,000 foot soldiers and about 100,000 mailed knights in the army. From the start they agreed to act in such a manner so as to inspire terror in all hearing them. The city of Nicaea lies in a plain but it is near mountains and forests and has a large lake on its western side, whose waves lap the walls; on the other side are deep and broad ditches full of water from the lake and from other sources; it is fortified with walls and with strong warriors. Soliman ruled this city and all the countryside from the Arm of Saint George to Tharsus. It had been granted to him by his uncle Belphet,[1] Sultan of Persia, who had regained it and Syria too in the time of the Emperor Diogenes who was the third before the present Alexius. This Soliman had pulled back to the mountains ten miles away and constantly sought through scouts how he might most effectively attack the pilgrims and raise the siege. The pilgrims had surrounded the city especially on the side of the lake and placed it in great straits. Soliman sent [supplies] across the lake in small boats to comfort the citizens and advise that when he attacked the pilgrims from his side they should open their gates and do likewise on their side **(p. 139)**. These messengers, so that they could look up from that part from which Soliman might more conveniently achieve his plan, came down somewhat from the isolated city. On this account they were captured and Soliman was deprived of their advice. Next all the pilgrims were ready and drawn up in their places. About the third [hour] Soliman came down from the mountains and the first line of the Turks rushed against the men of the Count of Toulouse; but they were driven back and joined Soliman's battleline so that they might attack again. But Godfrey, Baldwin and the Count of Flanders, seeing that the number of the Turks was very great indeed and that the Count of Toulouse could not withstand them, ordered their battle lines against them and put the Turks to flight, killing 4,000 of them and capturing many. They sent 1,000 heads from the slain to the Emperor; others they fired into the city by catapult to stir up panic. [The Emperor] sent many gifts to

[1] Malik Shah, Seljuk Sultan, 1072–92.

the barons and ordered that all essentials be sent to them. There were many attacks on the city; but the Turks were constantly supplied with weapons and food from small boats. Then the Pilgrims sent messengers to the Emperor, and they brought ships from the sea in carts for seven miles in one night. The Turks were frightened by the sudden appearance of the ships; and they could not cross [the lake] without danger. At last by various stratagems, they (the pilgrims) captured a tower; for this reason a great feat seized everyone especially Soliman's wife. To such an extent that she fled across the lake with her two daughters; but she was captured by the pilgrims. The city sought a truce [sic], so that it might speak to the barons about the surrender of the land; in the discussion that was held on 20 June [it was agreed that] it be surrendered to the Emperor. After some time the Emperor sent his wife and daughters back to Soliman, so that he got thanks from the Turks; and so he showed himself to be of the same mind against the pilgrims.

Chapter 14: The division of the pilgrims by turns and the Turkish attack on them

After the cession of Nicaea to the Emperor by the barons, by order of the great men the pilgrims went on their way; on the second day they reached a castle next to a bridge; they stayed there for two days and on the morrow crossed the bridge; and from there a few of them were separated from the rest, advancing into a waterless desert land. Bohemond, the Duke of Normandy, the Count of Chartres, Tancred and the Count of Saint Paul with many others turned to the left, and descended into a valley called Gorgoni; they disposed themselves next to the sea about the ninth hour of the day. The others went to the right and all day they marched through a beautiful meadow; and pitched camp on the banks of a river; and the distance between the two armies was about two leagues. Soliman noticed this division and distressed at the loss of his wife and daughters as well as of such a noble city, he was keen to repay the pilgrims in kind; now, as it seemed to him, he seized the opportunity and attacked the smaller army on the left. The pilgrims seized their arms and formed their battle line, placing the children and their mothers next to the marshes and laagered their wagons; they sent messengers to the larger army to ask for help. With Soliman there were more than 20,000 horsemen; the Christians were very few and the majority were on foot. The Turks first assailed the Pilgrims with arrows like a shower of rain and I know what barbarous war cries; the pilgrims fearing the loss of their horses took them among themselves with loose reins; they dodged the blows of lance and sword; this was their custom, so that they fled the showers of arrows and did not shoot back at their pursuers; when the pilgrims returned so did the archers and many of the Christian people perished. And while they were in despair, behold they heard the trumpets of approaching help, the neighing of horses and the noise of people; and with faith renewed they resisted their adversaries more boldly; the new arrivals rushed against the Turks with great strength, and all day long they wounded many, threw many to the ground and killed many, and followed the fugitives right up to their camps. Then together with the victory they gained uncountable riches; the poor were enriched and half-naked

they put on the silk robes of the Turks. While they were fleeing to various places for the space of four days, Soliman produced 10,000 Arabs, who were hurrying to his support and they accused him of fleeing. Then he, as he could, replied with deep sighs: 'Much infamy troubles you: **(p. 140)** you don't know the courage of the pilgrims. Their courage is not human but divine or diabolical; if they lack their own help they expect divine help; they scarcely fear death, seeing it as a reward. We were 260,000; and by them we have been slain, captured or dispersed to all the winds.' Learning of the sad event they took flight with Soliman to whichever cities of Christians they came to, they lied that all the pilgrims who had come to destroy the countryside had either been killed or captured by Soliman; and when they unwisely opened the gates of the city to them, and they destroyed all Christian things by fire and sword. This harmed the ordinary pilgrims not a little for after that they had the greater lack of all things which were necessary to them. The pilgrims stayed there for three days before resuming their march, they crossed the whole of Bithynia; and entering Pisidia, they came to a dry place where there was intense heat in June. On one day 50 men died from this; some women had increased the pace; at last they found a river, from which due to immoderate drinking some men and animals died. After this misfortune they reached a fertile land full of all good things, on the side of Lesser Antioch,[1] which is in the province of Metropolis.

Part 5

Part 5 contains the victory of the pilgrims in Jerusalem and their discussions up to the times of the King, having 8 chapters.

Chapter 1: The victories of Tancred and Baldwin while they were ahead of all the others, their discord and agreement

Then some began to go ahead of the army; for it was difficult to find food for such a great number. Therefore Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey, with 600 horse and many foot soldiers advanced in one direction; in another direction Tancred with 500 horse and some foot advanced to scout the land through which the multitude must pass [to see] if there was food available, if the way was difficult or if other dangers should threaten. A large number of people crossed the province of Pisidia, entered Licaonia and reached the city of Iconium:[2] they decided to cross that land swiftly on account of the dearth of food there. For the Turks, the farmers of the land had fled terrified to the mountains. They arrived at a city called Ramasse and stayed there for three days. Tancred, exploring the regions roundabout reached

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[1] Antioch in Pisidia, the capital of Pisidia on the River Maeander.

[2] Modern Konya. It was captured by the Turks in 1071, and apart from temporary crusader occupation in 1097 and 1190, it was the capital of the Seljuk Sultans of Rum down to 1243. It was renamed Konya in 1143.

Cilician Tarsus where the Apostle Paul was born. This city had been founded by Tarsis who was the son of Jauan, the son of Japhet, the son of Noah.[1] Having arrived there Tancred occupied the town by various promises, threats and prayers, with his title to be laid aside when the main army should arrive: his standard was set up on the main tower; and he promised protection to the city. Both in the city and in the surrounding area there were Armenians and Greeks, who followed gainful occupations; only the Turks had weapons and occupied fortifications. It happened that Baldwin came up and was cordially welcomed by Tancred. Noticing Tancred's standard on the tower he took it down because his force was larger than that of Tancred; Tancred replied that this gave him no offence: because his standard had been set up before there was any news of his [Baldwin's] arrival. The latter who had threatened the destruction of the town, if his own standard was not erected and the other taken down was satisfied with this short apology. Tancred pretended to bear this injury for the sake of the pilgrims and withdrew to the nearest town called Adanie,[2] which a certain Burgundian[3] occupied having expelled the Turks and who provided supplies in abundance. On the next day Tancred was angry and captured Malmistra[4] having expelled the Turks violently. After Tancred had withdrawn [from Tarsus on the previous day], 300 pilgrims arrived to reinforce him. And Baldwin would not admit these men into the city. That night the Turks, who had withdrawn from the city into places of safety, returned and attacked the 300 pilgrims **(p. 141)** while they slept and killed almost all of them. The next morning the fellow countrymen of these [victims] wished to kill the knights [and would have done so] had they not taken refuge in the [wall] towers. Indeed, calm was only restored when Baldwin swore an oath that he had not wished to admit the pilgrims only because he had assured the citizens that he would admit no one until the whole force arrived. Then having garrisoned the town Baldwin advanced and coming to Malmistra sought entry: Tancred harboured revenge; and stationed archers who wounded and killed those horses grazing the meadow [outside the city]. Indeed, with 50 knights he rushed to the attack destroying many and wounding several more; but his opponents because they outnumbered him forced him to retreat; night coming on he forbade entry a second time. As the next day grew warm, it was lukewarm with blood and they were reconciled to each other by the advice of mediators. Tancred moving off captured Alexandretta. The Armenians and Turks who were in the mountains offered him tribute so that they might remain safe. Baldwin returned [to the main army] on hearing that Duke Godfrey had been wounded by a beast while out hunting: the great army arrived at Jurasse[5] and there was settled the complaint that had arisen against Baldwin concerning what he had done to Tancred: because he was held in high favour and

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1 Genesis 10.

2 Adana.

3 See William of Tyre where he is named as Guelf.

4 Mamistra.

5 Marash.

was honest and got what he wanted and had already achieved a great deal and was ready to do still more.

Chapter 2: The favourable achievements of Baldwin in the north

A certain Armenian knight called Pancratius, persuaded Baldwin at night that there was a fruitful area to the north-east that he might occupy with little effort. Mustering 200 knights and a host of foot soldiers he followed the Armenian and came upon a delightful and fruitful land. A few Christians lived there: all the strong points were occupied by Turks who denied weapons to the Christians. At his first arrival all the faithful conceded full lordship to him as far as the Euphrates; they were also emboldened to expel the Turks from the whole region. And so Baldwin's reputation extended as far as the city of Rages[1] which is one day's march beyond the Euphrates; the citizens hoped for their freedom with his support. These people had been converted to the faith by the preaching of the Blessed Thaddaeus,[2] but were tributary to the Turks of the region [and the citizens hoped for their freedom with his help]. Therefore, they killed their Greek governor who had scarcely defended them from their enemies and made homage to Baldwin as their lord. Balduc, lord in the neighbouring city called Sarmes,[3] had recently oppressed the citizens of Rages: on which account Baldwin now began to invest it. As a result they surrendered the city to Baldwin for 10,000 bezants, which he could easily afford to pay since he had seized the treasury of the dead governor. There was another city called Seroge,[4] whose ruler was called Balac, who habitually and frequently attacked the citizens of Rages; for this reason the said Baldwin began to move against that city. Therefore, having mustered his men and brought together siege engines and instruments of war, he besieged the city. On the first day he launched a fierce assault; and the second and third days he did likewise, seeing that the Turks had no hope of outside help and seeking to secure their lives they surrendered the city. Baldwin placed a lieutenant in charge of the tower so that he could control them [the Turkish prisoners] safely for he would have no people of his own in the city on the general withdrawal [of Baldwin and his men]. With the capture of this city the road from Rages to Antioch was secured, since previously the inhabitants of the city with loads dared not go to the Euphrates in safety.

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1 Edessa, modern Hama.

2 Thaddaeus also known as Jude of James, Judas Thadaeus, or Lebbaeus was one of the patron saints of the Armenian Apostolic Church, with a considerable following in this area down to the eighteenth century. He was believed to have preached in Syria, Mesopotamia and Libya, and to have visited Edessa and Beirut, where he was martyred in 65.

3 Samosata.

4 Seruj.

Chapter 3: The march of the great army to Antioch

As the pilgrims advanced they came upon many difficulties: in some places the land was desert and waterless; in other places, on account of the lack of food they wanted grain and rubbed their hands together in order to lessen their hunger. Many of their horses also died; as a result many rode oxen or the large rams of that country. At last they reached Licaonia, a province rich in all good things **(p. 142),** and refreshed at Iconium, they took water in vases and skins, as they were advised by the inhabitants since no water was to be found on their route. On the second day in the evening they crossed a certain river and rested there for two days. On another day the vanguard reached the city of Heraclias which the Turks had abandoned when they saw the banners of the pilgrims in the distance. And there the pilgrims rested for four days. In Armenia they were welcomed by the natives who were oppressed by the Turks: and they passed by Tarsus, Adena and Malmistra. There was a knight in the army, brave and enterprising, born in the area, who asked all the leaders if he might guard that land to keep it faithful to the Holy Sepulchre and to God and to them; to whom the leaders all gave their assent since they knew him as a loyal man and one skilled in the arts of war. Then they came to Caesarea in Cappadocia, which borders the northern part of Syria and there they were well received. Then advancing from Cappadocia, they came to a very beautiful city which Peter de Alpibus wanted and obtained from the barons. Thence they came to the city of Choasor where they remained for three days and found succour for their needs. Thence they came to Castrum Publicanorum: on taking this town they came to the valley of Rugia, where they put many Turks discovered there to the sword. The Armenians who lived there were overjoyed with this and handed over their lands; they occupied the town of Rusa and several castles. Then the whole army began to cross the mountains with only narrow paths; there they descended from the mountain tops to the depths of valleys. It was a route overgrown with shrubs and with thick thorny bushes; no horse could pass this way and many, worn out, threw away their helmets and armour. At last the wooded route came to an end and they found the way to the inhabited city of Marasym and were received by the inhabitants with honour and joy. And the pilgrims were told that they were approaching a very wealthy city of the Turks called Artasse. Robert, Count of Flanders with 1,000 mailed knights was sent forward and they attacked the city. The Turks did not man the walls but gathered in the citadel. The Christians who occupied the town with them were seized with boldness, attacked them and cut off their heads, which they threw down to the pilgrims from the walls; then opening the gates of the city they received the pilgrims with joy. This city was only 15 leagues from Antioch. When the great army had arrived it learned that it would have to cross a great river and that the bridge over it had two heavily fortified towers manned by 100 archers in one and 70 in the other, and that the Turks guarded the bank. The Count of Normandy was sent ahead and captured the bridge in the great clash of war. The whole army crossed into the neighbourhood

of Antioch and rested six leagues off. On the next day they fortified their position in a meadow near the city between a mountain and the river.

Chapter 4: A description of the city of Antioch and its siege

Antioch lies in Celesyria, in a most fruitful valley, and is blessed with many lands and inhabitants. It is very well supplied with cereals and is watered by streams and brooks. To the east there are mountains extending for 40 leagues; between 4 and 6 leagues away on a mountain there is a lake, the source of much water; and there is a great supply of fish. From the lake a river extends almost to the city and flows near to it. The mountains are high, but many people live in them and they frame the valley on two sides: the mountain on the south is called Oruntes and the city is built between it and the river. The other mountain to the north is called Montagna Neros, that is watery. The aforementioned river flows along this valley coming from Cappadocian Caesarea. On the mountain to the south the walls of Antioch begin and run downhill to the river. They enclose a great area. Two high mountains stand within the city; on the higher one is an unassailable citadel; between the two mountains the low ground is protected by walls. A stream has its source there that is very useful to the city. There are many fountains in the city, but all give place to the Fountain of Saint Paul at the east gate which feeds an artificial underground cistern. To the west the River Farfar comes so close to the town that the footing of the bridge forms a part of the city wall. The city extends about three leagues in length **(p. 143)**. Belphet, the Sultan of Persia, whom we have already mentioned above, Part 3, Chapter 8, gave this city to a Turk called Anxiens; just as Nicaea, described above, had been granted to his nephew Soliman, and Damascus to his older nephew called Duchat, and Alapia to his servant called Asugur, who was the father of Sanguinus, the grandfather of Norandinus. It pleased him that the two most powerful of his nephews were called sultans and he used them as if they were the walls of Persia, so that Duchat might oppose the Caliph of Egypt and Soliman the Emperor of the Greeks. Anxiens, knowing that the pilgrims would come sent messengers and letters to the eastern barons and with his own mouth spoke to many especially to the Caliph Baldacensus and the Sultan of Persia. For they had already learned from Soliman of the boldness and valour of the pilgrims. All promised [to give] full help. Meanwhile, Anxiens summoned warriors from wherever and brought food and weapons to the city. He had in the city 7,000 knights and 70,000 armed foot soldiers. The siege of this great and well-armed city began on 27 October. The pilgrims numbered 300,000 soldiers. There were many non-combatants counting women and children; and even then they could not surround the city. There were five gates on the plain. The one facing east was called the Gate of Saint Paul because it is built above the site of the Abbey of Saint Paul and which is on the slope of the mountain. The second which is called the Gate of Saint George faces west and the longest part of the city is between these two gates facing north-north west. On the mountain slope there are three gates from which the way goes to the river. The Gate of the Dog is the higher gate. A stone bridge

lies before that gate for crossing the marshes formed by the brooks and streams. The middle gate is called the Gate of the Duke and lies half a league from the other two. The third is called the Gate of the Bridge because a stone bridge is there over which people cross the river for between the Gate of the Duke and this gate the river runs by the city. These gates and the Gate of Saint George could not be attacked. On the higher ground Bohemond and his men mounted an attack. Next to him in the valley up to the Dog Gate were Robert, Duke of Normandy, Robert, Count of Flanders, Stephen, Count of Blois and Hugh the Great. In front of that gate were the Count of Toulouse and the Bishop of Le Puy and they controlled the whole area up to the other gate where Duke Godfrey was stationed with many men, who occupied almost the whole area up to the Gate of the Bridge. In these three locations there were many, many gardens, which the pilgrims destroyed so that they could place their tents there.

Chapter 5: The various trials and tribulations of the besiegers and the besieged

After the pilgrims had taken up position between the city and the river they could not obtain enough food for themselves and their horses, unless they got it by crossing the river. Whilst going out [for this purpose] they were massacred in ambushes. The pilgrims were forced to build a pontoon bridge near the lines of Duke Godfrey that was convenient for them in their going out and coming in and between that bridge and the stone bridge was one league. By sallying out across the two stone bridges the Turks wounded many Christians with arrows, since they could only be pursued across the bridges. The Count of Toulouse suffered the most, especially in the loss of horses. Accordingly they decided first, to destroy the bridge but they were not strong enough; second, to build a wooden fort as a defence but the wood burned; third, they made barriers with large stones setting a watch to ensure that they were not removed. Finally, oppressed with hunger, they chose barons to penetrate the Turkish region deeply. They came across considerable booty and, fighting with the Turks opposing them, they gained the victory. Therefore, with abundance of food they returned to those suffering from hunger. Meanwhile, the Egyptian Caliph sent messengers and gifts to the barons asking that they would not lift the siege and promising assistance with food and money. Anxiens, much distressed, sent letters to his friends that they bring help quickly and prepare ambushes lest the pilgrims in their accustomed fashion should come together at the bridge. To these requests the citizens of Aleppo, Caesarea, Hama and several others met together. The pilgrims would have been in great danger if the Armenians who lived in the town had not warned them; and they did this more often and on many matters **(p. 144)**. Then the pilgrims all took up their arms; the foot soldiers remained behind to guard the camps; some 700 knights advanced and stationed themselves quietly in the night between the lake and a river called Dauser. The Turks, crossing the river, sent archers ahead. The barons and their men attacked the Turks fiercely, put them to flight and chased them for 10 leagues, killing them all the while; and they slaughtered around 2,000. The

Turks who were in the fortress of Harenc, 14 leagues from Antioch, witnessed all this and freely handed over their castle to the Christians on 7 February. Among other things the barons gained 1,000 much-needed horses and carried away 500 Turkish heads: 200 of which they fired into the city with catapults and 300 they set upon stakes outside the city so that those on the walls could see them. There were still 28,000 Turkish cavalry. Then the barons agreed to erect a strong point on the high ground, near to the army of Bohemond; then they were as safe as if they were inside a city. Then messengers came saying that the Genoese would sell them food if they could approach and these they escorted safely to their lines. But this did not affect those who were inside the city and they sent 4,000 picked cavalry to attack as many pilgrims as they could on the road. Then Duke Godfrey ordered that everyone take up their arms. Anxiens had informed the pilgrims by signals that they would be attacked and he began to be concerned about the return of his men. From their scouts the pilgrims knew that the Turks were returning. They chose the time and the place and launched an attack on the Turks. They wounded and killed the surprised men who were withdrawing to the bridge. Godfrey for his part stood in their way and they began to fall back: everyone fought with great ardour. Anxiens, seeing the violence of such a great battle, withdrew with his men and ordered that the gates be shut immediately. They were struck with such terror that they could not bring order to their ranks. So great was the shouting of men and the neighing of horses that one could scarcely hear the trumpets. Anxiens, seeing the slaughter of his men, ordered the gate to be opened [again]. The Turks ran to the bridge with such great speed that many fell into the water. Godfrey then cut an opponent, who had fought with him for a long time, through the middle, so that one half fell dead to the ground, the other half was carried on his horse into the city; he was thought a distinguished knight. In the battle more than 2,000 Turks perished, among them were 13 emirs and a river of blood flowed down to the sea. The messengers of the Caliph who were present were both amazed and delighted by this victory. On the next day the barons came together and offered thanks to God for the victory. Afterwards they decided that a fort should be built before the bridge to deny entry and departure. Only passage through the western gate remained, which stood between the foot of the mountain and the river Daufer. This gate was no threat to the pilgrims because they were based beyond the river Fer; however, because [the citizens] received supplies here, another fort was built there. At the river side, three or four leagues from the city, was good pasture and there [the citizens] kept their animals. The Christians noticed this, went there secretly, killed the guards and took away 2,000 good horses for the army as well as many other animals. Baldwin, learning that the army was in great need, sent food and many gifts to the barons and to the people who received many things with gratitude.

Chapter 6: The capture of Antioch, the finding of the Lance of Salvator and the defeat of Corbagath

The city of Antioch had been converted to the faith by the blessed Peter and had remained firm in that faith ever since, although the Mohammedan heresy crept around its [borders]. Fifteen years before this siege when Belphet occupied everywhere up to Constantinople, it came under the rule of the Turks. The Christians handed over their weapons and held no positions of authority within the city. There was a tower built into the wall of the city, to the west of the Gate of Saint George and there the Christians carried on their handicrafts and trading. Hermuferus, who was one of them, found favour with the lord of the city who appointed him his notary. This man hearing of the reputation of Bohemund **(p.145)** made secret contact with him, using his son as an intermediary, and said that he would tell him of his master's secrets to which he was privy. At last he learned that Anxiens was expecting 200,000 soldiers from the Sultan of Persia. He persuaded him [Bohemond] that if he could obtain the lordship of the city from the barons, he [Hermuferas] would hand over the tower to him.[1] Having outlined this plan with the barons in secret some said that they did not want to make this grant under oath. Meanwhile, the Sultan of Persia, Corbagath, sent many troops and written orders that all royal officers should obey him; so that he could take troops at will from those areas through which he would pass. And when he reached Rages, he attacked it, but he could not capture it. He besieged the city for three weeks; achieving nothing he marched off. Scouts sent out by the pilgrims reported that the Turks were approaching and covered the whole land. Then the barons swore that if they captured the city they would grant it to Bohemond. He asked his friend to fulfil his promise, and at night climbed into the tower by ladder. A host followed him to occupy the walls; the postern gate was opened and the knights entered; they took the city and slaughtered the infidels everywhere, on 3 June. The Turks were not disturbed in their bivouacs on account of the nocturnal upheaval, for they thought that, according to what had been planned, all the Christians in the city had been slaughtered that very night. Anxiens, fleeing from the Armenian citizens was captured and beheaded. Many [Turks], however, fled for safety to the castle that dominated the city, and they could not be expelled. On the third day Corbagath besieged the city: there were many clashes. At last the city was racked by famine. But after pledge of penance had turned to victory,[2] they decided to go out against the enemy and with all reverence they carried as their standard the Lance of the Lord Salvator that had recently been found, and they advanced against the enemy in this fashion. Hugh, the brother of the King of France, together with the Count of Flanders formed the first battleline. Then Duke Godfrey followed. Third was Robert, Count of Normandy with his men. Fourth, the Bishop of Le Puy, bearing the Lance of Salvator, and with him was a large part of the army of the Count of

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1 Firuz in William of Tyre and other crusade chroniclers.

2 The Latin construction of this clause is unclear.

Sainte Gilles, who remained behind to guard the city. Fifth came Tancred and sixth, Bohemond, who had been made lord of the city by consent of all the barons; and with him light-armed troops advanced to battle and knights, who from necessity, had sold their mounts. The prelates, monks and clerks were clad in sackcloth, holding crosses in their hands. They had a glorious victory over Corbagath. After this victory the barons, with the assent of all, sent formal messengers to the Emperor of Constantinople, that, according to their agreement, he should come personally to the siege of Jerusalem or they would regard themselves free of all obligations to him. Hugh the Great, having lost his companion in a Turkish ambush, arrived in Constantinople and made his embassy to the Emperor, and from there returned to France, not without incurring some infamy. The Emperor had scarcely set out to join the pilgrims for the siege of Jerusalem; he was terrified by the severe and unfortunate things that happened to them at Antioch.

Chapter 7: The march of the pilgrims against Jerusalem

After all this, there was a great pestilence in Antioch, so that 30 or 40 were taken to their graves each day. The pilgrims asked the barons that, to fulfil their vow and to avoid danger, they take the road to Jerusalem. These, having deliberated, replied that they were prevented by the excessive and dangerous heat and could not find food for themselves and their horses until the Kalends of October. Then the barons separated into groups and sought booty. Bohemond advanced into Cilicia and took Tarsus, Adane, and Malmistra and stationed his own men as garrisons. At the same time, because large numbers of Latins congregated in Rages, on account of Baldwin's generosity and patronage, the citizens found them less useful and sought them out less for advice and agreed with the Turks to hand them over: which was not hidden from him; and he killed the chief plotters including several emirs, false friends, skilled in the deepest treachery. The barons too jointly were so much given over to seizing those cities that they could scarcely be restrained by popular pressure to make the journey to Jerusalem to fulfil their vow. At last the Count of Toulouse set out with 10,000 foot and 300 knights. The Duke of Normandy **(p. 146)** and Tancred followed, each had 4,000 knights and a host of foot soldiers. They needed many supplies for the march for they travelled by Caesarea, Hama and Colamela. The rulers of these cities provided supplies and great treasures to them. They learned to go down to the coast so that they might hear from the barons who had remained behind in Antioch and that they might obtain supplies more easily. They covered the whole distance in peace. There were no unpleasant incidents except for certain Turkish bandits who killed the exhausted and the stragglers behind the army; but they captured them by ambushes. They travelled safely from right to left up to a certain pass that the garrison of a castle wished to deny to the pilgrims, but the pilgrims overcame them in a fight and burnt the castle. Their reputation flew around everywhere and tributes were sent to them from all sides, until they came to the land of a city called Arachis which Araceus the son of Chanaan had founded and is five leagues from Tripoli. In these two cities and

at many other neighbouring places there were many captured pilgrims, apparently from the time that they had begun the siege of Antioch. All were now returned and lest the cities should be harmed, great tributes were paid and they promised to molest no more pilgrims. A few men went to Tortosa, but the Turks fearing the arrival of the host took refuge in the mountains by night. The next day the pilgrims entered the town and divided up the spoils. At the beginning of March, those who had remained in Antioch asked the Count of Flanders and Duke Godfrey that they postpone [their advance] to Jerusalem claiming that they would travel to join them as quickly as the others. Therefore, having set out they came to the town of Licia, which was held for the Emperor of Constantinople. They numbered 15,000. From there Bohemond returned to guard Antioch. The others reached Gibel on the coast where the territory of the Caliph of Egypt began. Then they came on to Arachis and joined the rest of the army. Then rumour arose amongst the pilgrims that the lance found in Antioch was not the Lance of Christ, but found solely for deception and for some financial gain. The simple priest to whom the revelation had been made came forward and asked that a great fire be prepared so that he could enter it with the lance, so that they would believe him if he emerged unscathed. On the sixth day, the day on which Christ was pierced by the lance, the fire was lit. The priest uttering prayers went into and emerged from the fire unharmed. Then messengers came from the Caliph of Egypt, who had been sent on from Antioch. His promise which had been brought earlier was now made plain, namely that he granted to the pilgrims that 200–300 of them could go together, unarmed, to Jerusalem, make their prayers and depart. This angered the barons who replied that they would go there without his permission. Therefore, by request of the people they abandoned the siege of Tripoli, so that they might go to Jerusalem. There they celebrated Easter on 10 April, and going along the coast as far as Caesarea, there they celebrated Pentecost. They took this route on the advice of Syrians who lived in the Lebanon, mainly on account of the large number of ships from Cyprus, Venice, Genoa and Frixonum[1] which came for the sake of pilgrimage. Then withdrawing they left Iaphana on the right hand and reached Lida. Learning that they were near the noble city of Rama they sent the Count of Flanders who found the city empty of people but full of supplies. Setting off on the third day they reached Nicopolis which is Emmaus. Thither the Christians of Bethlehem sent to them and asked for armed support, lest the Turks, who had come together from various places should destroy the church of the Nativity of Christ. The pilgrims that very night with much devotion went to defend the place and praying they covered the holy places with kisses. Some running near to Jerusalem brought booty to the army. Questioned from where they had brought these things, they replied from near the gate to Jerusalem. Hearing that the city was nearby they began to weep from joy and devotion. Advancing towards the city, when they saw it they took the shoes from their feet and proceeded with hands in the air, thanking God who had brought them to the Holy City, pleasing before all other places to God.

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[1] Possibly Dorestad in the land of the Frisians.

Chapter 8: The siege of Jerusalem and how it was captured ***(p. 147)***

When the pilgrims prepared themselves to besiege Jerusalem they were no more than 20,000 foot soldiers and 600 horse. The non-combatants numbered another 20,000. Within the city up to 40,000 soldiers had mustered. Therefore, considering the lay-out of the city on a hill they judged the east side, on account of the valley of Josaphat, and the south side on account of the valley of the sons of Ennon, to be unassailable. And so they set up siege works from the gate of Saint Stephen to the gate which is under the tower of David on the west; and to the gate of the corner which since then has been called the gate of Tancred up to the west gate. But they removed them because they did not work due to the valley between them and the gate of the corner and re-sited them to a place between the Temple of the Lord and Mount Syon. On the fifth day they made an attack on the city and took all the barbicans. The citizens could not withstand the boldness of the pilgrims and were panic-stricken. If only the pilgrims had had scaling ladders and other essentials they would have taken the city. The attack endured, with the heaviest fighting in the south. After this they decided to use ladders, catapults and instruments of war of this ilk. While these things were in preparation, the army was wracked by a shortage of water. For the citizens had destroyed the wells within several leagues of the city. The inhabitants of Bethlehem and Thecaea showed themselves to be most loyal; now and then they drove animals three or four leagues and those wandering in the fields perished, and they feared the bad air from the rotting corpses. The citizens noticing this did not go out on the besieged side; and wounding some they killed others. They were continuously re-supplied. They made huge catapults to oppose the Christians and they persecuted most harshly the Christians living within the city. The pilgrims were occupied for a month or more in building siege engines. Then on a prescribed day, with relics to the fore there was a procession to the Mount of Olives. Peter the Hermit exhorted them to do well in his sermon. The people, weeping, prayed to the Lord He would free His inheritance from the hands of the infidels. The Turks watching from the walls wondered what the Christians were doing. They scurrilously insulted the crosses that had been made, which offended many of the faithful. Prayers having been offered in the church on the Mount of Olives they returned to camp. All things being ready the barons realized that the besieged part [of the city] was defended by more soldiers and catapults than the other [parts]. On the night preceding the attack they moved the wooden assault towers and the other weaponry, with great difficulty, about a mile to the north-east between the gate of Saint Stephen and the gate of the corner. They pushed the castles to the walls and prepared everything else before daybreak. When the sun was up the Christians delivered an amazing attack. The Turks sent a shower of weapons and stones. Many were wounded and several were killed, but all the pilgrims had chosen rather to die than to live without victory. From dawn till dusk a hard battle ensued. The attack was mounted on three sides and it was uncertain where it went better. At last night brought an end to the fighting. On the following day, at mid-morning, all returned to their duties of yesterday;

both inside and outside there was no little slaughter. Right up to the evening the uncertain battle raged. At last the Turks mocked the exhausted pilgrims thinking that they would withdraw their assault towers. But an unknown knight appeared on the Mount of Olives flashing a polished shield at the exhausted and disheartened pilgrims. Persuaded by such a sign they returned to the attack. Godfrey had faith in the sign; calling to the people he said ‘if they returned the city would be theirs’. A hermit, too, who sought his penance on the Mount of Olives, had foretold that they would take the city that very day. Everyone returned to their duty as if they had suffered nothing from their efforts and they fought with greater zeal as if certain of victory. At last those who were with Godfrey captured the strongest barbican and pushed on the city wall. On Geoffrey’s order they set light to sacks full of waste materials and cotton. Then the blackest smoke went up and the north wind blew it in the eyes of the Turks. Unnerved they left the walls. The Christians climbed up and went down the other side but first of all was Godfrey **(p. 148)**. Then the noble Bishop of Le Puy, who had died on the way, appeared to many first above the walls of Jerusalem calling to the pilgrims to follow him. The Turks, seeing the Christian banners on the walls and many advancing in the streets with swords drawn, decided on flight. All this happened on the sixth day at the ninth hour, the exact time when the Lord suffered for us on the cross. As a result those marked with the cross of the Lord realized that they had won not by their own efforts but as His gift. In revenge for the injury to Christ the pilgrims spared neither sex nor age. So many were slaughtered in the streets no one could pass except over corpses and rivers of blood ran down the principal streets. Many fled within the enclosure of the Temple, which was well-fortified, but it profited them little. For Tancred, with a large part of the army that followed him, assaulted the place. After all was done 10,000 were found slaughtered in that place. After the victory was assured, everyone processed barefoot to the Holy Sepulchre to give thanks to the highest King. There was such a loud noise, such a great shedding of tears and such great devotion that nothing could be heard except the act of thanksgiving and the voice of praise. The city was taken on 15 June1099.

Part 6

Part 6 contains the full liberation of the Holy Land and the setting up of the Kingdom of Jerusalem under the Latin kings, having 24 chapters.

Chapter 1: How Godfrey was chosen King of Jerusalem and his piety concerning the worship of God

After these immense labours the pilgrims rested with gladness for seven days. On the eighth day prayers having been offered beforehand and the grace of the Holy Spirit invoked, the barons set about the election of a king. However, a crowd of clergy emerged and asked that the election of the patriarch should precede that

of the king, since spiritual matters came before matters of the flesh. Although the petition seemed consistent, its motive was vicious. The prime mover of this faction was the bishop of a city called Maraturane[1] in the province of Calabria. He had met with a cleric Hernoldus,[2] a man of equally dissolute life, perhaps worse, so that one of them should be appointed to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem and the other to the Archbishopric of Bethlehem, even though Hernoldus was a bastard and the son of a priest. Indeed, the barons ignored the words of these men [the clergy] and chose some honest men to examine the life and habits of those barons who were eligible. Having summoned the companions of the princes by writ to come before them, they urged them to speak the truth without falsehood concerning their lord. Without waiting for the others to come, Godfrey's companions spoke, because he had formed the habit of spending much time with them: whenever he entered a church, if he could not receive Mass, he did not leave but looked at the pictures of the saints, asking the clergy what they meant in terms of the lives and doings [of the saints]. And so, although he burdened his companions and associates by relaxing, food was prepared for them when they were hungry. Having heard these things, the investigators rejoiced, as if a greater defect might be found, but they attributed these things not to vice but to virtue. Therefore, when all the barons had assembled, these honest men reported their findings: they unanimously chose Godfrey as their king. This was a great relief to the pilgrims, for he was deserving of their efforts. After the King's election, the dishonest bishop mentioned above spread complaints everywhere because of the delay in the election of the Patriarch so that the possessions of the Church were dispersed and the rights of the clergy suffered. Therefore, by a majority decision with some disagreement, Heraldus was chosen. Then a great part of the wood of the Cross, which, out of fear had been hidden away in fragments by the Turks in a famous location, was found beneath the Church of the Holy Sepulchre **(p. 149)**. It was carried from thence in solemn procession to the Temple, the people following behind with frequent heart-felt praises, and they saw with their own eyes Christ hanging from the Cross. After this the King began to set all things in order, settling disputes, putting things right, and proceeding in all things from day to day. He was from the nation of the Franks, a son of the Count of Boulogne, as the table shows, and a nephew of Godfrey, Duke of Lorraine, whom he succeeded in the duchy when the duke died without heirs.

He was God-fearing and just, very generous and without partiality, choosing God before all things. He kept his word and detested arrogance and flattery. He was skilled in arms, generous to the poor and the clergy and charitable in all things. He prayed devoutly with tears in his eyes and was scrupulous in divine offices. For in consultation with the Patriarch and the clergy he installed canons in the churches of the Holy Sepulchre and the Temple of the Lord for the solemn celebration of the worship of God and granted them large prebends and honours. For monks too who had celebrated masses and the divine office for him on the way, he graciously

[1] Materna.

[2] Arnulf of Choques.

granted a monastery in the valley of Josaphat and endowed it with many estates. Because he would have left his own county he even gave Bouillon, the best place in his duchy, to the Mother Church. When he was approached by the barons to wear a crown, after the custom of Christian kings, he said that he would not wear a jewelled crown in the place where the King of Kings had been crowned with a crown of thorns: rightly asserting that an unusual coronation ought to satisfy the Christian Kings of the Holy City of Jerusalem, by being commemorated on the day on which the Lord reigned from the Cross.

Eustace count of Boulogne — *brothers* — *Godfrey duke of Lorrane*

Guitts sent from Jerusalem to guard the land	*Eustace succeeded his father*	*Godfrey, the first King of Jerusalem succeeded his uncle*	*His brother Baldwin succeeded him*

Chapter 2: A victory given to the pilgrims by God against a vast number of Persians

All the barons still being present in Jerusalem a rumour spread everywhere in the city that the Egyptian Caliph, one of the more powerful of the eastern [rulers], scorned the small number of people who had invaded his kingdom and everywhere had captured towns and destroyed fortifications. Having gathered an army together, he summoned his commander-in-chief, Elasdoles, to come before him and ordered him to advance without delay into Syria and to attack this presumptuous enemy with great force and so remove these people from that land, so that they should be no more talked about. The unfortunate commander was an Armenian Christian, who had acquired immense wealth and luxury on his apostasy. Just one year before, he had brought Jerusalem under the rule of his lord. Therefore, he advanced swiftly to recover all those things that were lost. He advanced focused in his mind and confident in the great size of his army and pitched camp near Ascalon. With him were Arabs and men from Damascus, although previously they had given up hope by turns, see above Part 3, Chapter 5 and Part 5, Chapter 5. When this was known to the Christian princes, having taken counsel all the people came together at the Tomb of Christ and called to God with tears in their eyes, that He had freed them from very great danger, and had gained the Holy City to His honour. No bounds were set to the polluting behaviour of the infidels. Then they processed to the temple of the Lord and having celebrated divine service went home. Afterwards, Godfrey with the Count of Flanders, advanced to the plain of Rama. The other barons stayed in the city except the Duke's brothers who were ordered to go to Neapolis to receive tribute. Godfrey, knowing that the enemy were as numerous as locusts covering the ground, sent for the other barons and his brothers. He ordered that having regard for the safety of the city they should bring everyone with them. When they reached the place called Thelym **(p. 150)** the Christian cavalry were found to be no more than 1,200 and the foot soldiers

10,000. They felt the movement of the advancing multitude from faraway and suspected the imminent arrival of their enemies. They sent out 200 men as scouts, who came across a huge herd of oxen, camels and other beasts that they thought would make up the deficiency in the whole area. The capture of the booty was reported by guards from several places. On the next day at mid-morning the Duke ordered the battleline to advance in order, over the six leagues to their enemies. The Turks, seeing them come towards them boldly and overestimating the number of armed men because of the booty, the crack troops turned to flight. The others, terror-stricken, fled after them to where they hoped to be safer. Then the pilgrims gave thanks to God for the victory. The Christian people were talked about in marvellous terms by those fleeing. They returned with joy to the Holy City of Jerusalem. On that day of victory the author of all evil the Bishop of Materna went away and had achieved nothing.

Chapter 3: The return of the pilgrims; the wonderful courage of the remaining few in seizing Joppa,[1] *Ramallah, Porphyra and Genezareth,*[2] *and how the Patriarch gained jurisdiction over a quarter of the Holy City of Jerusalem*

After the capture of the Holy City of Jerusalem the pilgrims had obtained their goal with no unfinished business, seeing their dream fulfilled and wanting no more regarding the Tomb of the Lord and the Holy City of Jerusalem they returned home with joy. Some, with greater perspicacity and largeness of spirit realized that the Holy City was surrounded by hostile forces. To the east it was hemmed in by Arabs, Moabites and Amonites; to the south by Idumaeans, Egyptians and Philistines; on the west by the coastal cities of Ptolomayda,[3] Tyre, Tripoli, and others as far as Antioch and to the north by Damascus, Caesarea Philippi, by the area of the Decapolis, the Tiberiade and the whole area of Galilee, all of which followed the teaching of the most vile Mahomet. From this they understood that the said Holy City of Jerusalem could not long remain under Christian control unless these enemies were pushed back further, since these foes, as the Scripture warns, wanted to destroy them utterly; knowing that 'it was not he who began but he who had persevered who will be saved.'[4] Also the holy animals of Ezekiel were not turned aside when they went forward.[5] Accordingly, from the highest considerations, they chose to stay rather than leave the city in danger. However, only a few remained, for they could not have numbered more than 300 cavalry and 2,000 infantry. God wished them to remain poor in all things, so that they would think of him alone who had subjected to them such great areas of land and uncountable thousands of Turks, and no one dared say 'our mighty hand, and not

1 Jaffa – modern Yafo.
2 Area to west of the Sea of Galilee around Tiberias and Tabgha.
3 Acre.
4 Matthew 24:13.
5 Ezechiel 1:12.

the Lord, has done all these things',[1] but they spoke as Judas to Machabees, 'it is an easy matter for many to be shut up in the hands of a few; and there is no difference in the sight of God to deliver with a great multitude, or with a small company: For the success of war is not in the multitude of the army, but strength comes from heaven.'[2] When therefore they carried the banner of Christ in battle and hoped for help from heaven, great fear and terror passed through the ranks of the enemy, so that 'one chased a thousand and two ten thousand.'[3] Some of their enemies were killed in the battleline and some fled. They stormed the greatest cities and captured impregnable castles. And so with successive and continuous victories they recovered the Holy Land of Promise and subjected it to the Christian name and worship. The first of their victories was at Joppa where Peter revived Tabitha from death and there he fell into ecstasy and saw heaven opened, and he was ordered to butcher from the linen and to eat unclean things.[4] In real terms, that he should destroy the vices of the peoples and bring them to the Church. The first book of Machabees placed the city next to the sea and the second [book of] Paralipomenon added a gate, to which Ira, King of Tyre sent building materials for the temple of Solomon.[5] So that the faithful coming from the West to aid the Christian army should have a secure harbour and a safe refuge **(p. 151)**, they besieged the city, surrounded as it was by a ditch, and stormed it bravely. They took Ramula with like courage, which is called Ramatha by some, lying on the plain, noble and populous and surrounded by a strong wall strengthened by tall towers. Then they accepted the surrender of Caypha,[6] which is called Porphyra by another name, on the seashore under the first part of Carmel distant four stades and nine miles from Acre. Finally, they took Tiberiade which is also called Genereth,[7] two miles distant from Genezareth, from which the sea adjoining takes its name. So, from the Province of Galilee which he had crossed to Tiberiade, Godfrey gave to Tancred the whole principality of Galilee together with Porphyra. To the Patriarch, who had approached him on the subject, he gave a quarter of Jerusalem on the feast of the Purification of the Virgin. The reason for this request was this. In 1063 Bounesor, the Caliph of Egypt,[8] took Jerusalem and all places in the region and on the coast up to Licia,[9] which is near Antioch. He sent governors to all the cities and imposed tribute. He ordered that the walls and all things necessary for the defence of the cities be carefully repaired. But at Jerusalem the walls were

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[1] Deuteronomy 32:27.

[2] 1 Machabees 3:18.

[3] Deuteronomy 32:39.

[4] Acts 10; Acts 9:40; 10:10.

[5] 1 Machabees 14:34; 2 Paralipomenon 2:16.

[6] Mod. Haifa.

[7] Tiberias.

[8] Al-Mustansir (427/1036–487/1094).

[9] Latakia; the Seleucid city of Laodicea, in Arabic *al-Ladhiqqiyyaah* and *La Liche* in Old French.

especially ruined on account of frequent sieges, so he added that the Christians there be forced to repair a fourth part of the walls. The Christians claimed poverty but they were not heard in case the answer was that if they did not carry out the order then they would be put to the sword. Finally, with prayers to the Grand Turk[1] they received remission while they sent to the Emperor of Constantinople for imperial help. The Emperor Constantine, by-name Monaques,[2] pitying the poverty and danger of the Christians, promised that the work would be done from the revenues of the island of Cyprus, if the Caliph would grant that only Christians should live in that part of the city. The petition was granted and well-received since before that time they had suffered many injuries from Turks living in the neighbourhood. Now, separated, they lived in peace and no one exercised justice over them except the Patriarch. Thus the Patriarch gained a quarter of Jerusalem. The quarter extended from the gate of David to the gate of Saint Stephen. When Godfrey was on campaign, the Turks who were living in the mountains of Samaria, where Neapolis is, sent ambassadors who with difficulty gained access to such a famous Duke. At last, led to the butterfly, they saw him seated on the ground and wondered and asked him why there was no golden throne and silk cloth? When he understood this from interpreters he replied, 'There is no blame for a man to sit on the ground, since it is from whence we come and to where we will return.' The messengers admired his sense and humility and spoke about it everywhere. In the midst of this Bohemond, Prince of Antioch, arrived at Valania[3] with a large following of infantry and cavalry and waited there for Baldwin, Count of Edessa. For they had arranged to visit the Holy Sepulchre together and so fulfil their vow and at the same time visit the King elect.[4] Then many pilgrims came from Italy to Licia, with whom was the venerable Archbishop of Pisa. For safety all had set out together, to the number of 20,000,[5] to visit the Holy Sepulchre. But on the whole journey they suffered from the winter weather and shortage of food. At last, with Christ [sic] as their leader, they reached the Holy City and visited the places consecrated by the presence of Christ with much devotion and many tears. Reaching the site of the most holy Nativity of Christ in Bethlehem all were joyful and by the sweetness of the Spirit they were able to gaze enough at that holy cave in which the Truth arose from the earth and our earth gave it nourishment; in which the child-bearing Virgin wrapped the infant Lord in blankets and gave him milk from a breast filled by heaven. Up to that time the Patriarchal Church had been vacant. Then Daybertus, Archbishop of Pisa, was elected and was set in place and he was irritated at anything that had been done about Hernoldus. When he was appointed Archdeacon of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre he brought about a

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1 *Magni Turchi* – perhaps an early use of this title?

2 Sanudo seems to refer to Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–55), although the Emperor in question was Constantine X Doukas (1059–67).

3 Baniyas, 55km south of Latakia.

4 That is they did not want to stop looking.

5 Figure given by Fulcher of Chartres and followed by William of Tyre.

breach between King Baldwin I and the Bishop. When the Bishop resigned under pressure Ehremart[1] was substituted by the King but he was deposed by the Legate Ceberinus.[2] Meanwhile, Daybertus died[3] and the Legate was elected Patriarch and after him Hernaldus at the time of the same King. Bohemond and Baldwin on their return washed in the Jordan, crossing through Tiberiade and Phoenicia and leaving Caesarea on their right, entered Yturea crossing to the town of Mahomet and going down towards the coast, returned to their homes. All these things were done in the first year, under the rule of Godfrey of Boulogne, a man pleasing to God and acceptable to the people, through whom God worked for the safety of his faithful people and the freedom of the Holy Land **(p. 152)**. But, having done all these things, [God] who chooses the more worthy and spurns vile things summoned him to the joys of heaven. He was buried in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on 18 June 1100, under the hill of Calvary where Christ was crucified; for this place was chosen as suitable for the burial of kings. Meanwhile the city of Meletaine, located beyond the Euphrates in Mesopotamia, was offered to Bohemond by Gabriel the Armenian, the lord of the town. For he said that he wished to give it of his own free will rather than lose it uninvited. For he had no hope that he could save it from the attacks of the Turks. But while Bohemond crossed unwarily beyond the Euphrates, he was captured by the Turks, who then besieged the city. Baldwin raised the siege and gained the city, which had previously given its allegiance to Bohemond. Striving for Bohemond's freedom he could achieve nothing.

Chapter 4: The coronation of Baldwin I, the capture of Arsuf and Caesarea and the double victory over the Egyptians

After the death of the distinguished Duke Godfrey, his brother Baldwin, Count of Edessa, skilled in warfare from his youth, practised in arms and active in war, was elected lord with the consent of all and was crowned King in Bethlehem on Christmas Day 1101. Then Tancred mindful of injuries done to him (see above Part 5, Chapter 1) did not wish to be subjected to him and renounced the lordship that had been granted to him (see next chapter) and went to Antioch to rule the city, for which there had been many invitations, until Bohemond should be given his freedom and if it should happen that [Bohemond] died without heirs, then he ought to succeed him as his brother. The King, however, gave the task to Hugh of Saint-Omer. Tancred took the noble city of Apamea by storm and, with prayers

[1] Evremar of Therouanne who had come east with the First Crusade and as a pious priest was generally unsuited. In 1108 he became Archbishop of Caesarea.

[2] Gibelin of Sabran, Archbishop of Arles sent as Legate by Paschal II in 1107 to sort out the problems of the Patriarchate. He was elected Patriarch in the following year and died in 1112 when he was succeeded as Patriarch by Arnulf. Sanudo's chronology is very condensed here. See Runciman, *A History of the Crusades,* II, 81–4 for events.

[3] In Messina on 15 June 1107 returning from appealing to the Pope regarding his treatment.

and threats gained Licia from the Greeks, until he could ensure his lordship of Apamea. The King gave the lordship of Edessa to Baldwin of Le Bourg, his brother; the latter shared the lordship with his other brother Joscelin, who had come from France. The King, mindful of the unsettled state [of his kingdom] and eager to be active, hearing that 70 Genoese galleys had arrived at Jaffa, bringing help for him in ships and men, just at the beginning of spring when kings are accustomed to wage war. They captured Assur which is also called Antipatris after Antipater. We have made mention of Antipatris above in Part 1, Chapter 12. It is a city on the coast between Jaffa and Caesarea, a pleasant place with thick woods and rich pastures. With the help of the Genoese he besieged Caesarea of Palestine by land and sea and took it. Previously it had been called The Tower of Straton and was enlarged by Herod of Ascalon in honour of Caesar [Augustus]. There the Genoese found a precious bowl, in green stone, which they claimed was emerald. They took it as part of their booty and gave it to their Mother Church. Although it lies on the coast, it does not have a useable harbour. To the east it has a large and deep marsh of sweet water, where crocodiles live and it enjoys copious gardens and pastures. There Philip had a house with his daughters.[1] There the Centurion Cornelius heard from an Angel: 'Your prayers and alms ascend as a memorial in the sight of the Lord; but send for Simon in Jaffa; he will tell you what you should do'.[2] There too Paul, held long in custody, set out for Rome to pursue his appeal.[3] After this the King returned towards Rama. The Arabs built this city near Lida, when first pilgrims came to those parts, after the time of Mahumet. It was a great and populous city, with a wall with many towers. They found it empty; but because it was necessary to have a large number of people for its retention, they built a castle in one corner of the city. Meanwhile, Hugh the Great, who had returned to France, not without loss of honour to himself, (see above Part 5, Chapter 6), again took the Cross along with those great barons, the Count of Blois, William, Count of Aquitaine, and the Count of Vermondois. They held together for the first part of the journey to Constantinople. When they reached Nicaea they split up and were robbed by the Turks: many were slain, others ran away naked. When Hugh the Great reached Tarsus he died. The Emperor of Constantinople, who had received them joyfully to their face, revealed to the Turks their routes and condition, just like a scorpion with a smiling face and a stinging tail. At last they reached Tortosa **(p. 153)**. Raymond, Count of Toulouse besieged the city and took it after a short time, slaughtering all the citizens. There horses and many other things were looted. The whole army gave the city to the count. When they departed he remained in the city. When the aforementioned business of Rama was going on, the Caliph of Egypt sent his commander-in-chief with 10,000 horse and 20,000 foot soldiers to expel the pilgrims from his land, which instead built a castle at Ascalon. When he heard about this the King hurried from Rama to

1 Acts 21:8.
2 Acts 10:4.
3 Acts 16.

Jerusalem fearing lest they should occupy the Holy City of Jerusalem. There he raised an army and led out between Rama and Lida 260 horse and 900 foot. Then they marched against the Saracens following the banner of the Cross. The King prayed that 'he, who can save the few, give the victory to him': after this prayer, protected by faith, he attacked the enemy. Although at first the battle was hard, finally the Christians gained the victory, the leader of the Saracens with 5,000 men were slain. No more than 30 died from the Christian cavalry. This was the second defeat of the Babylonians on the plain of Rama, 1102. After some days the Turks who had fled joined up with others from Ascalon, numbering as many as 30,000, with great confidence advanced between Lida and Rama. The King hearing this, without consultation, hurried to make a reconnaissance. When he had appeared there, he could not make his way back and there was a fight. He fought with such great valour that the Turks were nearly put to flight, but at last numbers told and several Christians were killed. The King and others escaped captivity by flight and came first to Rama then to Arsur. At last he reached Jaffa where it was thought by the Queen and others that he had been killed. Hugh, Lord of Tiberias came to the royal assistance with 24 knights, from the hills too another 24 knights came to the King's aid. Reinforced, the King wanted revenge and advanced against the enemy, who were only four leagues away, near some woods making scaling-ladders and engines to besiege Jaffa. All rushed in amongst them like a bear with flaying claws and gained a total victory and seized horses, other animals and goods. The following year the King attacked Ptolomayda, which is also called Acon because it was founded by two brothers, namely Ptolomaeus and Acon, and it is said also that in antiquity it was also called Abyron. There is the best harbour in Syria [entered] with the south wind. The city was well-sited between the sea and the fast-flowing river Belus. It was fortified with walls and in front of the walls, towers, ditches and exceptionally strong barbicans, having a triangular plan like a shield two sides of which encircled the sea and the third part looked over the plain which went round it from the north. It was three leagues or thereabouts in breadth and had pastures, gardens, vineyards and fertile fields. The King having denied it help on all sides besieged the city. After 20 days, with frequent assaults and stiff fighting, the Ptolomenses could bear it no more. They handed over the town to the King on condition that they kept their freedom and their property and could depart.

Chapter 5: Events in the county of Edessa and the principalities of Antioch and Galilee

Bohemond, after four years in captivity, returned to Antioch a free man, having given hostages for the transfer of his ransom. He, having been invited by Baldwin, Count of Edessa and his brother Joscelin to take part in the siege of Chara from whence Abraham was called and which is 14 leagues from Edessa, came there with his nephew Tancred. When the town had at last been worn down by famine and the surrender terms were agreed, disagreement broke out among the princes over who should be considered the more important in the city. While they were

thus disputing a huge army of Turks attacked them and put the Christians to flight. Baldwin, with his brother Joscelin, was captured. Bohemond fled to Edessa and appointed Tancred governor of the city until Baldwin should be set free from prison. Then Bohemond, burdened with many debts returned to Apulia in order to gather treasure and fighting men. He visited Philip, King of France and took two of his daughters, Constance for himself and Cecilia for Tancred. He went back to Apulia with 4,000 mounted pilgrims and 40,000 foot. Meanwhile, 1105, Raymond, Count of Toulouse, who from love of Christ, having taken the Cross never wished to leave the Land of Promise died at the siege of Tripoli **(p. 154)**. His nephew William[1] succeeded him in [charge of] the siege until Bertrand, Count of Toulouse,[2] the son of Raymond should come, who made a claim to the besieged city, while William had conducted the siege for four years. But they made an agreement that a part should pay tribute to one and another part to the other, and if one should die without heirs, the other would succeed him.[3] But William, while he was trying to settle a dispute unarmed, was killed by a chance arrow. In 11[09][4] Rodoamus, Lord of Aleppo,[5] having gathered an army of Turks, mounted a raid throughout the territory of Antioch and destroyed everything that was not protected by fortifications. Hearing this Tancred summoned help from all sides, having approached that army near Tarsus he routed it and with great slaughter gained animals and booty. In the same year the emirs suggested to the Caliph of Egypt that he send an army to wipe out the Christians in Syria, arguing that many had gone home and many others had succumbed to plague and to the sword. He sent an army by land and by sea. The King having marshalled his army marched to Jaffa and the Patriarch bore the banner of the Cross. There were 500 knights and 2,000 foot. The Turks who had come by land numbered 25,000. When they reached Ascalon they sent the marine part of the army to Jaffa. The other part advanced to Rama and the land resounded with their drums. When they saw the Christian battleline following the Lord's Cross, they sent for others to help them. But battle being joined they slaughtered 4,000 along with the prince of Ascalon. The commander of the Caliph's army along with others fell in flight. Then the Christians were much enriched; and for the ransom of the former governor of Acre the King received 20,000 bezants. A storm had arisen that either drowned [many of] the army going by sea or gave them into Christian hands. Then Hugh, Prince of Galilee noticed a hill ten leagues from Tyre that was suitable for fortification and

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1 His cousin William-Jordan, Count of Cerdagne.

2 Eldest bastard son who had ruled Toulouse in his father's name since 1096. His position as count was undermined by the existence of a legitimate son, Alfonso-Jordan born at Athlit in 1105. He came to Toulouse with his mother, the Countess Elvira, in 1108 and thus sent Bertrand on his travels to the east.

3 Sanudo omits the complex succession question left by Raymond's death; see Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, I, 66–70.

4 *Eodem millesimo* in the text. The year seems to be uncertain.

5 Ridwan ruler of Aleppo, 1095–1113.

there in a short time he built a castle and called it Thoron lying midway between the sea and Lebanon, in the midst of fruitful country having many trees and vines. By it the Tyrenians were prevented from raiding his land and in like fashion suffered injuries and began to be weakened. Advancing against 4,000 Damascenes, who had come to devastate the land, he slew many, but at last, wounded, he lay down in his grave. Bohemond, Prince of Antioch, who had recruited crusaders in Apulia, to revenge the injuries that the pilgrims had endured at the hands of the Emperor of Constantinople, went with ships into the empire, laying waste to everything in those coastal areas that he passed through. He destroyed two great cities called Epiros and besieged Dyrrachium, for he had thought to penetrate deep into the empire, angered by the injuries of the pilgrims that had been inflicted from all sides. The Emperor, learning of the devastation of his empire, gathered an army and hurried towards him. He sent messengers and in a peace treaty promised to show peace and favour to the pilgrims. Bohemond, for his part, promised love and indemnity.[1] These things being done, the French pilgrims passed through the empire. Bohemond returned to Apulia. And when he had set his house in order and prepared all things for a journey overseas, he died,[2] leaving a small son, Bohemond, by his new wife. Tancred, who had remained in his [Bohemond's] place in Antioch and [had become] governor of Edessa in Mesopotamia, after the capture of Baldwin and Joscelin, when the eastern Turks covered the face of the land and destroyed everything that was not fortified and threatened the cities with shortage of food, asked the King for help. Sympathetic to him the King raised an army and crossed the Euphrates. Then the Turks kept quiet at a distance, knowing that the Christians would not remain long, because of unrest in other parts of the kingdom. And so the King gathered supplies from all over, strengthened fortifications, especially those of Edessa and returned south. In 1109 Baldwin gave hostages for himself and for Joscelin, for the payment of a certain sum of money, but the hostages escaped from captivity within a short time and returned to their homes.

Chapter 6: The capture of Bibylos and Tripoli, Baldwin's story, and the death of Tancred

Seventy Genoese galleys arrived for Beltrand, Count of Toulouse while he was besieging Tripoli. Holding common counsel they went to besiege Bibylos by land and sea **(p. 155)** captured it and returned to Tripoli. The King came up, and the city worn out by the siege of seven years placed itself in the hands of the besiegers under certain conditions. Beltrand accepted the lordship from the King and performed homage to him. Baldwin liked to tell this story. He had no money and could not pay the stipends of his knights. Turning a scheme over in his mind he went to his father-in-law, Gabriel the Armenian, by whom he was received with the greatest regard. After they had had a conversation of the recent past, knights,

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1 Treaty of Devol 1108.

2 6 March 1111.

previously instructed, spoke to the count in the presence of his father-in-law. They wanted their pay and promises of service. After speaking to them courteously and offering excuses, they asked him more strenuously, saying that they were reduced to poverty and had crossed many difficult tasks. Let him give them their back pay or make good his pledge to them; otherwise they would waste his land with fire and sword in revenge. The Armenian asked that what had been said be interpreted for him. Then he asked what pledge should be paid to them and it was replied that because the Count could not pay he was obliged to shave his beard. On hearing this, the Armenian fell backwards, and with an excessively disturbed mind lost the power of speech. At last coming to himself he reproached the Count with strong words. How could a man of such great reputation expose the honour of the world, the decoration of the face, and the sign of courage to such great danger and condemn himself to great insult, just like a eunuch? He made him promise that he would never do such a thing again. He paid the knights the money that they had asked for to the sum of 30,000 bezants. After these things the King, together with Beltrand, Count of Tripoli and the son of the Count of Toulouse besieged Beirut by land and sea. In antiquity it was called Beritus Geris because it had been founded by Gergeseus the son of Chanaan. After two months of siege, with wooden towers pushed up to the ramparts and ladders fixed to the walls, the besiegers entered the town violently. They killed many and put some in prison in chains, 1111. [Beirut] is a coastal city, situated between Sidon and Bibylos in the Province of Phoenicia under the metropolitan of Tyre. It is a pleasant place with fertile fruit-bearing trees, vines and woods. In Beirut there was a certain wooden representation of the Crucifixion, which [was made] not long after the passion. It was mocked by the Jews to the insult of Christ on the Cross. Where the lance had pierced the side, it exuded blood and water, with which secretion sick people were healed. On this account all the Jews, who were in the city, were converted. They also subjected Sidon to their lord in a strong grip. In the same year that Beirut was captured a fleet of men coming from Norway brought help to Palestine with 55 ships. Not being strong enough to resist the Christian people, the Sidonians fled and drowned in their own blood just as God had said in Ezechiel 28: ‘Behold I come against thee, Sidon, and I will be glorified in the midst of thee; and they shall know that I am the Lord, when I shall execute judgements in her, and shall be sanctified in her. And I will send her pestilence, and blood in her streets: and they shall fall being slain by the sword on all sides in the midst thereof.’[1] Sidon is a noble city on the seashore, situated in the province of Phoenicia. It is commonly called Sageta. It was once a great city, sited along the plain running from north north-west to the south, under the Anti-Lebanon mountains. From the ruins another city was built, small but fortified, having two reasonably strong castles within. One to the south on a rock in the sea was built by the German pilgrims. The other to the south on a hill belongs to the Templars. The adjoining land is rich in fruit-bearing trees and woods, fruitful fields, pastures and vines. Sidon was also honoured by a visit

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[1] Ezechiel 28:22–3.

from Our Lord.[1] And before the east gate of the ancient city, a chapel is built in the place where the Canaanite woman prayed for her daughter. The aforesaid Anti-Lebanon begins from the river Elencherus and extends beyond Tripoli for just under five leagues. Nowhere is it more than two leagues from the sea except around Tripoli where it is three; now and then it comes up to the sea so that there is no room for a road. It has an abundance of the best vines, according to Osee 14: 'his memorial shall be as the wine of Libanus';[2] and the bounty of this wine continues to Margath. It is written that there were active men there, 3 Kings 5, when Soloman says to Hiram, 'there is not among my people a man that has skill to hew wood like to the Sidonians'.[3] Now that victories were gained in the coastal region, the faithful Westerners had free access to Jerusalem and it seemed fulfilled what God had promised through Ezechiel 25: 'I will destroy the remnant of the sea coast. And I will execute vengeance upon them rebuking them in fury: and they shall know that I am the Lord **(p. 156),** when I shall lay my vengeance upon them.'[4] Then, 1112, Tancred died and after him Beltrand, Count of Tripoli who was succeeded by his son Pons, who took in marriage Cecilia, who previously had been married to Tancred. On his death, Tancred left the regency of the principality of Antioch to Roger the son of Richard,[5] who accepted it until the boy Bohemond, the son of Bohemond and his heir should come from Apulia. This was agreed with the assent of all the barons. With this deed Roger was called in all the histories the Prince of Antioch.

Chapter 7: The fortune of Joscelin and the victory of Roger against the Turks

After this, famine arose in the countryside around Edessa. Joscelin, indeed, had an abundance of food, however, he did not assist the Count, his lord and brother, in the slightest. To a messenger sent by the Count the familia of Joscelin replied that however up-right and prudent he might be Joscelin was fitted for lordship, so the Count should behave circumspectly if he accepted money he might hand over the whole government of the land to him. On hearing this, the, messenger reported to his lord, who was in bed apparently ill but not from falsehood. For he was greatly incensed, thinking rather that the words of the familia came from the intentions of their lord, by whom he had experienced such ingratitude. And so having summoned his nephew, the Count accused him first of ingratitude and then of treachery and condemned him to prison in chains. Nor would he remit the sentence unless he returned all those things that he had formerly accepted freely and renounced all jurisdiction that he had had. The King had pity on him and granted him the city of Tiberias. [Joscelin] made many raids against Tyre, notwithstanding the mountains

1 Matth[ew]15.
2 Osee 14:7.
3 3 Kings 5:6.
4 Ezechiel 25:16–17.
5 Tancred's nephew Roger of Salerno was the son of Richard of the Principate.

that lay between. In 1114 a huge earthquake shook the Orient especially in Cilicia where it damaged Mamistra and all the fortifications round about. Elsewhere other cities were destroyed, so that no trace of the temple remained and men wandering through the fields were afraid that they would be sucked down by the earth. In the following year Borges,[1] the most powerful leader of the Turks, with a large number of warriors invaded the principality of Antioch, and advancing he marched between Aleppo and Damascus, planning to harm the Christians as seriously as he could. Meanwhile, Dodequinus,[2] King of Damascus, suspecting an invasion of his kingdom made truces with King Baldwin and the Prince of Antioch. With great exchange of gifts they made solemn promises of mutual support. This treaty was renewed each year with the Christians and 40 years after the conquest of Jerusalem it is still in place. And so the Prince of Antioch, to counter perceived dangers, sought the help of the Kings of Jerusalem and Damascus and got it. Then Borges pretended to return to his homeland and the kings, not pretending, went home. On learning this, Borges, alias Bursequin, returned to the principality of Antioch and did whatever he wished, stealing animals, burning places and slaughtering men. Angered by these things the Prince of Antioch, supported by the count of Edessa, followed him as far as Castrum Rubeum.[3] With battlelines drawn up a battle was fought between the two. The courage of the faithful warrior prevailed against the multitude. The effusion of innocent blood was avenged, the plunder recovered and 3,000 Turks were slain. The Christian people were rich in everything.

Chapter 8: The building of Mount Royal and its provisioning that is called Scandalium; the death of the King

Already we have described how the kingdom was strong and secure on its western side, now there remained the pacification of the eastern region. Seeing that all was in order on this side of the Jordan, the King, warlike and bold like a lion, turned his face to the East, across the Jordan. He built a castle on a commanding height in Arabia which is called Syria Sobal in 1115. It is called Mons Regalis because it was established by a King. It was a very strongly fortified castle with large supplies of grain, wine and oil, healthy air and an attractive site. It controlled, on its own terms, the entire neighbouring region to the frontiers of the Moabites and to the sea. Here, with God's bounty, was a most favoured place in time of war. In 1114, going with Count Roger of Antioch, who remained by the river, he was able to advance to observe the arrival of the Turks. The Turks too occupied a certain hill and prepared ambushes on four sides. To each ambush party they assigned 4,000 knights and by these the King was discovered **(p. 157)** so that he could not free himself by flight except with the death of 1,500 of his men. The monastery on Mount Tabor was overthrown by these same Turks and the monks

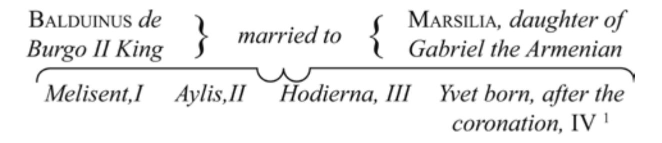
1 Aqsonqor il-Bursuqi governor of Mosul, 1113–26.

2 Toghtechin.

3 Chastel Rouge. This is the battle of Tel-Danith, 14 September 1115.

slaughtered. When he had besieged Tyre he had not taken it as is discussed in the next chapter. However, in all other matters he succeeded so well that it was scarcely believed by historians. The wise King saw that the Holy City lay open to great dangers, when he brought a supply of soldiers to the remote parts. For the Turks often visited that area at that time. There was also so few Latin settlers that they could scarcely fill one of the main streets. Few Syrians still remained. So he sent to the faithful whom he heard remained under Turkish servitude beyond the Jordan. They, attracted by freedom and by the use of churches, hurried in with their families and animals. So the city of Jerusalem was filled with inhabitants. Then the King gathered an army, crossed the Jordan and entered Syria Sobal and thence crossed the desert and came down to the Red Sea. He reached the town of Helym[1] in which were 12 springs and 70 palm trees.[2] The inhabitants were terrified, took to their ships and left the city open to him. Afterwards the King returned to Mons Regalis and thence to Jerusalem. The King wearied by frequent *chevauchées* of the Tyrians into his kingdom and by their many ships at sea on account of which they raided by land and sea. Beyond Ptolomayda, five leagues from Tyre there is a place watered by springs and with an abundance of pasture, meadows and gardens where Alexander during a former siege of Tyre had built Castrum Alexandrinum by the sea. He rebuilt this calling it Scandalium. The Saracens call Alexander Eskandar. Therefore, by common corruption, R changes to L and the restored castle was called Scandalium. In the following year, the King wearied in his heart by the injuries inflicted by the Egyptians, wished to repay them. Having gathered an army he invaded Egypt by sea and took the city of Faramia and divided the booty among his warriors. There, having dined on fish from the Nile, he died of dysentery. He ruled for 18 years and increased [his Kingdom] by various victories. He agreed never to wear his crown in the City where Christ had been crowned. He was buried honourably under Calvary, in the place which is called Golgotha in 1118, the eighteenth year of his reign.

Chapter 9: The election of King Baldwin II



[1]The four daughters: Melisend, Alice, Hodierna and Juveta.

After Baldwin de Bourg had ruled Edessa as count for 19 years, he decided to visit the Holy City of Jerusalem and the King who had made him a count. On the way he received news of the death of the King and at first troubled in his mind

1 Elim. Exodus 15:27.

2 Exodus 15.

he pursued his journey. In Rama of the palm trees, while he entered the town by one gate, the King's cortege left by another. On the burial of the King, the prelates and the barons came together to deliberate about the next king. Among others Joscellin, Lord of Tiberias, referring to the dispute between them, to those saying that the right to the kingdom should go to Eustace, Count of Boulogne as the rightful heir and to others saying that before his earliest arrival, the kingdom might perish in his absence, spoke to all as follows: 'There is a danger to the Kingdom from the prolonged absence of the King, with challenges coming together from all sides. You must not reject a possible heir to the succession. Look, there is present as if sent by God, a man proven in war the Count of Edessa, the brother of the dead King. Nor will it be easy to choose an equal to him from anywhere. Therefore, as he is at hand, honest, and worthy they should confer this honour on him.' Many hearing this understood what he was saying to them, see Chapter 7. Then they placed the greater faith in his words. Some wanted to mark him out as the successor to the County of Edessa. With the agreement of all on Easter day, 2 April, in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the King of Jerusalem was crowned. After the coronation the King granted the County of Edessa to Joscelin and his heirs as one experienced in the government of the area. By order of the King, when the county was safe, he escorted the Queen and her daughters and the royal family to Jerusalem. Then the Emperor Alexius, the great enemy of the Latins died and his son John succeeded him. [He was] a man more sympathetic to the Latins **(p. 158).** The Patriarch Hernoldus died too and was succeeded by that saintly man, Gormons, from the Gallic nation. The Prince of Egypt died who had sent a great army by land and sea to the Holy Land. The Order of Templar knights then began, for which see Part 7, Chapter 3.

Chapter 10: The victory of the King over the Turks and the capture of him and count Joscelin

The Turkmen chose Gariz[1] as a prince that they might serve, with whom Doldequinus, Prince of Damascus and Debeym, Prince of Arabia joined to disrupt the principality of Antioch as much as they could, and they mustered on this side of the castle at Aleppo. Prince Roger had sought the aid of Joscelin, the King too, and the Prince of Tripoli. However, before their arrival having mustered 600 horse and 3,000 foot soldiers, he went against 20,000 horsemen. He was a spirited knight but flawed in character. He fell in the battle, with the slaughter of virtually all the Christians. They reported back to the young Bohemond, saying that the [late] foul prince had not wished to return to carnal vices, but had promised to amend his ways as he advanced to battle. Then the King came up to Antioch, holding counsel with the Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem concerning the danger to the Eastern Church from this event. He sent ambassadors to Pope Calixtus II and to Domenico

[1] Gazi or Il-Ghazi, formerly Seljuk governor of Jerusalem until 1098 and from 1118, ruler of Aleppo.

Michaeli, the Doge of Venice, asking that they might send help in proportion to his great need and that they might send urgent reinforcements. And so an army was raised over which the said Doge of Venice was placed in command. Meanwhile, Gariz took the castle and afflicted the Christians with many grievances. Having disposed of all things the King marched against him with 700 horses, following the banner of the Cross, in which aid the Christians hoped for victory. The Turks had a host of warriors. But it is written: 'He shall not delight in the strength of the horse; nor take pleasure in the legs of man. The Lord taketh pleasure in them that fear him; and in them that hope in his mercy.'[1] Therefore, having joined battle, 1119, on the vigil of the Assumption of Our Lady,[2] the Christians had the victory, losing 700 foot soldiers and 100 horse, whilst the Turks lost 4,000, not including the wounded and the captured.

Indeed, the three princes were freed from flight. Then the King with the agreement of the prelates, barons and the rest invested the Prince of Antioch and having strengthened the defences he returned to Jerusalem. The land began to suffer from a swarm of locusts that devastated the crops and with frequent earth tremors on account of sin. Pestilence and famine took hold of the land. As a result the Patriarch and clergy came together with the King and the barons at Neapolis[3] where a sermon was preached that the people should fear the Lord and placate his anger and all should promise amendment. Fifteen injunctions were announced there for the reform of everyone. In that council there were many honest and distinguished men. In the following year the King cancelled all tolls from merchants in Jerusalem and granted that all might freely buy, sell and carry, that had a beneficial effect. Doldequinus, the King of Damascus, seeing that the King was busy, took matters in hand and began the devastation of the district of Tiberias. But he did not expect the arrival of the King. [The King] hurried towards Tripoli, angry because the count had refused him homage, but with the intervention of the barons he bought the matter to an end. From thence he went to Antioch, for Balac the emir of the King of Aleppo[4] was accustomed to ride around there, taking what he pleased, because he had recently captured Joscelin and his brother Galeran, who had been riding without care. The King hurried to the ravaged County of Edessa. Balac followed him on his flank in order to attack him. The King crossed the Euphrates with his closest familiars suspecting no attack and while he rode at night, with many only half awake,[5] Balac captured the King and led him to a strong castle called Quarta Petra[6] and put him in chains next to Joscelin and his men. Many of the Armenians were angered by these things and around 50 of the better sort came together and disguised as monks or merchants

1 Psalms 146:10–11.

2 August 14.

3 Nablus.

4 Balac was a nephew of Il-Ghazi.

5 *Dormientibus multis.*

6 Kharpart.

they set out to complain about the injustice to the lord of the castle. With swords hidden beneath their clothes they entered the castle and seized it. And they broke the chains. Rumour [of this] spread around and the castle was attacked by the Turks from every side. In the uproar Joscelin escaped. The King and his men defended the castle, but they could not hold out against the coming of Balac who took him to Cara[1] and placed him in close confinement in chains.

*Chapter 11: A victory over the Turks and the truce of the [Latins in] Syria with the doge of Venice **(p. 159)***

The Prince of Egypt, hearing that the King had been captured, gathered an army for land and sea and sent the land army to Ascalon and the naval force with 70 galleys and many other vessels to Jaffa. The faithful could muster no more than 7,000, which numbered some children and women in its ranks. The Turks numbered more than 66,000, especially strong were those who were in the ships. And so battle being joined the Egyptians experienced the courage of the Christian warriors, who put them to flight and killed 7,000 of them in battle. The faithful became rich from the booty. Then, too, Domenico Michaele, the Doge of Venice, hurrying to aid the Holy Land, on account of the request made in the preceding chapter, learned about the Egyptian army whilst he was on Cyprus and attacked the Babylonian fleet. So great was the loss of blood there that the elements of water and air were corrupted. The captain of the Turks was killed there; some escaped by flight. The Venetians did not immediately return [to harbour], but following the Egyptians, they wished to harm those who were enemies of the name of Christian. Sailing as far as the town of Larim, they found ten Turkish ships loaded with cargo, which they seized as booty having slain the crews. Hearing this, the barons and prelates sent messengers to the Doge asking after [offering] their greeting that he should come to Jerusalem with his leading men. There he was feted by all. On being asked if he intended to help the Holy Land and make war on the Saracens he replied to them that this was his intention and the reason for his coming. Then at last they set about the siege of Tyre by land and by sea. In the city of Acre, the barons came to an agreement with the Doge that in any city that the Venetians captured, they should have absolutely and freely a street, a church, a bathhouse, an oven and all things, absolutely and freely just like the King. In Acre, too, they wished to set up an oven, a bathhouse, [their own] measure of corn, wine and oil, and all these things free [of toll] as if they had been granted to them by the King. From Tyre also they should be given 300 bezants from the tolls on the Feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul.[2] And if a Venetian should have a case with a Venetian it should be tried according to their own customs and laws. If they took part in the capture of the cities of Tyre and Ascalon, they should acquire a third part absolutely and freely and the King should have the other two [parts]. Nonetheless,

[1] Ancient Carrhae, modern Haran.

[2] June 29.

in defence of the Holy Land, they might use the revenue of the third part in the common service of the King and to make defence of what they held. These mutual agreements were recorded in writing, witnessed with the seals of the prelates and barons and confirmed with oaths. It was added that the King, when he was freed from captivity or his successor, will confirm everything and that if he did not wish to do so he should in no way be held as King.

Chapter 12: The conditions, situation and capture of Tyre

It is very difficult to attack Tyre due to its location. Formerly to besiege it was to labour in vain. In plan it is round and washed by the waves on all sides. For thus Ezechiel 26 says: 'You live O City in the midst of the sea and you are bold at sea as your inhabitants'. Which city or kingdom has withstood the onslaught of Alexander like Tyre? Nabuchodonesor besieged it for three years and ten months and in more recent times we say that Baldwin the most warlike, whose previous victories were insignificant when he had besieged Tyre for four months and he achieved nothing against the manly defence of the Tyrians and oppressed to no purpose with great debts, he abandoned the siege and withdrew. In Joshua 19 too Holy Scripture calls Tyre the strongest of cities. Tyre is on the sea with a wall and counter walls and strengthened with high towers. The gate is well-placed and secure. Within the circuit there is a harbour for ships. On the land side it is enclosed with a triple wall and it has deep and broad ditches into which the waters of the sea can be brought. The walls are decorated with 12 enormously strong towers. The citadel of the city also has towers and is situated on a rock out in the sea, marked out by towers and palaces. It is the capital and metropolis of the whole province of Phoenicia, abounding in fish, fountains and irrigated streams of sweet water **(p. 160)** attractive with vines and fruitful fields on the south side as far as Scandelium. And to the north north-east, in its territory, a little way off, in an elevated place there is a spring or well, on which the Lord Jesus, tired after a journey, is said to have rested. It has very clear water and fills up copiously so that it irrigates all the apple orchards and gardens of olives and the whole area. In the Canticle of Canticles Soloman called this place 'the well of living water'.[1] There was also there outside the East gate, at a distance of two arrow shots, in the sands, a stone on which Christ preached, so that the place can never be covered by sand, although the snow may cover it and it has made a bank around it like a wall or hedge. There too the devoted woman cried out: 'blessed is the womb that bore you etc'.[2] After the victory the Venetians took many pieces from that stone away with them. Tyre is a very old city. For Tyras, the son of Japhat, founded it and called it Tyre by his own name. In Hebrew it is called Sur and we often commonly call it Sur. There a King had been born and brought up, the King of Africa, Agenor, the son of Libia, from whom Libya takes its name, whose elder son Cadmus founded

1 Canticle of Canticles 4:15.

2 Luke12:27.

Athens and invented the Greek alphabet. Phenix the eldest son gave his name to the whole region. His daughter Europa was seized by Jupiter and taken from Africa to Crete and gave her name to a third part of the world. Dido too was born in this area, the foundress of the city of Carthage. And those who wish to know its immense reputation should read Ezechiel Chapter 26 and the 2 following chapters, where it is said that 'the city is crowned with perfect ornament; its merchants, Princes and pedlars cover the earth. But Zacharias Chapter 9 seems by no means silent with praise for the victory of the Christians: saying 'And Tyre hath built herself a strong hold, and heaped together silver as earth, and gold as the mire of the streets. Behold the Lord shall possess her, and shall strike her strength in the sea.'[1] Therefore, the faithful left Acre on 15 February and besieged Tyre by land and sea. The Venetians stopped all approach from the sea, the others from the land. They built a wooden tower and brought it to the ramparts and they fired stones and arrows from both ballistas and catapults, and the marvellous courage of both the defenders and the aggressors was revealed. For there was in the city, soldiers from Damascus, because the Caliph of Egypt had granted a third part to the Prince of Damascus, keeping two parts for himself. There was also in the city conspicuous amounts of wealth, not only its own but brought in from all over to an impregnable place. Those outside received a boost to their morale with the arrival of Pons, Count of Tripoli and all comforted each other. While this was going on, the Asconolites took the opportunity to attack the holy city, to harm the capital of the Christians, but, with God's help, they went home defeated and in shame. After this the Tyrians began to be closed in and more afflicted with boredom; noting little things all their strength of mind withered and the food supplies began to dwindle. While they spent their time in this manner to no avail they warned the Caliph and Dodequinus of the danger if they did not send help. And so Dodequinus came up with an army to within four leagues, but he did not dare to confront the Prince of Tripoli with part of his army. Balac, too, who was holding the King in prison gathered an army and besieged the town of Gisopolis.[2] Having invited its lord to a meeting he ordered that his head be cut off. This became known to Joscellin who, with his army, advanced to oppose him. Having made contact Joscellin attacked the enemy and killed Balac. He sent his severed head to Antioch, requesting that they send [this news] to the barons besieging Tyre as a solace. This deed brought joy to the Christians and affliction to the Tyrians. Finally, the city was surrendered by agreement, so that the Turks with their families and their property might depart in safety and freedom, and those who chose to remain might conduct their lives together. Therefore having accepted the surrender of the city, banners were placed on the towers; first, that of the King, second, that of the Doge of Venice and third, that of the Count of Tripoli, the last day of June 1124.

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1 Zacharias 9:3–4.

2 Hieropolis.

Chapter 13: The liberation of the King and great victories over the Turks

Following the death of Balac the King having promised money and given hostages [for its payment] was set free after a captivity of 18 months. At Antioch he investigated the means of paying the money and freeing the hostages. At last they agreed that that they should attack Aleppo that was unfortified. The citizens, however, were reluctant either to raise the money or to free the hostages. The hostages still beyond the Euphrates reported to their friends that unless aid was brought to them quickly, the city would be captured. Then they came to help with 7,000 horse without couriers **(p. 161)**. The King learning this paid the ransom and returned to Antioch and thence to Jerusalem. Then Burchequinus, the leading man among the Eastern Turks, invaded parts of Antioch with a sizeable army and everything was devastated. With him was Doldequinus the Prince of Damascus. The King being sent for hastened to aid the Antiochenes. Meanwhile, the Turks took the castle of Capharda.[1] Then having crossed little Syria they besieged the castle of Sardus.[2] Achieving nothing there they attacked a third called Arxat.[3] Meanwhile, the King with the Prince of Tripoli raised a force of 1,500 knights and almost 2,000 foot soldiers. Having clashed with the enemy, numbering 15,000 he won the field, slaying 2,000 Turks, the rest fleeing or being captured. Only 24 from the Christians were killed. The barons, who were glutted with booty, made a gift to the King for the redemption of the hostages. After their redemption he returned to Jerusalem with great honour and built a very strong castle on mount Beirut which he called Glauvien. After the said victory Doldequinus, having given a great sum of money, gained a temporary truce from the King. By this truce the King, having gathered an army, rode at will through the kingdom of Damascus, destroying much, collecting booty and returning without incident. Then he heard that a new army had arrived at Ascalon from Egypt. For in the four years that the city had been invested by the Christians, [the enemy] had supplied it with warriors, weapons and food. The King prepared an ambush pretending to be couriers sent with treasure, and he drew these new warriors to the attack and attacked them in turn on their going back. He slaughtered 60 of them and took some others prisoner in 1128. The King gathered an army from all over his Kingdom and pretended to advance into Egypt, but taking another route he passed by ten towns, penetrated deeply into Turkish territory, crossed the valley called Caput Rab and entered the land of Domeda, which is a long and wide plain, through which the river flows and enters the Sea of Galilee between Tiberias, Citopolis and Bethsan. From thence he reached a city called Salome where the Christians live who suffered no assault from them. Thence on the Conversion of Saint Paul[4] he reached as far as Megisophar where Christ afflicted Saul on his way to Damascus. There, after two days rest,

1 Kafartab.

2 Sardona.

3 Ezaz.

4 25 January.

Doldequinus, Prince of Damascus attacked the Christians and both sides fought keenly until evening. The King rode through the midst of his battleline calling on his knights by name and urging them to do well, declaring that it was shameful that those dogs could withstand the attack of such knights for so long. Then without effort the battleline sprang forward in tight formation and it hacked with the sword and with daggers drawn followed their compatriots. Doldequinus urged on his men against them lest they should perish with their wives, children and homeland. Finally the Christian infantry mustered against the Turks where they were more tightly drawn together. They attacked, stabbed the foot soldiers and wounded the horses. The King, surrounded by his best knights, passed through them like a lion. There was much shedding of blood. There were 2,000 Turkish casualties, but from the Christians only 25 knights and 24 foot soldiers. The Christians gave thanks to God for such a great victory and returned to Jerusalem rejoicing. After this Pons, Count of Tripoli, with the King's help, attacked a city near to him called Raphania, which he captured after a siege of 18 days.

Chapter 14: The death of Bohemond and of the King and the elevation of Fulk as third King of Jerusalem

Afterwards, Bohemond having reached the age of 18 came from Apulia and accepted the principality of Antioch from the King and married his second daughter Alysia. Wishing to recover the lost castle of Capharda, he gathered an army and laid siege to it. He constructed catapults and in a good beginning gained the victory. After capturing some wealthy Turks he did not wish to spare their lives for money, so that he displayed a severe outlook against the Turks. In the following spring Fulk, Count of Anjou, who one year before had maintained 100 knights in the Holy Land at his own expense and who was [now] summoned by the King and the barons, reached Acre. Within 50 days, according to their agreement, the King gave his eldest daughter Melisenda to him to wife and with her Acre and Tyre. He was flattering to the King in all things as if he tried to defer to the father. Gormons, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, died and was succeeded by Abbot Stephen, a very religious man. Hugh, the first master of the Temple, returned from France, where he had been sent to seek help for the principalities beyond the sea. He brought back many men, both infantry and horse. The King, in good humour, together with Fulk, the Count of Tripoli and the Prince of Antioch considered the siege of Damascus in 1130 **(p. 162)**. Therefore, having assembled all the men of the kingdom, they considered that Damascus could either be taken by force or compelled to surrender. Therefore, they rode to Megisophar and sent parties in all directions round about to gather food. Moved by greed they dispersed into various places and they brought together all manner of spoils from those whom they had attacked. Thus the knights became complacent and eagerly divided up the booty. They stood agape at the size of the spoils. Doldequinus, Prince of Damascus, noticed this himself and followed them and killed them wherever he found them. Therefore, they fled back to the army and reported their failure. [On hearing this]

they rushed to help their compatriots, but they did nothing. For it was the will of God. They had offended against right justice. A great downpour soaked them so that they could not distinguish any friend. So great was the strength of the wind that they could hardly stay on their horses. And the prudent noticed that this had happened to them because of sin and there they were defeated where formerly they had had four victories and where they had triumphed with few, now they were defeated with a host. And so the barons having achieved nothing and now desperate went home. The Patriarch of Jerusalem also died and was succeeded by William, Prior of the Holy Sepulchre, a Fleming. After this Bohemond returned to Antioch and Rodoans, Prince of Aleppo[1] invaded the territory of Antioch with a large army. Bohemond, suspecting that nothing was amiss camped in one of the plains of Cilicia. The enemy, informed of his position, attacked the Christians and killed the Prince together with others who had not been able to flee. On being summoned the King hurried to help the Antiochenes. Meanwhile, Aylis, the widow of the Prince of Antioch, took power for herself at the invitation of the nobles, whom she won over with gifts. She sent a messenger with gifts to Sanguinus,[2] an important Turk, so that she could take power with his help, but the messenger was captured and sent to the King. Then she denied entry to the King and on his coming into Antioch, his daughter shut herself up in a tower. But with the intervention of the barons, the King showed pity on his daughter when she had confessed her guilt and granted to her the coastal cities of Liza and Gybel.[3] He fortified the city and ordered that Constance, his niece by his daughter, should be served as the true heiress and then went back to Jerusalem. The King began to be seriously ill and in the presence of the Patriarch and the barons he stripped off his regal trappings and gave the sceptre of the Kingdom to his son-in-law Fulk and his daughter. He said that he wished to die in the love of Christ and in poverty and he assumed the habit of a canon regular of the Holy Sepulchre where he was buried under the hill of Calvary before Golgotha, on 20 August 1131.

Chapter 15: The honourable death of Joscellin, a great victory for the King and the building of two castles

While he was trying to demolish a certain tower near Aleppo, Joscellin was crushed under the ruins of the tower, sick, he took to his bed for a long time. Then the Sultan of Iconium advanced and besieged Joscellin's castle called Croisson.

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1 Here Sanudo follows William of Tyre in his error. Ridwan died in 1114. Zengi was now ruler of Aleppo.

2 Generally known as Zengi or Zangi, Immad-ad-Din Zangi b. Aq Songur (c.1085–1146), became atabeg or governor of Mosul (1127) and Aleppo (1128). He founded the Zangid dynasty and had a reputation for ruthlessness and violence. According to legend his mother was Ida of Austria (c.1055–1101), the mother of Leopold III, margrave of Austria (r.1095–1136).

3 Laodicea and Jabala.

Joscellin called his son now an adult and ordered him to gather warriors and drive the Sultan from the siege. [The son], lacking resolve, said that he could not resist the power of the Sultan. Then the father understood what manner of man would succeed him in the principality and he ordered that he be carried on his bed against the Turks. While he was on the way he received news that the Sultan hearing that he had ordered himself to be carried in his bed, had abandoned the siege and withdrawn. Joscellin had the bed placed on the ground, stretched his hands and his eyes to heaven and with pious heart, he gave thanks to God for the honour and blessings received in his life and especially that lying in bed half dead he had frightened a powerful enemy of the Christian name. For he understood that all these things came only from divine bounty and love. And having said this he returned his soul to heaven. His son Joscellin succeeded him. He was a young man but spoiled by his morals, drunken and crapulous and a friend of luxury. The nobles of Antioch sent messages to the King that the land had been filled by a multitude of Turks coming from the borders of Persia. The King, therefore, taking matters in hand hurried to help and advanced as far as Sageta. There his sister the Countess of Tripoli met him, with tears she begged that her Lord and brother should protect her from Sanguinus, the Lord of Aleppo, who had tried to besiege her in Mons Ferrarus, claiming that unless he received help, the count, his man, could not hold out for very long. Indeed, Sanguinus hearing of his arrival abandoned the siege and withdrew. Then arriving at Antioch the King learned that the Turks [had withdrawn] towards Aleppo and had rested in a place called Canistreve, not far from Antioch **(p. 163)**. Therefore, at night he ordered his men to take up arms and with no opposition attacked them in their tents, pavilions and camps. He slew around 3,000 with the sword, and took away many captives and booty beyond value. Meanwhile, the Patriarch and citizens of Jerusalem coming to the town of Nobe, afterwards called Bethnoble,[1] on the point where the road that runs from Lida to the sea, goes down from the mountain to the plain. There they built a strong castle called Hernaut[2] for the safe passage of pilgrims, because the Ascalonites who were round about often murdered the Christians in ambushes. Before the King left Antioch, the barons, on his advice, sent for Raymond, the son of William, Count of Poitou, so that he might take on the child heiress together with the principality of Antioch. Gladly he accepted the proposal. Then the barons of the kingdom, to protect themselves from the ambushes of the Ascalonites rebuilt Bersabee[3] on the edge of the mountains at the descent into the plain, strengthening it with high walls and towers and broad ditches and barbicans before the gates. The place is about 12 leagues from Ascalon and it was given to the Hospitallers to guard it.

[1] Bait Nuba.

[2] Castle Arnold.

[3] Beersheba.

Chapter 16: The death of the Count of Tripoli and the expedition of the Emperor of Constantinople against Antioch

Pons, Count of Tripoli attacked Benzenge[1] leader of the army of Damascus near a castle called Mons Peregrinorum. Then the Syrians, the inhabitants of Mount Lebanon fled from the abandoned Count. Indeed, they captured the Count [and handed him over] to be killed by the Turks. His son Raymond succeeded him. He gathered an army and attacked the traitors unexpectedly and destroyed those complicit in the death of his father. John, the Emperor of Constantinople, hearing that the barons of Antioch had summoned a new count without his consent, considered himself injured because it was held from him by homage. For a whole year he recruited an army and having captured Tharsus, Adene, Malmistra and Anaviaza, lay siege to Antioch. Then Sanguinus proceeded to lay siege to a castle called Monsferratus. The Prince of Tripoli sought the help of the King and got it. On the way, from letters and messengers coming and going, he received petitions from Antioch that he bring help quickly. However, the King decided to drive Sanguinus from his siege. Local men were the guides of the army. Whether from stupidity or malice, they left the open and safe road on their left and chose a dangerous and narrow mountain route. Sanguinus was pleased that this had been done. He harassed the advance guard of the army and then the Christian army was defeated. And since the King could not be safe from them, by the advice of the barons, he fled to a castle, while most of the foot soldiers were slaughtered or captured and many knights too. The Prince of Tripoli was captured. Then Sanguinus besieged the castle trying to capture the King and the barons with him. He knew that those shut in were short of food and other things and destroyed the walls and towers with catapults. In such dire straits the King sought help from the Antiochenes, the Count of Edessa and even the Patriarch of Jerusalem. Since Sanguinus had hurried forward his preparations in order to take the castle and knowing that help was on its way to the King from Antioch and Edessa, he persuaded the King to hand over the castle [in return for which] he might have back the count and the other prisoners and be allowed to withdraw. And so it was done. Afterwards the King went down from the mountains to the plain and travelling towards Edessa he met the barons hurrying to his aid. The Prince of Antioch, having seen the King, returned to his own lands quickly and since there had been deaths of Greeks and Latins, not without the joy of the Turks, peace was urged by prudent men. And in this they agreed that the Prince should do homage to the Emperor and should receive in the citadel whoever it pleased him should enter and the Emperor swore to him that if he can gain Caesarea in Cappadocia, Aleppo, Hams and Nicaea he would give them to the Prince of Antioch. And so the pact was agreed. The Emperor honoured the Prince with more money; the standard of the Emperor was placed over the citadel and not long after he returned to Tarsus.

[1] Baswaj.

Chapter 17: The journeys of the Emperor and his death; and the recovery of the city of Belina ***(p. 164)***[1]

It happened at that time when Kings are accustomed to go to war, that the Emperor, together with the Prince of Antioch and the Count of Edessa, proceeded to besiege Cappadocian Caesarea.[2] While the Emperor with his Greeks mounted a great attack and ate nothing until evening, the Prince and the Count, without spurs and dressed in silks spent the whole day in idle pursuits and feasting. They laughed at those who openly showed their wounds. On learning of this the Emperor gently told them off, claiming that he regarded their service as that of God rather than of a prince or of his own. After a promise of improvement, the Emperor noticing no change in the Latins, ordered his own men to push the attack more fiercely and having captured the lower town, they cut up many people with their swords. Finally, when it became clear that he would take the citadel, he received a huge amount of treasure lest it should be subjugated unwillingly. He raised the siege, marched to Antioch and returned to Constantinople. Sanguinus, Lord of Aleppo[3] and enemy of the Christian name aspired [to rule] the Kingdom of Damascus. The King was asked to help the Damascenes, so that by his going out he should not allow the defences of his neighbours to be burned, promising that in return Belina would be given back to the King. Doldequinus had seized it and entrusted it to a certain Turk to guard who had given it to Sanguinus. With the advice of the barons he promised support. Sanguinus withdrew on learning that the Damascenes were joined with the Christian army. After a siege of some days, pursued faithfully by Haynars, the commander of the army of Damascus, who feared the proximity of the cruel Sanguinus, the King took the surrender of the city. The Emperor of Constantinople, after four years peace in his empire, was several times summoned and so he went to Antioch. He was not admitted to the city and withdrew to Cilicia intending to punish the rebels after winter. But while he was shooting a poisoned arrow at a wild boar he wounded himself in his hand, his younger son Manuel, who was with him, was raised to the empire. Isaac the elder son, who had returned to Constantinople on the order of his father to bury two of his brothers who had died on the march, was forced to submit to him. The Queen of Jerusalem built a most holy and splendid monastery at Bethany.

Chapter 18: Praise of the kings and victories, the ordering of the whole coastal region and the death of King Fulk

It was difficult to adorn what these famous kings and the Christian people chosen by God [did] in extending the borders of the kingdom. These men, famous in their generation, should be praised, men rich in courage, having an awareness of beauty,

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1 Banyas.

2 Sanudo is wrong here. He means Shaizar.

3 See above p. 258.

whose memory is blessed.[1] The first of these kings took Faramia by assault, which lies on the coast not far from the mouth of the Nile [and] a very ancient town. Brother Brocardus Theutonicus[2] says that afterwards no one was left because serpents occupied its interior and from thence to Tampnus is 20 leagues, of which [it says] in a Psalm: 'He who wrought his wonders in the field of Tanais'.[3] There Moses and Aaron are remembered and it is in Gessen where the children of Israel lived. From Tampnus to Memphis which is now called Damietta is 15 leagues and it is 2 leagues from the sea. Damietta, as he says, was completely destroyed in antiquity; but the Saracens built another casal, long and unfortified near it for stationing ships and gathering revenue. Another ancient city follows after Faramia, situated on its own near the sea, it is called Laris. Then comes a city called Belbeis five leagues from the sea. Ezechiel 30, however, calls it Pelusium: 'I will pour out', says God, 'my indignation upon Pelusium'.[4] All these places the Christian army brought under its control, beyond the last fortress of the Kingdom of Jerusalem which is called Darum, on the foul coast of Egypt. This Darum is a former garrison or town on the borders of Idumaea and Palestine, five stadia from the sea. The fifth King of Jerusalem built this fortress in an elevated place, circular in shape, having four angle towers. There was once a Greek monastery there from which Darum takes its name, that is domus Graecorum. Then comes Gaza, a very ancient city, fortified by the aforesaid [King] **(p. 165)**, one of the five former cities of the Philistines. 'This is desert' (Acts 8)[5] The fourth King of Jerusalem rebuilt this ruined and abandoned place and on part of a high hill which had once been part of the city, he built a fortress and gave it in perpetuity to the Knights of the Temple to defend from the enemy. The double gates of this city, Samson (Judges,16), sleeping until midnight, waking up, and carrying them by hand, climbed the mountain just like Christ sleeping in the tomb, breaking the gate of hell and ascending the mountain of glory. Ascalon follows, situated ten miles away on the coast, having the form of an arc or semi-circle whose diameter lies along the coastline to the west. After all the other cities this was the last to be taken from the Saracens; the fifth King of Jerusalem struggled hard to subdue it. It was known as Phylistiim in antiquity, the metropolis of Palestine; Herod was called the Ascalonite from her. There follows at ten miles, Azotus, the distance is not so far by sea. Now it is reduced to the size of a small castle, where the Phylistiim (1 Kings 5) placed the ark of God in the temple of Dagon their god; but when the Azotii woke up on the following day they found Dagon prostrate before the ark of God as if

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[1] Ecclesiasticus 44:1.

[2] Burchard of Mount Sion, a German Dominican who travelled extensively in the Middle East in the 1270s. His *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* was available from c.1284. It borrowed from Jacques of Vitry and in turn was used by Sanudo for his geographical details of Palestine. See Aubrey Stewart, *Palestine Pilgrim Text Society*, 1896.

[3] Psalm 77:43. Bongar's note Psalm 77:15 is in error. Tampnus is Tanais.

[4] Ezechiel 30:15. Sanudo gives Belusium.

[5] Acts 8:26.

worshipping it. There follows Acheron, eight miles from Azotus, situated near the sea. Geth follows, not far from Lidda and Ramula. It once stood on a certain hill. From its stones that had been thrown down, King Fulk built a fortress on the same hill, called Ybelin which he gave to Balian. Then on a hill bordering the plain, which looked back to Ascalon, eight leagues away, he built Alba Specula, a castle astonishingly harmful to the Ascalonites. He had reigned for eleven years, while he was chasing a hare in the territory of Acre, he was thrown headlong from his horse, and gave up his life leaving Baldwin his first born, aged twelve and another son Aimery aged seven. Bersabee commonly called Gybelyn [lies] at the end of the Land of Promise on the south, at the foot of a mountain at the beginning of the plain between the mountains and Ascalon. The Christians built [the castle] before they could capture Ascalon to restrain the pride and the violent raids of the Ascalonites more easily. Golias the giant (1 Kings 17), whom David killed, was from Geth. The Ark of the Lord was moved around between these five cities of the Philistines. Whenever it was taken to one of these cities, the citizens suffered severe dysentery and large rats gnawed their intestines.[1] After the aforesaid five cities of the Palestinians, other cities and fortifications follow: namely Joppa, Arsur, Caesarea of Palestine, Cayphas, Ptolomayda, Tyre: for all of these see Chapters 4 and 5 above. After [comes] Sarepta where Elias lived;[2] there next to the gate of the city the Christians have built a small chapel, on the spot where he revived the son of the widow. After [come] Sidon and Beirut for which see above Chapter 5, Biblius which is commonly called Gybeleth lies on the sea shore in the province of Phenicis and was formerly called Euea because it is claimed that it was founded by Eueus the son of Chanaan, concerning these see 3 Kings 5. 'The Giblians prepared timber and stone to build the house [of the Lord].'[3] There follows Botrus commonly called Botron. Afterwards a castle called Nephyna; afterwards Tripolis where 4,000 weavers of silk and camlet and such like are said to be. The land adjoining it is one league long and half a league in breadth. It was like Paradise decorated by gardens abounding in vines, olives, figs and camomile. Libanus lies three leagues from that city: at its foot rises the fountain of the gardens flowing swiftly from Lebanon (in the Canticles):[4] that fountain waters the whole plain and its waters are the best, sweet and cold. They even go round the mount of the leopard which is high enough and appear sluggish one league from Tripoli. They form a great river which enters the sea in three channels. Afterwards [comes] Arachis, one mile distant from the sea. Then [come] Anteradus and Tortosa. Then follows Aradius, Valania, with the castle of Margath, Gabulus, commonly called Gibel: and the last among them, on the Antioch-side, having an abundance of distinguished men and times is the city called Laodicea of Syria. For among other

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1 1 Kings 5:6, 9.

2 3 Kings 17:10, 17.

3 3 Kings 5:18.

4 Canticle of Canticles 4:15.

things it is one of the seven Churches of Asia.[1] Some of these cities of the Mediterranean, which the Christians could not capture, especially beyond the yokes of Lebanon, they made tributary; which on account of their location they could easily be harassed by the faithful. Such as the city of Emesa, which today is called Calamela **(p. 166)** or Calamele, and in Coele-Syria Elyiopolis which is called by another name Mahubeth and Haman. The Caliph and the Egyptian Sultan do not own them and pay a great annual tribute to the King of Jerusalem. The King of Damascus also gives a great sum of money to preserve truces so that he might enjoy security. In addition to the many cities mentioned there are several others that they could not subdue to their control in the extremities of their land especially those built nearest to Egypt; here they built the strongest castles and impregnable positions. Beyond Jordan [they built] Mons Regalis, for which see above Chapter 5; which is called Petra in the desert or commonly, Crach. It is on the borders of Moab and on a lofty mountain. Concerning this Isay[as] Chapter 16: 'Send forth, O Lord, the lamb, the ruler of the earth, from Petra of the desert, to the mount of the daughter of Sion'.[2] For Naomi returned there after [her] journey; and from her David was born and from him Christ. On this side of Jordan [lies] Saphet, a very strong castle between Acre and the Sea of Galilee, not far from mounts Gelboe and Belveir, not far from mount Tabor, near the formerly distinguished and populous city of Jezrael, between Citopolis and Tiberias, in a lofty place. Rightly, therefore, does the whole Church of the Saints speak of the glories and triumphs of these men, who left no city or fortification on the sea, from the town of Faramia to Laodicea of Syria, which they had not subdued to the Christian name and religion. Also all the cities from the town of Pelusium, which stands alone on the borders of Egypt, up to Edessa and Charan and the borders of the County of Edessa across the river Euphrates, in Mesopotamia, for a space of more than 20 days.

Chapter 19: The deeds of Baldwin the fourth King of Jerusalem and the crusade of the Emperor Conrad and Louis King of France, and the labour in vain

On the death of Fulk in 1143, Baldwin his son reigned. He rebuilt Gaza, see previous chapter above. In his time, in the year 1145, Sanguinus captured the city of Edessa; concerning which see below Part 9, Chapter 2. Fulcer succeeded William as Patriarch of Jerusalem. Then he [Sanguinus] went to the town of Columbar, lying on the Euphrates, to capture it. There having gained the lordship of the city, one night when he was drunk, he was killed by his eunuchs. In the morning the whole army returned home, and Cotebedinus, his elder son succeeded

[1] Apocalypse 1:11.

[2] Isaias 16:1.

him in Mussula[1] and his younger son Norandinus in Aleppo.[2] A certain prince of the Turks, who was an Armenian, presented the King with the best city of Arabia called Bostre, now known as Bosfereth and one strong castle called Scalcath. And so the King having gathered an army near Lake Tiberias, crossed the Jordan and passing through the region of Traconitis, suffered from many ambushes by a horde of Turks and serious dangers. When after some days he approached the city and hoped to have it, the wife of the said prince gave it to the Turks and other enemies. The Christians were now in great danger as they withdrew, with the Turks throwing a flame of fire and black smoke in their face. Since there was no human remedy, they begged the Archbishop of Nazareth, who carried the Cross of Christ, to pray for them to the Lord. He dismounted from his horse, and with tear-filled eyes prayed for the people before the Cross. Immediately a contrary wind blew back the flames and forced the enemies of the Cross of Christ to wander from the route. As a result they completed the difficult passage [even though] they lacked a guide. A knight appeared riding a white horse, carrying in his hand a red banner with a white cross, and showing the way and having completed his ministry he never appeared again. Christianity was in decline in the Eastern parts. After the loss of Edessa the Cross was preached anew. Louis, King of the Franks[3] took the Cross at Vezelay[4] together with the Princes of his kingdom and a numberless host. He planned to make the overseas pilgrimage. In the following year, that is 1147, the Emperor Conrad[5] and virtually all his princes took the cross from the blessed Bernard at Frankfurt.[6] Both princes were said to have 70,000 knights. What do you think 140,000 knights might have achieved if God had been with them? For at his proclamation the crowd was so great that in the city of Speyer King Conrad placed the cloak on his own shoulders since, lest he be crushed, he picked it up and took it outside the church **(p. 167)**. Therefore, in the month of May with incomparable courage the pilgrimage began. The Arm of Saint George was crossed efficiently, and he passed Galatia on the left, passing the two cities called Ponte. [He] passed on the right the land of Frigia, Lida and Little Asia. He came to Nicomedia, arrived at Nicea and entered the land of Liconia. He left the right and straight road. Without consultation he diverted to attack Iconium, consuming the produce of the land and creating a shortage of food. He was affected by famine when he returned with his men, being chased by the Turks who had come together from all parts of the orient.

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[1] Saif ad-Din Ghazi I (d.1149) was the eldest son of Zangi whom he succeeded as atabeg of Mosul.

[2] Nur ad-Din or Nur ed-Din (1118–74) in full al-Malik al-Adil Nur ad-Din Abu al-Qarim Muhmad Ibn'Imad ad-Din Zangi was a committed enemy of the westerners and built on the achievements of his father.

[3] Louis VII of France (1120–80), he became King in 1137.

[4] Viceliacum.

[5] Conrad III (1093–1152) became the first Hohenstaufen King of Germany in 1137, having been elected antiking to Lothar III (1125–37) and whom he eventually succeeded.

[6] Franquenefrot.

The Greek guides, with the knowledge of the Emperor Manuel, led the army by narrow and dangerous routes, and abandoned them on the way, when they saw them [to be] in greater danger and so barely a tenth part escaped. And after a long time recovering in Constantinople, he reached Acre in ships. The King of France since he had agreed with the Emperor that they would pass through Bavaria but not together on account of the shortage of supplies, having crossed the Danube, by following the river bank through Hungary, Pannonia and Bulgaria, they left Peuple and Adrianople on the left and thence to Constantinople. After crossing the Arm of Saint George they entered Bithynia, the first land of Asia, and numbered off before the castle of Calcedonia. Learning of the fate of the Emperor, the King of France moved towards lesser Asia and towards the coast and having passed Philadelphia he reached Smira, then Ephesus. Then the King came to the waters of Menadre, where there are many monkeys. Repulsing the Turks they crossed the water. There was a stiff battle and the Franks rejoiced in the victory and gained booty. Reaching Licia they took up rations. In crossing this mountain the Turks made a great slaughter of the Gauls. From then the army wandered in its direction, moving now to the left now to the right, until they reached Satalia, which lies on the coast and belongs to the Greeks. There the King began to sail in ships assembled, leaving Cilicia and Isauria on the left and Cyprus on the right he reached the Port of Saint Simeon. From thence he went by land to Jerusalem where he found the Emperor. In the same year the Venetians, under John Polano, captain, brought great help to the Holy Land. However, the Franks remaining [in Satalia] suffered great loss from the desert, from the trickery and cunning of the Greeks and from the attacks of the Turks. Wracked by hunger, some of them fed off the flesh of their horses and mules and at last some reached Seleucia and thence they reached Antioch and Palestine by ship. Baldwin, with the Roman Emperor, the King of France, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Bishop of Porto, the apostolic legate, and with many other archbishops and bishops, dukes, counts and other barons, from the kingdom as well as from elsewhere besieged Damascus. Damascus is a very old city exceeding the whole orient in the size of its population. A servant of Abraham built it of whom Abraham speaks in Genesis 15: 'the son of the steward of my house is this Damascus Eliezer, who will be my heir.'[1] Esau who is Seyr the hairy one lived in Damascus and Edom which is red.[2] From Edom the whole land of Idumaea takes its name. It is the capital of Lesser Syria which is called Libanica: Isay[as] 7: 'Damascus is the capital of Syria.' It lies in the plains, situated in barren and dry land. It is irrigated by waters, which are led from the mountains by certain channels, which make the whole place fertile by irrigation, abounding in fruit trees. Near the city is a place, which today is called Melchisaphar, where the Lord appeared to Saul, saying: 'Saul, Saul why persecutes thou me?'[3] The said princes gathered there and with a huge army besieged the city, broke into the orchards of the city

1 Genesis 15:2–3.

2 Genesis 25:30.

3 Acts 9:4.

violently, and diverted to their own use the river flowing next to the walls. The Damascenes, not trusting in their own men, since they had been unable to oppose the Christian warriors for a long time in the orchards, bribed after their fashion those of them who [came] from Syria, whose advice and military leadership was valued by the pilgrim princes, so that they advised that the siege be moved to another part of the city. First, having abandoned the place, it was occupied by the Saracens and well protected against the faithful, while the Christian army suffered from a shortage of water and food. The princes of the east suffered from desertion and withdrew with the business left incomplete. Then Louis King of the Franks, sailing from Palestine, was brought by the fleet to the Emperor of the Greeks **(p. 168)** who was besieging Corsiolum. But he was seized by George, admiral of the ships of Roger, King of Sicily, who coming as far as Constantinople fired golden arrows at the palace of the kings, burnt the suburbs and violently made away with the fruits from the gardens of the King. The height of Divine judgement appeared in this deed, in which such a strong Christian force, O that it had not set out, vanished achieving nothing. Also at the time of Baldwin, Roger, King of Sicily was reconciled with the Church and received back the Duchy of Apulia from the Church. He gathered a naval force and hurried against the Saracens in Africa. He captured a famous city which is called Africax, the town of Afax, Clepea and several other castles and made the King of Tunis his tributary. Baldwin, in the fifteenth year of his reign, won the field when he met Norandinus, Prince of Damascus with many killed and others put to flight. He reigned for 24 years and died childless.

Chapter 20: The deaths of the princes of Antioch and Tripoli and of King Baldwin and the many attacks of the Turks

The princes withdrawing without any victory whatsoever, the enemies of the Cross of Christ, with many bold plans, thought it nothing to expel the faithful from that land. And so Norandinus, recruiting eastern Turks, hurried against Antioch. Prince Raymond opposed him with few men and rashly followed him, while he did not fear a multitude he was killed by several. Norandinus advanced to the sea, destroying everything. The Count of Tripoli was killed by the Assassins,[1] leaving a son Raymond who was 12 years old. After a short time four brother emirs, who claimed that Jerusalem belonged to them by hereditary right, gathered an army and advanced to the Mount of Olives. There was fear in Jerusalem because of the absence of the barons, who were gathered at Nablus. Calling piously for Divine help, they went out against the Turks who were badly positioned. They put them to flight and around 5,000 perished by the sword and by [falling over] the precipice in 1152. The Countess of Antioch married Renald of Castellone, an honest and prudent knight. Ascalon was captured in 1154. Some said that this was done

[1] *Arsasides*. Known as Assassins by their enemies, they were a radical Shi'ite group.

under Almeric. When the Christians besieged it, they made no progress; for it was fortified, with walls, fore-walls, many towers and a strong rampart as well as many warriors. The Knights of the Temple, thinking to capture the city for themselves by a frontal assault were slaughtered. Others of the besiegers prostrating themselves before the Cross of the Lord, prayed tearfully for Divine help, and they got it. Thus the Ascalonites surrendered the city to the Christians so that they might preserve their persons and their property. Many Turkmen gathered there asked the King if they might pasture their animals near Belina under the protection of the King for an agreed price and the King agreed. Some persuaded themselves from blind greed that the King should not keep faith with the infidels, because amongst their animals they had beautiful horses. Therefore, breaking the oath, they suddenly attacked the Turkmen and for the most part captured or killed them and took spoils no greater than they thought to have had. Then Norandinus, already made Prince of Damascus, besieged and destroyed Belina. The King hastening thither restored it, having chased Norandinus away, and after some time he sent some of his barons home. While following slowly he returned with few men, he was pursued by Norandinus and a great slaughter of Christians ensued from which the King just preserved his freedom by flight: ‘the just judgement of God on perjury.’ To the help of the evil men came Terricus, Count of Flanders, as he had done [before]. In the service of the Holy Land he hurried with the King and the barons to Antioch. Then Norandinus, having taken the opportunity to besiege Nablus, fell dangerously ill. Learning of this, the Christians from Antioch set out for Caesarea,[1] which lies on the river Fer that flows past Antioch, these two cities are about 15 days distant from each other. The city was captured and the Turks fled to the citadel. The King, considering the common good, granted the land to the Count of Flanders for safe keeping. This pleased all the barons, but the Devil, the rival of peace, induced the Prince of Antioch not to consent unless he did homage to him. On account of which nothing more could be achieved and he returned to Antioch. Now Patriarch Fulcer died and was succeeded by Almeric Prior of the Holy Sepulchre **(p. 169)**. The King took a niece of the Emperor of Constantinople as wife. Norandinus, after he was restored to health, besieged Sageta. The King hurrying to raise the siege, in the fifteenth year of his reign, clashed with Norandinus and many Turks were slain and many were captured. He forced the rest to flee. After this Renald, Prince of Antioch advanced towards Edessa gaining much plunder but on his return he was captured by the Turks, his companions either fled or died. In 1162 the King went the way of all flesh and was buried next to his predecessors.

[1] Shaizar.

Chapter 21: The victory of Almeric against the Babylonians; then the alliance with them against Saladin of Damascus; certain events in Antioch and the glory of the caliph of Egypt

His brother Almeric succeeded Baldwin in 1163. He founded Darum in a high place, see above Chapter 18. The Egyptians withheld a certain sum of money which [they had paid] as tribute to the dead King. Since they did not wish to pay it, he led an army against Sultan Dagan and defeated him in battle near Belbeis, slaying and capturing many. Those who fled broke the banks of the Nile to oppose the King's crossing, and so when the King withdrew they were free. There was a sultan under the Caliph, just as formerly Joseph was under Pharoah. Dagan was similarly burdened. Sauargitus, who was the previous Sultan, had been expelled by Dagan; meeting Norandinus he sought help against Dagan. The latter understanding that if he wished to invade Egypt he could easily gain it for himself, sent military support to Prince Saracunus. Then Dagan offered greater things than Baldwin had had to King Almeric so that he would protect him from Saracunus. The King agreed, lest Saracunus should prove to be more powerful as a danger to his own destruction. But when Dagon was struck by an arrow from his own men, Sauargitus freely became lord as before, but fearing Saracunus he proposed to King Almeric that he might have the pact of Dagan and got it, and at the same time that they should unite to expel Saracunus from Belbeis, whence he came. Then two barons coming from France, after visiting the holy places, set out with many men to the county of Antioch. The Antiochenes joining with them suddenly attacked the army of Norandinus. They made a great slaughter of the Turks, so that the face of the earth was covered in bodies, and they became rich with enormous booty. Norandinus, enlisting allies from all sides, returned to besiege the castle of Harenc. The former victors, puffed up with pride, advanced to raise the siege. Feeling safe they were attacked by the allies, dispersed and put to flight, while many remained dead or captive. The King hearing of this, hurried to Antioch, comforted the people and proposed that the Prince be ransomed. Norandinus agreed, uneasy that he might be sought out by the Emperor of the Greeks his relative and suspicious too that the King might put another braver prince in his place. Meanwhile Saracunus went to the Caliph Baldacense and after performing a long adoration according to custom then kissing the ground under his feet, greeted him and persuaded him that the Egyptians were rivals and enemies who could be conquered in battle if a force of soldiers might be had. The Caliph ordered his barons to obey him and cross through the desert where the children of Israel had crossed to the Land of Promise. To harass the army the King advanced to Cadesbarne and finding nothing withdrew. After that he entered the desert between Gaza and Egypt and advanced as far as Bilbeis. Rich things were sent to him from the treasury of the Caliph. Then he crossed to Pelusium and reached as far as the bank of the river Siracunus and crossed beyond it. The Christians occupied the remainder. Captives, however, told that when they crossed Syria Sobal and entered the desert, a tempest arose that blew sand through the air so that it would not allow them passage nor could

they ride their horses in the violent wind. Waves of sand also came like at sea that buried men and many animals. Sauargitus, thinking that Syracunus [sic] could not be quickly expelled now that he had arrived in Egypt, urged the King to remain longer, then gave him 200,000 bezants and promised him as many more. The King swore to undertake the task, until Syracunus was either defeated or beaten **(p. 170)** requiring from the Caliph a similar oath by messengers. Armed men with naked swords preceded the messengers and they led through narrow lanes in which they could see nothing. Then coming into the light they saw a tower covered in various marbles, with pictures in mosaic work. The beams and woodwork were covered in gold. Waters trickled through golden orifices and the waters collected in a place built of marble. They saw birds of various colours, not without great amazement. When the messengers were handed over to other guides and the emir of the castle, they were brought to a more remarkable tower, where they saw a large number of different types of animals. Then proceeding by many passages they noticed unaccustomed wonders, and were brought to the best of the palaces, where they indeed saw many men in fine armour. Next they entered a chamber where there was a curtain of silk, on which all kinds of animals were drawn. Sauargitus [came] third. He greeted them after his custom and sheathed his sword. Then he drew back the curtain with cords, to show the children of the Caliph. He was sitting on a throne of wonderful workmanship in gold and jewels. Eunuch advisors approached him. Sauargitus coming near, after a kiss of the feet, sat with them on the ground and reported the dangers to Egypt and the help of the King and asked that he might confirm the pact, with an oath on the part of the King. Although the participants were angered by this request, the Caliph swore to the pact by urgent necessity and honoured the messengers with gifts. These things being completed they returned to the King. Then by various means it came to fighting. Siracunus had 12,000 picked horsemen and 10,000 Bedouin with lances. The King had 374 knights. The Turks who were with him turned out to be more of a hindrance than a help. After various clashes 100 of the Christian knights perished and 1,600 of Siracunus' men. Siracunus advanced on Alexandria claiming the victory and took the surrender of the city. When the King besieged the city Siracunus, sending away his nephew Saladin with 1,000 knights, withdrew through shortage of food. But the King pushed him back and established the Sultan of Egypt on his throne, and he returned to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, in 1167.

Chapter 22: The siege of Cairo and also of Damietta

After this King Almeric sent messengers to the Emperor of Constantinople urging that they might attack the Egyptians together. The messengers met the Emperor returning from Servia, which lies between Hungary and Dalmatia. The land is very wooded and mountainous and rebels are sent into exile there from the empire, on account of which Servia takes its name from 'servitude'. An agreement having been reached the messengers returned home. Meanwhile the King, having gathered an army took Bilbeis, sparing neither sex nor age. He captured the eldest son and the

nephew of Sultan Sauargitius. The Sultan, weighing up advice, wavered between inducing the King to go home with a bribe or asking Norandinus for help against him. But Norandinus being approached immediately sent Siracunus. The King advanced towards Cairo and besieged the city with instruments and machines of war. The citizens unused to such things were terror-struck. Then the Sultan promised 400,000 bezants for the lifting of the siege and the return of his son and nephew. Meanwhile, the King ordered a fleet to sail to Tanais. Having captured the city it returned to the King. Then it was heard that Siracunus had hurried to the help of the Egyptians with a huge army. Then on the advice of that evil man Miles de Plancy, who whipped up greed in the heart of his lord, having received 100,000 bezants, and for the rest the King abandoned the siege and returned to Acre. Siracunus crossing the desert set up camp near Cairo. They say that this city was built 361 years after the time of Mahumet.[1] Sauargitus visited him every day, and when he felt safe he ordered him to be thrown from his horse and murdered. After this Sircanus took over everything, and by grant of the Caliph he became Sultan of Egypt. After a while he died and left the Kingdom to his nephew Saladinus, [the son] of his brother Nemegedinus. The Emperor Manuel sent 100 armed galleys to the King and many other ships **(p. 171).** The King gathered an army and returned from Acre in 1169, and besieged the fortified city of Damietta, which was formerly called Memphis and is ten leagues from Tanais. [Tanais] was formerly a fortified city, now destroyed. Moses, Aaron and the children of Israel are remembered there and it is the land of Gessen. The river Nile lies to the east [of Damietta] and it is surrounded by double walls. There is also at Damietta a very strong tower in the river at whose base two strong chains are fixed which stretch to another tower which is in the city that allows the entrance and exit of ships, only with the Sultan's permission. This city is the key and head of the whole of Egypt. And so they camped in the gardens of the city and achieved nothing after three days. Meanwhile, the inhabitants, at first terrified, fortified the town and received reinforcements and ample supplies by ship. After a long siege the King gave up and went home with the greater part of his army lost, through dreadful hunger and cold and torrential rains. He reached Ascalon on the vigil of Saint Thomas[2] and thence to Acre on the vigil of Christmas.[3] In the following summer there was a great earthquake in June throwing down cities and castles, especially in Coele-Syria. In Antioch the churches and several places were ruined. Likewise, in Aleppo, Caesarea [and] Haman. On the coast, Biblos and Licia were destroyed. On the vigil of the Apostles Peter and Paul,[4] at the hour of prime Tripolis was almost totally ruined. The earthquake lasted for four months, coming between day and night, and in several places, three or four times.

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[1] 969.

[2] 7 December.

[3] 24 December .

[4] 28 June.

Chapter 23: The ardour of King Almeric for the safety of the Kingdom and his death and how the Arsasidae[1] *wished to be converted to the faith of Christ*

In the following December rumours abounded, because Saladin, having gathered a great army from Egypt and Damascus, came against Jerusalem. First, he besieged Darum and destroyed part of its walls with catapults. The King, aware of the danger, crossing the Turkish lines with a few men saved the citadel. Then Saladin besieged Gaza. The walls being broken down many Turks entered, not without a great loss of their lives. At last those [Turks] who were outside the fortification came together and some were crushed under a rock. Those who were in the tower resisted manfully. In the following year King Almeric, considering the Turkish threat, especially since the great barons were dead and their heirs were young men lacking in moral fibre, very rich indeed and seeking only the pleasures of the flesh, explained the weak condition of the kingdom to the prelates and barons. All replied with one voice, saying that because of their sins they could not withstand their enemies and they advised that the threat to the eastern kingdoms be explained to the Pope by wise and diligent messengers. In the meantime, timely help might be supplied by the Emperor of Constantinople who was in the area. But when the meeting dragged on the King said to them: 'The state of the Kingdom is most parlous and it is not suitable to send messengers; now I doubt to impugn the worthiness of the Celestial King, if I will do his work badly. And so I offer myself to go to the Emperor in Constantinople, hoping to incline his mind to our prayer. Here I am send me.' Everyone hearing this in council were amazed and shed tears and when some raised the danger to the kingdom during the King's absence, he replied: 'the Lord Jesus would preserve his kingdom in the meantime, he acting as his procurator should be solicitous of the essential remedies' and having prepared a fleet he set off. The Emperor promised the necessary assistance and honoured the King and the barons who were with him with considerable gifts so that all were surprised and all were joyful and gave reverence to [their] King. After this Saladin having gathered an army of Egyptians, [passed] through the desert and the plain of Idumaea and entered again and again into Syria Sobal. The King sited a castle on Carmel, where Nabal had lived, expecting that Saladin would make his way to that area. Meanwhile, the old man of the mountains,[2] prudently and wisely began to read the Evangelists and the letters of Paul; and there seeing the doctrine of pure truth and the piety of faith began to shrink from the blandishments of the impious Mahumet. At first he shared the idea with a few and easily brought them to his way of thinking **(p. 172).** Then to the people he revealed the lies and seductions of Mahumet and forbade his rites to be observed, giving them wine to drink and pork

[1] The Assassins. For a discussion of this approach see Bernard Hamilton, 'The Templars, the Syrian Assassins and King Amalric of Jerusalem', in K. Bochard, N. Jaspert, and H. Nicholson,eds, *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean and Europe, Festschrift for Anthony Luttrell* (Aldershot, 2007), 13–24.

[2] *Vetulus de Montibus*.

to eat and declaring that Christians should be free and safe in his Kingdom. He sent to the King because he wished to receive baptism and the faith of Christ with all his people; among other things seeking to be absolved from an annual tribute of 2,000 bezants which [he had agreed] by treaty to pay to the Templars for certain possessions. And having been prepared they promised to defend the faith of Christ with all their power. The King received the messengers with feasting, and this was great rejoicing to the Christians. Honoured with gifts they returned home. But when they passed by Tripoli, already close to home, some Templers, to the great loss of the whole Church and especially of the faithful of the east, killed them in an ambush. The King was very greatly grieved by this, so that he seemed to be almost insane. He imprisoned the culprits and he intended that they should be kept there until they died, to show all the faithful what a great disservice the Templars had done to the Holy Church of God. Norandinus, after a reign of 29 years, died. Also in 1174 Almeric weakened by dysentery, took a potion against the advice of his doctors [and] died worn out.

Chapter 24: The deeds of Baldwin the sixth King of Jerusalem; the death of Baldwin the child, the seventh King and the occasion of dissent in the Kingdom on account of the creation of Guy the eighth King.

Baldwin, his son by Alice the daughter of Joscellin the second, succeeded Almeric. Although with God's sufferance he was a leper, he ruled the Kingdom actively. In the third year [of his reign] with 275 knights running into Saladin with 26,000 horse around Ascalon, he defeated him. Saladin turned back with part of his army in flight; some were killed and others imprisoned in chains. They say that from the Christians only four or five lay in the grave. In another battle around Tiberias he, with 70 horsemen meeting the Sultan who was said to have 20,000 mounted men, destroyed 1,000 of the enemy in 1177. Very few of the Christians fell for he had with him the victory-bringing standard of the Cross. But, in 1179, lacking the banner of the Cross, he was defeated by him for he had left it in Tiberias. In 1180, Patriarch Almericus died, whose simplicity benefitted the observance of the Church. Eraclius succeeded him; such an example of perniciousness that he openly kept a prostitute, who was commonly called the Pariarchissa. On his election it was openly said that the Cross had been lost under Heraclius just as it had been recovered under the Emperor Heraclius. For this event see below Part 9, Chapter 4. Since the King, who on account of his aforesaid illness did not wish to take a wife, had two sisters, he gave the elder Sybilla and Isabella in marriage: the first to William of the Long Sword and the second to Enfrido of Toron. On the death of the aforesaid William, leaving a young son Baldwin, the King gave Sybilla to a young man from the County of Poitou called Guy of Lusignan, to whom he also entrusted the direction of the whole Kingdom, because he was clearly weakened by his illness, and which was taken from him when he incurred the wrath of the King. Calling together the more important men of the kingdom the King caused the child Baldwin, his nephew, to be associated with him in the business of the kingdom and

placed the boy under the care and safe-keeping of the Count of Tripoli in 1181. Baldwin died from leprosy in 1185. Baldwin his nephew died in 1186. Sybilla, to whom the Kingdom passed by right of inheritance, saw to it that Guy was anointed King, without seeking the agreement of the Count of Tripoli, who was the regent of the whole Kingdom. On this account he was very angry, especially since he hoped for the kingdom himself. Without the King's agreement, against whom he now displayed anger and hatred, and not without danger to the kingdom, he entered into a truce with the Sultan. And so that he might have greater power within the kingdom and against the King he married the Lady of Tiberias and the whole of Galilee. From which dangerous and pernicious dissent was created in the kingdom, while some supported the Count and others the King.

Part 7

The seventh part contains the flowering condition of the Land of Promise at the time of the Latin kings, having 3 chapters **(p. 173).**

Chapter 1: How the Land of Promise flourished under the princes and barons

Let us follow the clear glory of the kings of Jerusalem from the point of view of the barons of the kingdom. For the safety of the kingdom, it was the custom to divide it between the princes and the barons who guarded and defended the land under the King. The more important and better part was reserved to the King, namely the Holy City of Jerusalem, Nablus, Acre and Tyre with certain other towns and castles. This part began at the river that flows between Byblos and Beirut and terminates in the waste land beyond Derum. The liege men of the kingdom were obligated by faith and by oath to the service of the King with a certain number of knights, namely the Count of Tripoli, the Lord of Beirut, the Lord of Sidon, the Lord of Caypha, the Lord of Caesarea, the Prince of Galilee who was also Lord of Tiberias, the Count of Jaffa and Ascalon, the Lord of Mount Royal and of all the lands across the Jordan, the Lord of Arsur and the Lord of Ibelyn with various others, but these were more important than the others. The kingdom was divided into four main counties or principalities: of which the first was the County of Edessa, in the land of the Medes, having its beginning from a wood which is called Marith and extends across the river Euphrates to the east, containing many towns and several forts and castles. The city of Edessa is noble, the capital of the Medes, which was formerly called Rages by Tobias, now it is commonly called Roase. To this place, to Gabelus, Tobias sent his son from Nineveh, which is commonly called Mosse.[1] Some say that it was Araxah, where Nemroth ruled as if in Babylon, Archad and Calano, in the land of Sennaar.[2] In this

1 Tobias 4:21.

2 Genesis 10.

city Abgar ruled, who sent letters to the Lord Jesus, which Christ received when he was going away across the Jordan, when the Jews brought stones to throw at him.[1] Eusebius, Book 1 of the *Ecclesiastical History*, says that he found these letters in the archives at Edessa.[2] In these letters it apparently shows how Abgar, hearing that Christ cured the sick without medicine but with only a word, believed that either he was God who had come down from heaven or he was the son of God. So he asked Christ to come to him so that he might regain his health and offered him his city so that he might avoid the snares of the Jews and that they might be together. Christ apparently replied: 'Blessed man who has believed when you do not see me yourself, I will not come to you because I must finish all those things for which I was sent. When I have been taken up I will send you one of my disciples who will restore your health and will offer life to you and to those who are with you so that no enemy can ever overcome you.' The Lord sent Tadeus to Abgar, who received him reverently. The Apostle, having received the letters of the Saviour, restored him to health by rubbing his face vigorously. In the deeds of the blessed Thomas it is reported that a baptized tiny child[3] read the letter written in the hand of the Saviour, standing on the gate of the city, if any people whatsoever come against the city, on that same day either peace will be made or they will go away. There the body of the glorious Apostle Tadeus, who converted it to the Christian faith, is said to be buried. That province is made very rich by woods, pastures and rivers. The region is called Mesopotamia because it is washed by two rivers and it sits in the middle of them. For Meso means middle in Greek and potamos [means] river. Charan is there, whence came Abraham. Caldea, an island of the Euphrates, on which is Babylon. Also in Mesopotamia is Ninive, Meda and Persia. Mesopotamia has on the east the Tygris; on the south the Persian Gulf; to the west is the Arabian Gulf and the Euphrates; to the north Armenia, the Taurus mountains and the Caucuses. There are also in the County of Edessa three archbishoprics, namely Edessa, Ieropolitanus and Boricensis set up under the Patriarch of Antioch. The second principality is the Antiochene one, whose Metropolis Antioch was formerly called Reblata (at the end of Kings)[4] **(p. 174),** afterward Antioch by Antiochus, who enlarged it a great deal. There Peter the chief of the Apostles sat as first bishop and by his preaching and miracles converted it to God. After him the noble and very powerful man Theophilus was seventh [bishop], to whom the Evangelist Luke, residing there, wrote the Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles. Here Theophilus gave his name to the city, so that just as before Antioch [was named] after a pagan king so it was called Theophilis after a holy priest. There the faithful, who before were called Galileans or Disciples, were first called Christians by Christ. After the Roman Church it gained the third degree of honour.

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1 John 10.

2 Book 1, 13 the so-called legend of Abgar. See Kirsopp Lake, trans., *Eusebius Ecclesiastical History I* (Cambridge, Mass., and London,1929), 85–97.

3 *Infans*, a small child who could not yet speak let alone read.

4 4 Kings 25:6, 20–1.

The Patriarch of Antioch had under him 20 provinces and in 14 of them, metropolitans and 100 suffragan bishops: 6 remain under 2 primates which they call Catholicos of which one is Iripolitanus that is Baldacensis which was formerly called Babylon and the other Annenssis or First Persia. Antioch is situated between mountains and rivers in the province called Coele-Syria. It is very well situated amid fertile fields and very rich meadows and has the special amenity of rivers and springs, with plenty of fish from a nearby lake. It is 12 miles from the sea, having a port of the delta of the river which is called the Port of the Sultan and of Saint Symeon. To the north there is a mountain, which is commonly called Montagna Nigra in which there are many hermits from every race and nation and many monasteries of monks both Greek and Latin. For the whole is watered by springs and brooks so that it is called the watery mountain. Neros means water in Greek, although the ignorant take it [to mean] black. The third principality is the County of Tripoli, having its beginning from the said river by the castle Margath and its end by another river that flows between Byblos and Beirut and its border is with the principality of Jerusalem. It lies on the coast, famous and very rich, in the province of Syria Phoencia, with trees, fruit-bearing fields, and rich pastures watered by springs and brooks. From the vicinity of Mount Lebanon and its foothills it receives many products. At the foot of Lebanon in those parts there rises the most pleasant spring, for which see Part 14, Chapter 2, and from the waters of the sea come forth the sweetest waters. The fourth principality is Jerusalem, which is discussed above. They provide service to the King as follows: Jerusalem 41 knights and 100 squires. The barony of Jaffa, Ascalon, Rama, Mirabel and Ibelin, 100 knights. The barony of the principality of Galilee, 100 knights. The lordship of Mons Regalis, 60 knights. The county of Joscelin, 24 knights. Nablus, 85 knights and 300 squires. Acre, 80 knights and 50 squires. Tyre 28 knights and 100 squires. The Patriarchate, 500 squires. The Chapter of the [Holy] Sepulchre, five squires. Josaphat, 150 squires. Mount Syon, 150 squires. The Temple of the Lord, 150 squires. Latina, 50 squires. The Bishop of Tabarie, 100 squires. The Abbot of Mount Tabor, 100 squires. Caesarea, 50 squires. The Bishop of Bethlehem, 200 squires. Ibelin and Mirabel, 100 squires. The Bishop of Saint George, 200 squires. Arsur, 50 squires. The Bishop of Sabadoit, 100 squires. The Bishop of Acre, 150 squires. The Bishop of Saint Abraham, 50 squires. The Archbishop of Tyre, 150 squires. The Archbishop of Nazareth, 50 squires. The Bishop of Sidon, 50 squires. The Archbishop of Caesarea, 50 squires. Ascalon, 100 squires. Leluon, 100 squires. Leyrim, 25 squires. Cayphas, 50 squires. Tabaria, 200 squires. The total [is] 528 knights, 4,775 squires.[1] Why the barons were such dedicated servants to the safety of the kingdom, anyone can reasonably wonder at. But because the Kings made the laws of the kingdom without exception, indeed rather by increase,

[1] Compare ‘Le Livre de Jean d’Ibelin’ in Count Beugnot, ed., *Les Assises de Jerusalem: Lois* (2 vols, Paris,1841–3), I, 7–432, esp. cclxxii, 422–26; John L la Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem,1100 to 1291* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932),138–65.

it ensured that the barons submitted to the King in such matters, so that they could help the King at a time of crisis when he asked or in many [things]. In particular the barons led freely, beyond that which we have listed before, a decent body of armed men, according to their ability and status, whenever they went to war with the King. From which we can turn our attention to the great cost to the Holy Land, of women, who refused to marry and were allowed to succeed to baronies. For if forced, they neither want nor don't want to perform their services, as if they were acts of supererogation, meanwhile they generally leave out the most useful things. 'In a country surrounded by enemies all should be manly and virtuous.' Wherever a woman is in charge the whole court becomes effeminate, as one of the Poets says: '- the world stamps itself (**p. 175)** after the ruler's pattern, nor can edicts sway men's minds so much as their monarch's life.'[1] And we learn from manifest example that these things are true, from those things that often happen, both in the kingdom of Cyprus and in the principality of the Morea.

Chapter 2: How the Holy Land of Promise flourishes in clerks and prelates and a description of the Holy City of Jerusalem

Just as the Holy Land abounds in the triumphs of victories [gained] by kings, princes and barons, so it glows with distinction in the order of priests and the incomparable disposition of the clergy. First, the spiritual father of all and leader of his country was the Patriarch of the Holy City of Jerusalem. For there after Jacob beat the staff of the fuller up to the time of Justinian Augustus they were just bishops, displaying no prerogative of greater dignity. The same Augustus attending to this made it the seat of a Patriarch, taking away certain suffragans from the church of Antioch and that of Alexandria and giving them to what had been set up in their midst. It gained a fourth place after the Roman Church. The city of Jerusalem, according to all its parts, is situated on a hill and high place in Palestine. The glorious metropolis of Judaea [is] flowing in milk and honey, well-stocked in corn, wine and oil and all temporal things. It completely lacks rivers and has no spring, except the spring of Syloe under Mount Syon flowing in the middle of the valley of Josaphat, as the plan shows, where Isayus is buried to commemorate the miracle that the Lord performed at his prayers: for the water was common to the citizens and their enemies, the citizens going out found water, their enemy nothing. Whence and from that time the water does not flow continuously but intermittently and then it is not plentiful, but trifling and they find no water. There are, however, both in the city and outside, many cisterns [filled] by rain water that are sufficient to the various needs of men and animals. It is surrounded by a strong wall on all sides. It is not too narrow nor to be scorned. On the west the defences are made of squared stones held together by cement and molten lead, almost indestructible.

[1] Claudius Claudianus or Claudian (c.370–404AD), *Panegyricus De Quarto Consulatu Honorii Augusti*, Maurice Platnauer, trans, *Claudian*, I (Cambridge, Mass, 1922), 308–9.

This forms the wall on one side of the city and is known as the Tower of David. Mount Syon lies to the south as the plan shows. There is the mount of Calvary where the Lord was crucified. Near there is the place of the tomb which belonged to Joseph of Arimathea. When it became known to the Virgin Mother, who was standing by the Cross on which the chosen King had died, that this would be his tomb, as Archbishop George says in a sermon, she went to him and persuaded him that the life of all would be saved in his tomb and spoke as follows: 'Behold the body of the Lord Jesus hanging on the Cross. It is terrible for me and for all creation to look at. No one dares to ask for his Holy body, nor does anyone take care of his burial and this is impossible for me to bear. You, therefore, collect the treasure of the world. Go to Pilate and ask for the corpse.' He did as he was told. For, he was a good and just man and a secret disciple of Jesus, on account of fear of the Jews. Nicodemus also came to the tomb of the Lord, bringing a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about 100 pounds, and they bound the body of Jesus with sweet-smelling linen. Here, reader, consider for a short while, how diligently Joseph and his companions, with Pilate's permission, wished to bury the Lord quickly, because of the coming Sabbath for it was approaching as the sun faded from the area. Consider the Virgin Mother sweetly embracing the body of the son, bathing the holy wounds with motherly love and tear-filled eyes and rending the body saying: 'O for pity's sake I beg, either send him whole to me or bury the mother with the son.' To respond wisely those claiming that because the hour of the Sabbath had come, in which such things should not be allowed according to the law: 'the Lord ought not to be buried because of the Sabbath and because it remains with Christ the law is not fulfilled but extended'. Easter was not contaminated by the dead man but was renewed, nor did that dead man pollute the clean but rather took up the dead and cleansed the unclean. Finally, they placed him in a brand new tomb, in which no one had yet been placed, lest after the resurrection other bodies should remain there and it appear that another had risen. In that place, on the night of the Sunday of the resurrection, a sacred fire is said to descend from on high. And whenever [it happens] it is said devoutly by the faithful of that place: 'The Lord has risen from the tomb who hung on the cross for us' and more devoutly by the canons there, showing the place they sing, 'The Lord has risen from this tomb etc'. And in the Gospel for Easter **(p. 176)** the Deacon confirms this saying 'He has risen; he is not here' pointing with his finger at the Lord's tomb. The shape of the Sepulchre is described by Bede:[1] it is round in shape, cut from the underlying rock. It is of such height that a man standing within can scarcely touch the roof with his hand. It has an entrance on the east, where the great stone is placed. On the north side of the monument is the tomb itself, which is the place of the Lord, made from the same stone. It is seven feet long, projecting three palms from the pavement. There is no place above it, but on the south side it is all open, whence the body was brought in. The colour of this monument is said to be a mixture of red and white.

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[1] Bede, *de locis sanctis* who took his information from Adoman's book of the same name. See Martin Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ* (Stroud, 1999), 111.

Concerning the Sepulchre and other places of the Holy City of Jerusalem, see Part 14, Chapter 8. And so the Patriarch of this Holy City of Jerusalem has four Metropolitans: of which the first is Tyre containing four suffragan bishops under him, namely Acre, Sidon, Bitensis[1] and Paneadensis.[2] Second, is the Archbishop of Caesarea, having only one suffragan, the Bishop of Sebastea. Caypha is included in the diocese of Caesarea, for it lacks a bishop. The third metropolitan is Nazareth, having only one suffragan, that is the bishop of Tiberias. Nazareth is a small city, but was made great by the Lord. It is situated next to the mountains, at the entrance to Galilee on the west. Between it and Sephora clear water appears, where the kings of Israel used to gather the army on account of the availability of grass. To this city, Gabriel, privy to the Divine secret, descended from heaven: he announced to the Virgin that she would become pregnant through the Holy Spirit, giving as example the pregnancy of the barren and the old. Nazareth is a pleasant city, which means a place of flowers in which the flower of the field[3] blooms while in the Virgin the Word was made flesh. For the field produces a flower naturally by itself without any work or toil by man. For the Virgin is the field, neither shining from the plough, nor dug by the hoe, nor mixed with dung, nor sown by the hand of man, [but] decorated by that noble flower on which, it is agreed, the Spirit of the Lord has rested. Isyas says 'A flower shall rise up out of the root of Jesse. And the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him.'[4] The 12-year old boy was found in the temple when he had gone down from Nazareth with his parents; and he was subdued to them, even though the Father had placed all things in his hands. Thus he carried water to his sweet mother from the spring of Sephora, a spring that is within the confines of the city and there a church was built to honour the Archangel Gabriel. It is said that the boy Jesus, having broken an earthenware jar, once brought water to his mother in his lap. But how do you think that most blessed mother of such a son tempered her orders? Note the wonder in both of them; God was obedient to the woman, a humility beyond example, and the woman spoke to God, a dignity without parallel. There too he turned away from those beseeching him and said: 'no prophet is accepted in his own country', [5] nor did he perform many miracles there on account of their lack of belief. Thence they led him up to the brow of the hill in order to push him down. A city was built on the mountain, right on the peak of the mountain. He climbed to the city where they still show the place which is called Saltus Domini. The Lord going down there imprinted himself on the rock; the rock yielding to him made a sort of refuge where the imprint of his rough sandals may still be seen; concerning this see Part 14, Chapter 8. The fourth

[1] Beirut.

[2] Caesarea Philippi, modern Banyas.

[3] The flower of the field is the Virgin Mary see Canticle of Canticles 2:1 'I am the flower of the field', translated in the Authorized Version as, 'I am the rose of Sharon'.

[4] Isaias 11:1–2.

[5] Luke 4:24.

[metropolitan] is Patracensis,[1] having one suffragan, a Greek in Mount Sinai, in charge of the monks in the church of the precious virgin Katherine. Mount Sinai is 12 days journey from Jerusalem; 8 from Damietta. Petra lies next to a very old town called Rabath where Uriah was killed with David's complicity. The Patriarch of Jerusalem has some suffragan bishops subject directly to him; namely Bethlehem. The church of Bethlehem was once a priory of canons regular until the time of Baldwin I King of Jerusalem. The King, because of the dignity of the place and out of reverence for the most holy Nativity of the Lord, promoted it to a bishop's seat, with the authority of Pope Paschal who placed Ascalon under it. He has also the church of Hebron which was also a priory, which on account of the dignity of the place was changed into a bishopric. For Ebron was once the capital of the Philistines, where a giant lived whose name in antiquity was Cariatharbe (Judges 1), which sounds in Saracen like *Civitas quatuor*. There the four Fathers are buried, Adam, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and all their wives, Eva, Sara, Rebecca and Lya. From the mud where Ebron is built, the body of Adam was made. There, there is a soil of red earth **(p. 177)** which is eaten by the locals and carried away by the greed of the Egyptians and sold for the greatest price. The aforesaid earth is dug, in great quantity, extensively and deeply. By the dispensation of God it renews itself at the end of the year. Near Ebron is the Valley of Tears where Adam and Eve concealed the death of Abel for 100 years; after which the Angel Strabus said to Adam, freeing him from the chains which bound him, that he would not know his wife Eve anymore and announcing that Seth would be born to replace Abel, which is interpreted as the resurrection from which Christ is born. Then the father ordered his son that he should not mix his seed with the seed of Cain, until the seventh generation according to the [law] of Joseph. Then the sons of God that is Seth, seeing that the daughters of men, that is those who descended from Cain, were beautiful, were overcome with desire and took them as their wives and so were born the giants. With unbridled concupiscence there came a multitude of carnal sins, as Methodius the martyr says, through various degrees of foulness until God sent the flood. After the flood giants were found in Tanis where they were called Titans, from whose stock was Enac: of whom the scouts in Numbers 13 say: 'There we saw certain monsters of the sons of Enac; in comparison of whom we seemed like locusts'.[2] Joshua 11 also says, 'Josue came and cut off the Enacims from the mountains, from Hebron, and he left not any of the stock of the Enacims in the land of the children of Israel'.[3] The Patriarch has under him Abbots and Priors subjected to him, exercising Episcopal [attire] by privilege namely the staff, mitre, ring and slippers, who stand near him reverently. The Patriarchal Church, which is [the church] of the Lord's Sepulchre on Mount Calvary, has regular canons of the order of Augustine. The Prior, who has the place of an abbot, presides over the canons, to whom is given the election of the Patriarch. The cities of Jaffa and

[1] An error or misprint for Petracensis, Petra.

[2] Numbers 13:34.

[3] Joshua 11:21–2.

Nablus are subject to the prior and lack bishops, like certain other cathedral churches, lest through poverty the Episcopal dignity is held in contempt.

Chapter 3: How the Holy Land of Promise flourished in religious, who perform works of penitence and contemplation

When it was cultivated it was made like a garden of delight and like the Paradise of the Lord. It drew many religious people to it with such a strong draw of devotion that it they rightly said: 'we will run after thee to the odour of thy ointments'.[1] Even the Queen of Sheba had been able to run there to the ointment of known wisdom. To the ointment of encouragement, [came] even the thief on the cross; to the ointment of severe penitence, Maria the Egyptian;[2] to the ointment of sweet devotion Eustochium and Paula.[3]

So many others, leaving all behind, choosing the yoke of the sweet Lord, ran to that flowery meadow and tasted the sweetest fruit of the spirit in the heavenly scent of flowers. Thus the Eastern Church began to grow, just like new bunches of grapes on the vine of the Lord as they rushed from various parts of the world from all tribes, languages and nations to that venerable and most sacred place, where the feet of the Lord had stood. Old churches were restored, new ones were constructed and monasteries and buildings suitable for penitence were built in various and diverse places, wherever anyone found a convenient and safe place according to the object of his devotion. For some who followed the footsteps of Christ chose the desert where the Lord fasted for 40 days and 40 nights and there struggled with the dire enemy. This is called Quarentina, named after the second [mile]stone from Jericho, next to the waters cleansed by Elisha. There, having built a small cell they served as soldiers for Christ the Lord. Some inspired by the example of Elijah, followed a solitary life on Mount Carmel, especially in that place that overlooks the city of Caypha, next to the spring which is called the spring of Elijah.[4] not far from the monastery of the Blessed Margaret. Like bees in the bee house of their cells, they are busy in the service of the Lord, making honey from a sweet spirit. Indeed, many serve the Lord in great austerity in the wilderness of Jordan, where John the Baptist had been, in convents under a prior. One of these being asked constantly about the locusts that John the Baptist had eaten replied without hesitation that grass was [more] often given to the brothers in the refectory than

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[1] Canticle of Canticles 1:3.

[2] Mary of Egypt (c.344–c.421), the patron saint of penitents, an Alexandrine prostitute who became an ascetic after a visit to Jerusalem. Her *Vita* was written by Sphronios, Patriarch of Jerusalem (634–8).

[3] Paula (347–404) and her daughter Eustochium were scholarly women and close associates of Jerome. In 387 they moved from Rome to Bethlehem, where they took up the ascetic life and founded a double monastery.

[4] For the association of Elijah (here Helyas) and Elisha (here Helyseus) with Carmel, see A. Jotischky, *The Perfection of Solitude* (Pennsylvania, 1995), 102, 106–8.

lobster, that is the name for locust. There are very many of them around the monastery. Adding that he ate what John used to eat. In many parts of Syria on the arrival of a swarm of locusts, they are collected for food **(p. 178).** There are others in the desert that adjoins Galilee, where the Lord often preached to crowds feeding many thousands with small barley loaves and small fishes. There are others in the nearby mountain where the Lord prayed apart from the crowd. Others [are] on Mount Tabor which is high and steep. There were others who through desire of the Holy Land have left their homelands, and detained by love of this place seek nothing more. They have chosen to remain in the society of men at no small cost in terms of the religious life rather than be deprived of dwelling in the holy cities of Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth, where it is written and shown that the Lord was conceived, born and suffered. Monasteries have been built in suitable sites by the Cistercian and Premonstratensian Orders. In the church of the Lord, of Mount Sion, and of the Mount of Olives there are abbots and canons serving the Lord [and] living by the rule of the Blessed Augustine. In the churches of the Latins and of the valley of Josaphat there are abbots and monks living according to the rule of the blessed Benedict. In Bethany, which is the home town of Mary, Martha and Lazarus, five stadia from Jerusalem, the Abbey of Saint Lazarus of the Benedictine order, lies on the slope of the mountain. There is another Bethany across the Jordan where John used to baptize. Although some maintain that it is Bethabola; they are truer of foreign tongues[1] according to Chrysostom. There was an abbey of the same profession in the Church of Saint Anne in Jerusalem, near the gate which is called Josaphat next to the fish pond where the glorious Virgin is said to have been born. An abbey of black monks was on Mount Tabor. Before the time of Godfrey of Bouillon, when the Saracens had occupied the whole land, the Syrians living there were under the yoke of oppression. They had been granted a fourth part of the city of Jerusalem to live in around the tomb in return for an annual tribute. And when all followed the Greek rite in the Divine office, Latins travelling for devotion or for business bore it with great annoyance. A certain businessman from the city of Melfi near Salerno, by gifts and many prayers, gained permission from the Egyptian Prince to build a Latin church of dressed stone in honour of the Blessed Mary near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. To this day it is called Saint Mary of the Latins, having a Latin abbot and monks. With the passage of time a nunnery was built to the honour of Mary Magdalene for the reception of pilgrim women. And then with the surge of such great numbers of pilgrims that the two monasteries were not adequate to receive them, the aforesaid abbot and monks built a hospital and chapel to the honour of Saint John Elaymon to serve the sick and destitute next to their own church. [This Saint John] was a Cypriot, and having shown the merits of holiness was called to the Patriarchate of Alexandria and because he was generous in alms and other works of piety he was called Elaymo, that is pity. Because the Hospital had no rents, from the scraps and leftovers of both monasteries and from certain alms of the faithful the Abbot of the Latins made provision for the

[1] The meaning here is unclear.

poor and the sick. When the land was conquered by Godfrey a certain man named Gerald, devoted to Christ, who served a long time in the said hospital, with the permission of the aforesaid Abbot, and in the company of certain other honest men, adopted a regular manner of life and placing a white cross on the shoulders of their clothes swore to rules while making a solemn profession and these brothers are called Hospitallers. They served the poor diligently and devoutly gave them bread in like manner. They reserved bread and bran for their own use. In preceding times brigands either robbed arriving pilgrims, if they could, or, what is worse, killed them. Certain devout knights of God, moved by fraternal charity, bound themselves by solemn oath in the hand of the Patriarch to secure the pilgrim routes by serving as soldiers in obedience to the highest King without property and in chastity. From the beginning this was an entirely new undertaking. After nine years performing their duties out of considerations of piety, [and] in secular clothes given to them by the faithful, the King gave to these noble paupers a site next to the temple. They were called Templars after the temple. In 1128 by decree of Pope Honorius and Stephen Patriarch of Jerusalem they received their rule and a white habit without a cross. At the time of Pope Eugenius they stitched a red cross on the outside of their clothing. After this since many Germans visited the Holy Land for the sake of pilgrimage and ignorant of the language of that country, God inspired a certain honest man, that together with his wife he should build a hospital to receive such poor people and a church to the honour of the Glorious Virgin **(p. 179).** Some of them, for the love of God, renounced all things, handing themselves and their possessions to the hospital. They dedicated themselves to the service of the poor, and putting aside secular clothes, they wore white cloaks and black crosses. They borrowed something from the first two orders: their profession, rule and institutions from the Knights of the Temple, observing them absolutely in war and in peace. They tended the sick and the pilgrims carefully and devoutly like the brothers of the Hospital. All these had such beginnings and such their inclination to holiness. They were humble in tending the poor; brave in arms; kind to Christians; terrible to Saracens; not fearing to shed their own blood for the faith. On this account their reputation flew all over the land and resounded in the histories [written] in the language of the faithful like those of the new Machabees. But as time went on, they became separated from the patrimony of the Crucified One. [They became] fat, dilatory, awash with riches and pleasures, in which things even Solomon had perished. There were many other men in regular orders, monks, canons, anchorites, nuns, chaste widows in the Holy Land as if it was a Paradise of delights. So it was certainly adorned with decorations as if it was a queen on the right hand of the King, in finery of gold, surrounded by variety, the city of cities was the queen of kingdoms and the prince of provinces, the Holy Land of Promise, the promise of the patriarchs, the companion of the prophets, the possession of Christ, the homeland of the Apostles, the inheritance of the faithful, and the guest chamber of the angels. To her many came from every nation which is under heaven so that deservedly it might be said to be full, as Isay[as] put it: 'Arise, be enlightened

O Jerusalem.'[1] Because you were first subject to the Agarenes, a treacherous people, you lay in the shadow of grief (see above at the end of Part 2); 'for thy light has come': in Kings and 'the glory of the Lord': in Prelates: 'for behold darkness', of despair and difficulties 'shall cover the earth': that is the Saracens an earthbound race: 'and a mist to the people', infidels: 'the Lord shall rise upon thee': by sending the help of the wonderful crusade (see above Chapters 2 and 3). 'And his glory shall be seen upon thee': in the continuous triumphs of victories. 'Lift up thy eyes round about and see all these': from which follows, 'gathered together they are come to thee: they sons', Princes and Barons, 'shall come from afar', from the West, 'and thy daughters', the various churches 'shall rise up at thy side', from the south and from the north, as Chapter 12 explains. 'Then shalt thou see', by the certitude of contemplation, 'and abound', by a host of good things: 'and thy heart shall wonder and be enlarged' by the greatness of delight: 'when the multitude of the sea shall be converted to thee': in Genoese, Venetians and Pisans: 'the strength of Gentiles shall come to thee': of the German, Gallic and Western peoples. 'The multitude of camels', the going up of a trusted flock, bending the knee to the tasks outlined previously, 'shall come to thee': for the clergy shall serve more humbly in proportion as they rightly serve all men. 'The dromedaries of Madian and Epha': the religious who are more suitable than others, like the dromedaries they chew what they receive from the Scriptures: and are satisfied with little and cheap food to use it up quickly in long sessions contemplating Heaven. 'All they from Saba', that is the Holy Church of all men converted to God: for the conversion of Saba is thus interpreted: all I say 'shall come to thee', so that there may be a fair division to every race not to each individual of the races. And because we say that the Holy Land of Promise flourishes in kings, prelates and religious, it follows well: 'bringing gold', how much to the kings, princes and barons: 'frankincense', how much to the leaders and others serving the Church: 'and shewing forth praise to the Lord', how much to the religious and the contemplators of the heavens.

Part 8

Part 8 contains the causes of the decline and loss of the Holy Land at the time of Saladin, having 6 chapters.

Chapter 1: The rite of the Greeks and Syrians living in the Land of Promise

The Land of Promise had been subject to the Emperor of Constantinople for many years and through this it is given to the Greeklings and their rites. Oh that they were not deformed, as clearly discussed in the Part 2 of this Book 3. For it was as if another Samaria was divided against the tribe of Juda, [that is] the Roman Church: by various errors: we see that everywhere it is brought low by people **(p.**

[1] Isaias 60:1–7, here used to preface the points in the remainder of this chapter.

180). The Arian heresy, which asserted that Christ was a pure creature, was condemned at the First General Council of Nicaea.[1] Having expelled the Catholics rather than kill them, Macedonius, after whom the Macedonian heretics take their name, was placed in charge of the church in Constantinople.[2] Did he say that the Holy Spirit had nothing in common with the Father and the Son? The Emperor Constantius[3] was no Arian. But at the time of the Catholic Gratian,[4] the second Ecumenical Council was summoned in Constantinople, which opposing Macedonius, and condemning [the view] that the Holy Spirit was God, taught that he was consubstantial with the Father and the Son [and] providing a formula, that all Greeks and Latins confess at Mass on solemn days, where was also added: 'Whose Kingdom will have no end.' There also it was decreed that the Bishop of Constantinople, as the New Rome, should have the privilege of honour after the Bishop of Rome. After this Nestorius Bishop of Constantinople[5] asserted that Christ was total man not God: against which the third synod gathered at Ephesus, by order of Pope Celestine I and Theodosius the junior Augustus. Nestorius was condemned and it was asserted that there were two persons in Christ, one of Christ the man; the other divine. Then at the fourth ecumenical council at Chalcedon, it was laid down that Mary the mother of the Lord should be called not only Christotocas but also Theotocos: against the same Nestorius who claimed that she had given birth not to God but to a perfect human being. Having summoned a council, Pope Felix III[6] condemned Achatius,[7] Bishop of Constantinople because he had revived the condemned heresy of Peter, [Patriarch] of Alexandria.[8] But Pope Hormisdaa,[9] the successor of Felix IV,[10] reconciled the Greek Church which had been anathematized for the same cause. Pope Nicholas I[11] excommunicated the

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[1] 325.

[2] Macedonius (d.360) was a claimant to the see of Constantinople, which he occupied in 342. He adopted a semi-Arian position, denying the full Godhead of the Holy Spirit. How far he was directly linked to the Macedonians is questionable, since they belonged to the 380s 20 years after his death.

[3] Constantius II (337–61) was the son of Constantine. He adopted a semi-Arian position regarding Christianity.

[4] Gratian (b.359, Emperor 367–83) banned most pagan practices from the city of Rome and urged his subjects to follow the Nicene creed.

[5] A Syrian monk (d.451), Patriarch of Constantinople 428–31.

[6] Felix III (II), Pope 483–92, excommunicated Acacius for his apparent Monophysitism in the Henotikon of Zeno.

[7] Acacius, Patriarch of Constantinople 471–86. He issued Zeno's Henotikon in 472.

[8] Peter III of Alexandria or Peter Mongus (the Stammerer), was Coptic Pope 477–490 and recognized as Orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria by Acacius in 482.

[9] Pope 514–23. The Formula of Hormisdas, 519, brought about a form of reconciliation.

[10] Felix IV (III), Pope, 526–30.

[11] Nicholas I, the Great, Pope 858–67.

Emperor of Constantinople, because he had driven out the Catholic Patriarch Ignatius in favour of another,[1] Adrian II,[2] succeeding him, followed this up and sent Donatus, Bishop of Ostia and two deacons[3] of the Roman Church to Constantinople: and there by the authority of Adrian it was established that the elections and consecrations of important bishops should be carried out by the clergy, and that no prince whatever his status should involve himself in any of it. Then Basil, Prince of the Pontic Regions gained the empire over the Greeks. He, whom Michael had brought to his court as Caesar, brought about the death of his benefactor.[4] Therefore, with Basil's agreement the schism broke out again between the Greeks and the Latins, and again Ignatius was expelled and replaced by another. From this time on [the two churches] were not united up to the time of the Council of Lyons, [that is] 405 years. Three other reasons are given for this division: the haughtiness of the ambassadors, the annual payment of a tax of 80lbs of gold; the loss of rights of the Empire made by the Roman Church: see above Part 2, Chapter 7. At last in 1274, for the benefit of the Holy Land which he wished to visit in person, Gregory X[5] convened the Council of Lyons: see below Part 13, Chapter 12. Distinguished ambassadors from the Greeks and the Tartars came to this council, some by order of Palialogus,[6] Emperor of the Greeks: where the Greeks sang in a high voice with [due] solemnity that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and from the Son. The ambassadors of the Tartars were baptized at the council and returned home. Pope John XXI sent legates to Paliologus so that he and his people might be prepared to obey the Roman Church. He replied that he was prepared for everything that the Council of Lyons had ordered. How pleasing these things were to his monks was soon apparent. Crying out against him he was excommunicated and lay unburied. For they say that it was decided at the Council of Nicaea that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father; and that at the end of the council it was laid down that; 'whoever shall add anything to the said Council or take anything away shall be anathematized.' But the Greeklings speak with the words of Paul to the Galatians 1: 'But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach a gospel to you besides that which we have preached to you, let him be anathema.'[7]

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[1] Ignatius, Patriarch of Constantinople 847–58; 867–77, was deposed illegally by Michael II in favour of Photius, who was dismissed by Basil I and Ignatius restored. He invited Donatus and the other legates to a council in Constantinople.

[2] Adrian II, Pope 867–72.

[3] The legates were Donatus of Ostia, Stephen of Nepi and the Deacon Marianus who confirmed the deposition of Photius.

[4] Michael III, b.840; Emperor 842–67. Promoted his favourite Basil (b.811)from chamberlain to co-Emperor. Basil, fearing loss of favour had Michael murdered and as Basil I became the first Macedonian Emperor, 867–86.

[5] Gregory X, Pope 1271–6.

[6] Michael VIII Palaiologos, (b.1233, Emperor 1259–82). His general Alexis Strategoupolos recaptured Constantinople from the Latins in 1261.

[7] Galatians 1:8.

Glossing nothing and putting forward the obscure words of the apostle do they not bind themselves with anathema? But whoever preaches against the faith and doctrine of the Apostle should bear the sentence. For in the Council of Nicaea there was a sermon concerning the son, whether he was the true God or a pure creature as Arius claimed: and in the Council there was a discussion with long debate: concerning the Holy Spirit not being drawn out but they said easily crossing to proceed from the Father, no one denying that it might likewise proceed from the Son. Nor did it stand in the way what they allege that John 15 [said]: 'But when the Paraclete cometh, whom I will send you from the Father, the Spirit of Truth who proceedeth from the Father'[1] **(p. 181)** etc. Although it only says there, [strictly] according to the letter, to proceed from the Father. However, according to the true understanding of the letter it is said to proceed from the son, when he says 'I will send you from the Father', that is at the same time as the Father; therefore the Son has authority but not lordship over the Holy Spirit, because from the beginning there is one Lord, Father, Son and Holy Spirit. And in the next chapter he says: 'All things whatsoever the Father hath, are mine. Therefore I said that he shall receive of mine',[2] that is proceeds from me. For inevitably, it is right and proper that everything that the Father has are the Sons and the Son is consubstantial with the Father: just as Didimus and Hilarius argue. Therefore, the Spirit is a holy and swift river of fire that Daniel Chapter 7 saw as coming from the face of the ancient of days, that is from the Father. For the face of the Father is the Son, because just as everyone is known by their face, so the Father through the Son. According to Matthew 11 'Neither doth anyone know the Father, but the Son, and he to whom it shall please the Son to reveal him.'[3] Therefore, by the face, that is it proceeds from the Son as well as from the Father. But let us pursue the evil of the Greeks. For, they do not stand up when Latin priests carry the body of the Lord for the communion of the sick. Nor do they communicate in unleavened bread, arguing that because Christ took part in the feast of the Paschal lamb,[4] he did so one day early and he suffered death on the fourteenth day of the month: and from this they say that he consecrated him in leavened not in unleavened [bread]; although Matthew, Mark and Luke emphasize that it was done on the first day of unleavened bread on which it was essential to kill the Paschal lamb. But they have the same attitude to the Mystery, [they] who do not help at the feast in the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth, but in the leaven of malice and wickedness, which they do not purge according to the warning of the Apostle in 1 Corinthians, Chapter 5.[5] They differ in many other things from the Holy Roman Church, by which they are deemed schismatics and from which they depart on their own authority; the five patriarchs and the seven churches of Asia not attending, as if marked out by the 12

1 John 15:26.

2 John 6:15.

3 Matthew 11:27.

4 See Luke 22:7–18.

5 1 Corinthians 5:8.

tribes of the children of Israel. Let us follow up the patriarchs: Ruben, which is interpreted 'seeing the son', designates the church of Jerusalem where the sons of the church first appeared. Gad, which is interpreted 'fortunate' is the church of Antioch in which he who was converted on the way to Damascus, happily brought the word of salvation among the races, kings and children of Israel. Manasses, which is interpreted 'forgetfulness' is the church of Alexandria which forgot the law of Christ and stuck to the law of the evil Mahummet. Effraym, which is interpreted 'growth or increase' is the church of Constantinople which so grew that it was called the first-born of the daughters. Judas which is interpreted 'preparing' is the Roman church of which Peter had charge, who made the true confession of the faith to Christ: 'Thou art Christ the son of the living God';[1] to whom Christ replied 'I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not.'[2] Likewise, while others err only the Roman Church remains in the true confession of faith. Isay[as] 9 says of these five churches that: 'In that day there shall be five cities in the land of Egypt, speaking the language of Chanaan, and swearing by the Lord of hosts: one shall be called the city of the sun.'[3] Not indeed the church of Jerusalem, because Ruben had besmirched his father's flower-garden and had lost his patrimony. Thus, because she wished to Judaize the faithful by fouling the seed of the word, she lost the dignity of having the primogeniture of all; nor was it granted to any that engaged in the foulness of errors. It was given to one Jew alone when he said to Peter: 'thou shalt be called Cephas':[4] others dissenting from you shall be made headless. To whom was committed the sheepfold of the sheep, that is one and undivided and he was clearly ordered to feed all the sheep not just the Latins. It was also said to him: 'thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it: and I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven.'[5] For the Greeks too there were men called Suriani formed in the Land of Promise; either from a city called Sur, formerly of great distinction among the cities of Syria, or from Syrian, the Y hanging to U. They are called Suriani, which is designated Syri in ancient texts. From the ancient days they have suffered the yoke of slavery under various lords, Greeks, Latins or Saracens. Wherever [they are] slaves [they are] also tributaries and kept for the cultivation of the land and such necessities. They are completely unwarlike, unarmed and given to flight, except for some who use only bows and arrows. These men are for the most part infidels. Like the Greeks they are false [and] cunning like foxes. They are the friends of chance, on account of which they are liars **(p. 182)** and fickle, making some in their mouths and others in their hearts. They are easily inclined to thefts and bribes.

[1] Matthew 16:16.

[2] Luke 22:32.

[3] In fact Isaias 19:18.

[4] John 1:42.

[5] Matthew 16:18–19, the so-called Petrine commission.

Like traitors they become spies for a small price. They reveal the secrets of the Christians to the Saracens, among whom they are bred and they use their language as freely as their own and, for the most part, follow their perverse customs. Such that they shut up their wives and daughters indoors, lest they are able to be seen and they make them available.[1] They grow their beards with great care. They [lived] mixed up with Greeks and Saracens and have learned all their doings. In their everyday speech they use the language of the Saracens and in contracts they use their letters. But in divine scripture and in spiritual matters Greek letters are read by the priests, not understanding it as the Greeks, who use that language in speech and writing. They follow the customs and institutions of the Greeks, as if they were those of their own elders. From fear of secular lordship they swear obedience to the Latin prelates in whose diocese they live, with their mouth but not with their heart. They do not fear excommunication, so far are they cut off from the intercourse and comforts of the faithful. For they say that according to their experience all Latins are subject to sentence of excommunication. Just like the Greeks they do not allow fourth marriages. Their priests and deacons do not contract marriages, however, they may keep their wives with whom they have contracted marriage before taking orders. They do not have the holy order of Subdeacon. Infants are baptized; simple priests make the sign of the Cross with chrism, because it is considered that this does not only apply to the higher clergy. They think that the sacrament of confirmation is given to the elite and the defenders of the faith, so that the Christian is marked with the sign of the Cross in which the Prince of the Christian people fought and conquered. It applies only to the leader who lays down who he assigns to the army. They observe the Sabbath solemnly like the Jews, so that they both eat meat and are not allowed to weep, except on Easter Saturday, since Pope Innocent I instituted weeping on that Saturday, because on that day the Lord lay in his tomb and the disciples wept. (De consecrate., 3, Sabbatho.)

Chapter 2: The customs of those called Pulani and Maronites

The degenerate sons of those famous men, who [saw to] the safety of the Holy Land and complete freedom from the yoke of slavery, remained there. The successors to their possessions differed from them as burnish from silver, oil lees from oil, lye from wine. They are called Pulani. The wonderful deeds of their parents have been summarized above in Part 6. But their sons were brought up in extravagance, soft and effeminate. They were accustomed to the bath house rather than the battle field. They dress in soft clothes like women, ornamented and decked out, 'in the likeness of the Temple'. Idle and exhausted, they were cowards and became frightened in the face of the enemies of the cross of Christ. As a result, the Saracens, who feared the daring of their fathers like thunder, did not fear the opposition of the sons any more than that of women unless they had Westerners with them. Little by little they

[1] The meaning of *superflue*, superfluous, is not clear here.

began to quarrel over trifles; to start law suits and brawls and civil wars; to make truces with the Saracens; and to rejoice over peace with the enemies of Christ and many asked their help against the Christians. They were not ashamed to use up the strength and monies that ought to have been spent to the honour of God and the safety of the Holy Land and the health of souls, to the detriment of the faithful, the loss of the Holy Land and the detriment of souls. They spoke in measured and flowery words in their mouth and their heart, concealing their thought so that you might think them like willow trees, occupying soil but bearing no fruit; and you will scarcely understand the ambiguity and deceits that they split and compose. The wives are very hateful; they scarcely tolerate the gaze of their neighbours. Following custom they allow themselves to go to the bath house more often than to the church or to the preaching of the word of God. Those among them who are wealthier or more powerful pay wretched Chaplains to celebrate Mass next to their beds. They have learned divination, experiments and innumerable evils from the Saracens and Suriani, and they use their women continually. Not only are they not grateful to those pilgrims who come to the aid of the Holy Land from remote parts for the sake of devotion, with expenses and labours above the normal that they offer to the Lord, but also they hinder them and inflict many injuries and insults, making fun of the soldiers of Christ, shouting for Christ, calling them the sons of Hernandus as if they were jesters and stupid men. Then there are a great deal of other things; for they choose [to be] at idle ease **(p. 183**) and prefer rather to stand agape in carnal things than to break a truce with the Saracens to undertake a struggle. They have become very rich from the high price of lodgings, from commerce, from the rate of exchange and with many other things going on around them and from the impoverished. Finally the Maronites, who are called after their leader Maro,[1] claim that there is one great energy and will in Christ. The author of this error, a certain Macharius, a high priest of Antioch, was condemned in the Sixth General Council of Constantinople,[2] and finally as a heresiarch was expelled from the world of the faithful. These Maronites live around the yokes of Lebanon in the province of Phoenicia, not far from the city of Byblos and around Bastrum and Tripolis. They are skilled and very knowledgeable in the use of bows and arrows. They number around 60,000 and for almost 50 years they have been separated from the Holy Church and the company of the faithful. They made their own sacraments at will, but afterwards changing in heart, at the time of the last King Baldwin and in the presence of that venerable father Aimeri, Patriarch of Antioch, they professed the Catholic faith and followed the Holy Roman traditions. Since none of the Eastern prelates, apart from the Latins, use the ring and the mitre, the pastoral staff and bells, but strike planks of wood with a mallet or a stick to summon the people to church, the Maronites used all these things as a sign of their obedience and observed all the rites of the Latins. Their chief prelates attended the

[1] William of Tyre, XXII, 8 (Babcock and Krey trans., II, 458). See B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader State*s (London, 1980), 207–8 for discussion.

[2] Third Council of Constantinople, 680–1.

Lateran Council under Pope Innocent III. They use Chaldaean writing but speak the language of the Saracens in everyday use.

Chapter 3: The rites and customs of those called Armenians and Georgians

The people of the Armenians, in the province of Armenia, near Antioch, live among the Christians and the Saracens but apart from them. From all the Christians they have special rites and their own observances. They have their own primate, who is called Catholicus, whom they, from the least to the greatest obey with the greatest honour and reverence as if [he were] another Pope. Between them and the Greeks there are inexorable disagreements and irreconcilable disputes and they mutually detest the rites and observances of the other. They have their own language and their own literature which they use in common speech and in divine scriptures, so that the priest and clergy are understood by the laymen, just as has been said of the Greeks, above Chapter 1. They do not celebrate the Nativity of the Lord according to the flesh, rather they weep upon that day. The weeping ends on the Epiphany when they celebrate with the solemnity of Sunday attendance the feast of the Baptism of Christ, saying that they celebrate the feast of the spiritual birth of Christ, whence Ambrosius says in a sermon: 'Then Christ is born for men, today he is reborn in the Sacraments; for then he came forth from the Virgin, today he is born through mystery.' It follows: 'The new part deserves new observances. There, when the second man is born, his mother Mary holds him to her bosom. Here when the second mystery is brought about God the father embraces him with his voice, for he says 'this is my beloved son in whom I am well pleased, hear him. Nor in the opinion of anyway does the faithful man fail, because on account of the sacrament Christ is continuously reborn, because he committed no sin, nor concealed it, because his life and the virginity of his mother was found to be true. But he wished to do what he was asked to do in all things. Rightly then do we exalt Christ the Lord born from a woman, so we rejoice in the salvation of the human race through baptism. We marvel and rejoice that over the birth of Christ from a virgin mother and the rebirth of Christ by the holy-making water. And indeed, if it is right to speak thus, the water is the greater inheritance than Mary. For she acquired her great virginity in giving birth; she brought this purity to us in reading. She deserved not to sin, so that she might purge sin. She conceived one son and is a virgin; she bore a number [of children] and is pure. She knows no other son before Christ and with Christ she is the mother of all faithful people. Quadragesima which is the Sunday before the resurrection, they observe with fasting, but they do not only abstain from meat but also from eggs, milk and cheese, but also they do not consume fish or oil, nor do they drink wine. However, fruit and vegetables they eat whenever it pleases them during the day **(p. 184**). In this they seem to differ from their rivals the Greeklings and the Suriani who eat meat in six breaks [from fasting]. In the consecration of the blood of the Lord they do not mix water with wine. But, although water is necessary to the sacrament, it ought not to be used, because only in wine can the consecration of the blood be, however, by no

means should water be left out not just on account of the law of the Church, but by no means should it be looked down on, on account of its signification. For it signifies the appropriateness of water to wine, the joining of the mystic body of Christ, which is the Church (Letter to the Colossians 1) to Christ who is the head over all the church, which is his body.[1] Water signifies the people, for there is much water and many people.[2] Christ is believed to have added water in the consecration, since it was not only a custom of the Jews but of all Eastern peoples to use temperate wine, since it can be intemperate to use pure wine in those parts. Who therefore consecrates pure wine seems to celebrate the divorce between the Church and Christ. Also it is known that the Armenians have promised obedience to the Pope and the Holy Roman Church: when their King received his land from Henry, Emperor of the Romans and a royal crown from the Archbishop of Mainz. However, they do not wish to change their old rites and customs. There are other Christians called Georgians, because they have Saint George as their advocate and patron in their struggles against the unbelieving people and they plant his banner with special reverence before that of other saints. They are very warlike and active in battle, very strong, promising uncountable numbers of warriors, much more formidable than the Saracens, Persians, Medes and Assyrians, with whom their border is joined. They are closed in on every side by infidels, and they are often unsuccessful on their campaigns. They use the Greek language in their divine scriptures and observe the customs of the Greeks in the sacraments. Their clergy have round razors, the laity square ones. They come to visit the Sepulchre of the Lord as often as they can. With banner upright and without tribute they enter the Holy City. Nor do the Saracens presume to attack them, lest when they return home they repay their Saracen neighbours with heavier burdens. They were also very angry and made threats to Coradinus, Prince of Damascus who presumed to slight the walls of Jerusalem, against their will, when the Latin people besieged Damietta: see below Part 9, Chapter 9. They wear their hair and their beards one cubit long and wear felt caps on their head. Their noble women serve as soldiers like Amazons and wield weapons in battle.

Chapter 4: The rites and customs of the Jacobites, Nestorians and Mosarabs

There are also in the Holy Land and other parts of the East some who are very different from the Latins and the Greeks. Some of these are called Jacobites or Jacobins, after their master Jacob, a disciple of that Patriarch of Alexandria. Going back some time they were excommunicated by the Patriarch of Constantinople and expelled from the Greek Church. They live all over the east; some among Saracens, others occupy their own lands, without the presence of infidels, namely, Nubia which borders Egypt and a large part of Ethiopia and all regions up to India which, they say, holds more than 12 Kingdoms. For all Christians were converted

[1] Ephesians 1.

[2] Apocalypse 17.

to the faith of Christ by the blessed Apostle Matthew and by other Catholic men [but] the weeds having been sown afterwards by an evil man, they have been blinded by lamentable error for a long time. First, they circumcise their children of both sexes, not heeding what the Apostle says to the Galatians: 'if you be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing'. And again, 'I testify to every man circumcising himself, that he is a debtor to do the whole law. You are made void of Christ, you who are justified in the law: you are fallen from grace'.[1] Second, they err in the sacrament of confession. For they do not confess their sins to a priest but in secret, only to God, placing incense in a fire next to them, as if sins confessed in this way ascend to God in the smoke. Nor are they aware, because a confession made only to God suffices, when the invisible God has been offended, or while he was made man. But after the word was made flesh and dwelt among us, we sin several times. The man God is offended and there ought to be confession to God not only in the heart but also on the mouth of man for salvation **(p. 185)**: and because Christ cannot be everywhere he has appointed priests as his vicars. So in the last chapter of James it is said: 'Confess your sins one to another'.[2] Thus Christ sent lepers to the priests, whose duty is to distinguish between leprosy and leprosy; and by observation decide whether both should be forgiven or not; whether they should mix in society or withdraw. The redness of confession too and the anxiety of shame and the humility of confession is a great part of satisfaction. Third, many of them err even before baptism by marking their children on the forehead with a burning iron. Some marking the cross on them by burning; on account of which John the Baptist said of Christ: 'He shall baptize you in the Holy Ghost and in fire': [3] barely noticing that the Holy Spirit appears over the newly baptized in fire, demonstrating the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. For first the fire purges as appears in the fire coming from the skin of the salamander; thus the Holy Spirit purges by the gift of fear: Isay[as] 4, 'If the Lord shall wash away the filth of the daughters of Syon, by the spirit of judgement and by the spirit of burning.'[4] Second, the spirit liquefies as appears in wax; thus the Holy Spirit liquefies the soul by the gift of piety: as the Psalm 'his wind shall blow and the waters shall run'.[5] Third, fire decorates as is shown in metals; thus the Holy Spirit decorates the soul with the gift of knowledge: Job 27: 'The Holy Spirit has adorned the heavens',[6] for heaven is a holy spirit having the stars for virtues. Fourth, fire consolidates as is shown in the flanks, thus the Holy Spirit consolidates through the gift of courage: Micheas 3: 'I am filled with the strength of the spirit of the Lord'.[7] Fifth, the fire elevates as appears in steam. The Holy Spirit elevates the soul through the gift of

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1 Galatians 5:2–3.

2 James 5:16.

3 Matthew 3:11.

4 Isaiah 4:4.

5 Bongars cites Psalms 174:7 but in fact it is Psalms 147:18.

6 Job 26:13.

7 Micheas 3:8.

intellect: Ezechiel 8: 'the spirit lifted me up between the earth and the heaven'.[1] Sixth, fire illuminates as is shown by lights. Thus the Holy Spirit illuminates by the gift of counsel: Wisdom 7: 'For in her is the spirit manifold, subtle etc'.[2] Seventh, it sweetens as is shown in nourishment, thus the Holy Spirit sweetens the soul with the gift of wisdom. Ecclesiastics 13: 'My spirit is sweet above honey'.[3] Behold the nature of that fire in which any of the faithful are baptized: nor can it be found, because Christ or his apostle or any of the holy fathers have left that method of baptism to posterity. They say that by making the impression of the cross on the arms of the Jacobites and Suriani with a smouldering iron, they bear it for the destruction of the pagans and out of reverence for the Holy Cross. The Greeks assert that they are greatly detested by him and removed from his company because they indulge in condemned and evil heresy. For Christ says: 'The father is greater than me'[4] and hanging on the cross 'I thirst'. And [because of] many similar things he cannot see the Divine nature only the human. But truly he says 'I and the father are one'[5] and 'before Abraham was made I am',[6] and according to these things they see not the human nature but the Divine. However, when the Jacobites are asked, either from fear of ignorance or compelled by truth, they deny that there is only one nature in Christ. And again when it is asked why they make the sign of the cross with only one finger, they replied: 'Just as the fingers are in three parts so is the Trinity of persons in using only one finger they mark the unity of the essence'. Although the Greeks accuse them for claiming that there is only one nature in Christ. Some use Chaldean letters others the Arabic which the Saracens use. In common speech the laity use the various tongues of the various peoples and provinces [where they dwell]. They scarcely understand the language used by their clerics in Holy Scriptures. There were also Christians living in the Land of Promise and among the Saracens, although separate from them, [and] in the greater part of India, called Nestorini or Nestorians after a certain Nestorius, for whom see above Chapter 1. He in great part stained the region with the poison of his error and especially those who lived in the land of that most powerful former prince, who is commonly called Prester John.[7] They also say that together with the above-mentioned Jacobites there are far more of them than Latins or Greeks. And [the record] is silent concerning those who live apart and whose number is infinite. At present many who are mixed up with the Saracens are subject to their rule, as if they were impious Saracens: Although they do not wish to receive the pestilential law of the most evil Mahumet, they are infected by the said miserable error (see above Chapter 1) and condemned. For if there is not one person in Christ which

1 Ezchiel 8:3.

2 Wisdom 7:22.

3 In fact Ecclesiastics 24:27.

4 John 14:27.

5 John 10:30.

6 John 8:58.

7 Iohannes presbyterus.

is both God and man, we at once reply that they are not able to know the truth about Him. Some of them agree that He is from God **(p. 186)** and not man; others that He is of man and not from God. So in the metaphor of Athanasius: 'just as a rational mind and one flesh is man, so God and one man is Christ'. Isay[as] says: 'A son is given to us' and it follows on, 'and he shall be called Wonderful God the mighty'[1] and in the Psalms, 'This man is born in her and the Highest himself hath founded her.'[2] Because Christ was the son of the Virgin, and the creator when the word was made flesh and dwelt in her. They use Chaldaean letters and according to the custom of the Greeks they do not use unleavened bread in the sacrament of the altar. There are other Christians who live in Africa and Spain among the western Saracens. They are called Mosrabes and they use Latin letters and speech in their sacred scriptures. They are obedient to the Holy Roman Church as other Latins in all devotion and humility. They deviate in no way from the articles of faith or the sacraments of the Church. However, they divide the Eucharist into seven parts, some even into nine, which since it happens in the sacrament does not impugn the truth and virtue of the sacrament.

Chapter 5: The depravity of the multitude of westerners coming to the Holy Land

A fleet came to the help of the Holy Land from the coastal regions of Italy and an army from the lands beyond the mountains in the western and northern parts, as above at the end of Part 7. It is said that those on the sea were more powerful; those on the land braver; the one was more suitable to naval engagements with ships and galleys, the other came together more quickly on horses and in galleys. The one struck at the enemy from a distance with bows and arrows, the other close up with swords and lances. The men from Italy are more serious in their conduct, prudent, calm, sparing in food, flowery in their words, restrained in counsels, interested in matters of state, finding it difficult to bear any lordship, upholding liberty before anything else, living in full view, issuing laws binding on all and observing those decrees together. They were most useful to the Holy Land not only in [fighting] naval battles but also in transporting food, goods and pilgrims. The French, Germans, English and others from beyond the mountains are less calm and more impetuous, less circumspect in doing things and less cautious in their words, greedy in eating, and rather profligate in spending. They are rash in their counsels especially against the word of the wiseman: 'It is right and proper to take counsel slowly' and another of the Philosophers says: 'a swift decision is followed by regret'. They are very devout in church, eager in alms-giving and in other works of piety; very bold in battle, and certainly as brave as the Saracens. But on account of much joking they are called 'the sons of Hernandus' by the Pulani. They have declined in quality and number into vice, as said above in Chapter 2. The Italians, too, especially the more powerful from the coastal region, turning

[1] Isaias 9:6.

[2] Psalms 86:5.

away from the virtues of their fathers, adopt insatiable greed for money, bringing about mutual strife among them, implacable hatred and long-lasting discord. They prefer to fight among themselves than against the impious Agarenes. Those who were once terrible to the Saracens in their courage, they now jeer at in defiance, returning safely from any raids. There is another cause than the foregoing that has brought about the utmost corruption in the inhabitants of the Holy Land namely the concourse of men of all types of criminal inclination. Everyday these evil men who should be flogged make the sea crossing, felons, the sacrilegious, the impious, madmen, rapists, murderers, patricides, perjurers, adulterers, pirates, gamblers, jugglers, drunkards and inebriates; also those fleeing lawful marriages and deceiving women into new contracts; even women leaving their own husbands to stay close to their pimps. These and the like, according to the observation of prudent men, who have examined the various changes in the Land of Promise diligently, with every type of infection and all manner of men encourage the fomenting of sins to the damnation of the spirits and the subversion of the faithful in the Holy Land heaping up the crimes to accusations and the accusations to the crimes.[1] And they carry out sins with such great effrontery that the escape from punishment is faster either by fleeing to the nearby Saracens, with a broken charter of baptism or by crossing to the nearby islands on the ships of the Latins: it is so much more shameful the further removed from friends, neighbours and acquaintances. Also these men frequently come to blood and the sons of Belial. Arrested for crimes and evil deeds in their own country, they gain by many prayers and a price **(p. 187**) that they be not mutilated or executed, but that they be sent to the Land of Promise and condemned to perpetual exile there. These men were not touched by penitence but rather forced by violence, changing the climate but not their souls. Having been made inhabitants of the Holy Land, weighed down by a load of sins that they brought with them, they exercised only the pursuits of depravity. Asking a high price for lodgings from pilgrims, they deceived those arriving unwary from abroad in numberless ways. With the hope of greater profit they provided shelters for assassins, thieves, gamblers and public prostitutes. And in all these things the hand of the princes of the infidels was with them, choosing gifts and suitable rewards. For all of which they were joined in blame, because making and agreeing, with equal oath, they were linked with equal sin.

Chapter 6: The depravity of the regular and clerical states

After almost all the faithful people had sent gifts and brought riches to the prelates, clerks and regulars of the Holy Land, they became like tributaries. The shepherds began to feed themselves and neglected the care of the sheep. They began to shear them not to nourish them. Happy with their milk and wool they fled at the approach of wolves, which made mercenaries of the priest. ‘The mercenary’, says Gregory, ‘holds the place of the priest, and seeks not the profit of the souls’. ‘O shepherd

[1] The meaning is not clear.

and idol, that forsakes the flock',[1] says the Lord through Zacharias. Shepherd certainly through success and obligation; but idol by means of neglect of duty, of not fulfilling the role. For an idol neither sees nor considers, when it has eyes; neither keeps safe nor threatens when it holds a staff; nor does it warn nor speak when it is in the presence of prince or priest, nonetheless it is worshipped and tended. Such [people] were made the shepherds of that land, looking around, the blind leading the blind; expatiating about crooked deeds, silent dogs not daring to bark; nonetheless wanting to be honoured, like the fat cows in the hills of Samaria, cut off from the patrimony of the Lord, fat and capacious; poor in those things of his, rich [in other things]; in his humility they are proud, boasting in their disgrace; pompously they enter into the house of the Lord. The goats of Giezi are not washed while they set up stalls for selling doves which Christ has overturned: with Judas, like a thief or a traitor, saying 'What will you give me, and I will deliver him unto you?'[2] Often taking from Simon Peter to give to Simon Magus. They abound in wealth and luxuries. [They are] not like the pups feeding on scraps that fall from the table, but only from the best bread. They are idle, languid from rest and many displaying luxury, they provide a bad example to those under them. The regulars, too, like the clergy, are infected with the poison of wealth and break the yoke of the rule. They have broken the bonds of statutes, disobedient to their superiors, and arguing with clerics. There was a beating of their office, now they seek to minister the sacrament of the Church, not to the sick out of piety but visit in search of money to bury the dead. They receive those under interdict at offices and for burial and free those by name from the bonds of excommunication, [and so] despise the sentences of the prelates. The abbots, priors, monks and their wretched chaplains are not frightened to send the reaping hook to another's harvest: joining the illegitimate in secret marriages and illegally [marrying] fugitives. The rigour of the Church having failed, these pestilential men go against the sentences of the prelates. But arguing among themselves in turn, not without serious offence to the Christian people, they descend to open rows, manifest hatred, public persecutions and almost to conflicts not just with words but also with lashes. Not only the monks but also the nuns are disobedient to their superiors. They leave the cloisters, formerly the stones of the sanctuary, and may be found all over the place in the main square, using the public bath house irreligiously and with irreligious persons. And it has become 'as with the people so with the priest',[3] and likewise the regulars have become seculars. 'Their iniquity hath come forth, as it were from fatness.'[4] So it was thought by one who distinguished between the holy and the profane and separated the precious from the vile. Is it not written, 'he that toucheth pitch

1 Zacharias 11:17.

2 Matthew 26:15.

3 Isaias 24:2.

4 Psalms 72:7.

shall be defiled with it?'[1] And 'a little leaven corrupteth the whole lump'.[2] Was this corruption brought about by the great and diverse host of evil men coming to the Holy Land? Thither many heretics and schismatics came together **(p. 188)**, also many given over to fortune telling, infected with sacrilege, men of blood, murderers, the proud, the angry, the elevated, the argumentative, the seditious, the brawlers, fomentators of discord, the indolent and the unworthy, the inebriated and the intoxicated, those stinking with luxury and filth, the foolish, the disorderly without affection, without trust and without pity. Therefore, while the people of the Lord lived in the midst of this depraved and perverse race, they learned their ways and were brought into evil. Just as the Jew (see Part 1, Chapter 4) had not pushed out the evil-speaking Jebusite, they became infected with lies, murders and thefts, and his blood touched their blood. And God seeing that the wickedness of men was great on the earth and that all the thought of the human heart was inclined to evil at all times. Indeed, all flesh had corrupted his way and his heart was touched inwardly with sorrow and he said: 'I will destroy them from the earth'; and bringing on a flood that immersed the peoples, he wiped the evil from the earth and glory stripped that land, described above in Part 7.[3] He handed over his tomb and all the other sacred places to the enemies of his Cross, saying: 'he was less ashamed of the pilgrims than the dirt in my castles.'

Part 9

Part 9 contains the loss of the Holy Land made at the time of Saladin, having 8 chapters.[4]

Chapter 1: The evenness of Divine justice against the unworthy inhabitants of the Holy Land

'The All Highest has created everything for himself':[5] and he has turned all created things to the stuff of his praise. But who may be sufficient to relate it in full? No-one unless we know it from the teaching of the prophet, 'all the ways of the Lord are pity and truth'. O pity of the Lord which was full in that land of Promise in the height of the Kingdom, in the ordering of priest and the disposition of the wonderful Christian people. Then indeed was it crowned with glory and honour and everything in the Holy Land was subjected under his feet, since the gathering of the unfaithful trembled before the new sons of Israel, indeed of Christ; when

1 Ecclesiasticus 13:1.

2 1 Corinthians 5:6.

3 Genesis 5:6–7.

4 There are nine chapters in this Part. Perhaps VIII is a misprint for VIIII, but the ninth chapter does not appear in the list of contents.

5 Proverbs 16:4.

one man pursued 1,000 and two chased 10,000. And from pity was it so. Of justice the Prophet says: 'and the King's honour loveth judgement'. For it is written that he is the father of pities and the God of all comfort; nevertheless, it is written that God is a just and strong judge; it is written that he is terrible in deliberation over the sons of men; it is written that vengeance is the Lord's; he avenges and he seeks out the reasons for deeds, up to the last quarter; he seeks out and pays back in full to those who are proud; he seeks the servant from redemption [and] honour and glory from him whom he has created. Be what the father of pities pretends not to see, not only the Lord and Creator. He spares the son, he does not spare the deceitful, and he does not spare the idle servant. 'That servant', he says, 'who knew the will of his Lord and prepared not himself shall be beaten with many stripes.' [1] God hates nothing that he has made; for he saw all things that he had made and they were very good.[2] He only hates sin which is nothing; because it proceeds not from the Creator but from created things; that is he made the Devil from an angel; an enemy from a friend. He threw him from heaven to hell. Because of sins he forced man to toil, from a dweller of Paradise he made a farmer, from a lord a servant, from a citizen an exile, from the son of God, a possession of the Devil and he enclosed an immortal in death. In the destruction of sin the Saviour took on much weariness and he did not work only on fashioning the universe. If he said this, it was done [and] if he ordered that, it was created. But he had objectors to his words, watchers of his deeds and deceivers in his sufferings and reproaches at his death. On account of sin he was seen as cruel by men. He, who indeed is kind and merciful; and to minds which were wickedly obstinate he appeared hard and implacable. He whose nature was goodness, whose character was to pity and to spare. And so from the depravity of the inhabitants of the Holy Land reaching to the stars, as is shown in the previous part; while they became insolent in their victories and ungracious in their blessings; while they returned to the vomit of sin, those who had previously chosen to serve, to serve whom is to rule, received double from the hand of the Lord who rejected the tabernacle at Siloah **(p. 189),** who gave the decree of divorce to the old Synagogue. The enemies of the Christian name were placed in charge; the latter became a joke, who persevering in the joke, abstained from his sacrifice. For the Lord shut his people about with the sword to such an extent and spurned their inheritance so that not only the Land of Promise was lost, but almost all those regions, cities and fortifications from the entrance of the land of Egypt to more than 20 day's journey towards Mesopotamia and of the coastal cities there remained only Tyre and Tripoli; Antioch too with a few fortifications namely the castle that is called Cursarium, next to Crach and Margath, and White castle, Archis, and the tower of Ancreadis and the castle of Nephym in the county of Tripoli. They had subjected all the Mediterranean cities and fortresses to their rule, either the Christians fled from them, or were killed or were placed in prisons.

[1] Luke 13:47.
[2] Genesis 1:31.

Chapter 2: The county of Edessa and the capture of the unfortunate count and also of the castle of Harenc and the city of Paneadis

The calamity of such great adversity and bitter tribulation took its unfortunate beginning from the county of Edessa. For with the death of Joscelin, Count of Edessa, a man active in war and foresighted in deeds, his son Joscelin the younger departing from the uprightness and honesty of his father and becoming mean and dissipated, neglected the defences and lost the city of Edessa. For Sanguineus, the lord of Mosul, besieged (see above Part 7, Chapter 1) it, which was the capital and Metropolis of the province of Assur. Breaching the walls he took it by force, in the year of Our Lord 1145, when it had never before been polluted by the unfaithfulness of idolaters. After this Joscelin was captured by the Saracens. Wracked by hunger and wasting he died. The residue of the county passed to his wife, who granted it to the Emperor of Constantinople for an annual rent. He sent a force of Greeks there and promised to defend the land against the Saracens. Norandinus, the son of the aforesaid Sanguineus, rejoiced in the retreat of the Latins, although he still had few men, thinking the Greeks nothing if not effeminate and soft. In that same year he subjected the whole land to his rule, capturing or killing those Greeklings. Norandinus advanced to besiege the castle of Aranch which belonged to the principality of Antioch and which was ten miles from Antioch. Because Raymond, Prince of Antioch had been killed in battle, his son, also called Raymond, succeeded to the principality and was held captive by the Saracens. He took the castle, leaving few alive. He also subjected the city of Paneadis to his rule, since King Almeric of Jerusalem was absent in Egypt. Then the condition of the Christians began to deteriorate. However, they defended the remainder of the land until they brought the Kingdoms of Egypt and Damascus under one rule. On account of the loss of Edessa (see above Part 6, Chapter 19) the Cross was preached anew and the King of France and the Emperor made the crossing in 1148: see the following chapter. All the Jerusalem pilgrims perished from disease. In the following year in the Land of Promise and [other] Eastern parts, stemming from the sins of men, an earthquake ruined many towns, cities and churches and the land swallowed many thousands of people there. Among others who fell suddenly was Hermann of Vienna, who going from Antioch to the castle of Cursarium in the district of Antioch, sheltered in the church of Saint Peter. As long as he was there he noticed the shaking, the lightening and the opening of the ground. More than 140 were swallowed up in this church. As he slid into the ground he called upon the most pious mother of the Lord, the patroness of Recemadher,[1] and immediately felt her aid. For as they became wrinkled roundabout and rushed to the depths of the earth, although crushed and almost suffocated by the earth he was brought out alive by the Queen of Virgins, on the feast day of the Apostles

[1] Rocamadour, 36 miles NE of Cahors. It contains a wooden statue of a Black Madonna said to have been carved by Saint Amator, Bishop of Auxerre (388–418).

Peter and Paul,[1] about the sixth hour. And not only for correcting things, the divine providence often comes about in those areas of earthquakes, giving a warning as everyone knows and as the Apostle says in 1 Thessalonians 4 : 'to possess his vessel in sanctification and honour.'[2] And they warn that the Holy Land will be polluted, which Christ had consecrated with the precious balsam of his blood.

Chapter 3: The manner in which Saladin ruled over two kingdoms, namely that of Egypt and that of Damascus ***(p. 190)***

Norandinus, King of the Turks, died in 1174. Saladin[3] occupied the Kingdom and at the same time he reduced the Kingdom of Egypt to his power. For Saracunus,[4] one of the satraps of Norandinus had occupied the Kingdom of Egypt by force [and] on his death left it to Saladin, his brother's son. Saladin was sharp in temperament, skilled in arms, far-seeing in action and hasty. He was very liberal and generous not only to his own men but also to certain Christians, whom he attracted to him with gifts and promises. Therefore, when he had gained the governance of Egypt, he feared the caliph of the Egyptians, of whom we have made mention above in Part 6, Chapter 5, for he was made suspect to his lord, the caliph, not undeservedly, by informers. He, not wishing to remain under the fear and lordship of the other, approached the caliph, appearing as if he only wanted to show reverence. Suddenly he threw him to the ground with repeated blows of his staff and killed the traitor and his sons, relatives and more powerful friends or ordered them to be killed or to be imprisoned forever in chains. He forced the Egyptians to have no other caliph of their own but to submit to [the Abbasid caliph] of Baghdad.[5] When Saladin killed his lord the caliph of Egypt[6] he took the Kingdom of Damascus from Salech[7] the son of his dead master Norandinus, who was then only a boy staying in Aleppo. The Kingdoms were moulded to his special tyranny, partly by gifts and promises, partly by fear and violence. He also added to the aforesaid lordship that he and his father had served, those cities surpassing in all riches namely Hama, Mahubeth, and even the city of Emessa, which is commonly called Camele above, and Caesarea the Great. On the death of the son of Norandinus, when in the care of his relative, Catebadinus,[8] Lord of Mosul, Aleppo came to him by right of inheritance. Not only Aleppo but also the county of Edessa and all

1 29 June.

2 1 Thessalonians 4:4.

3 Salah ad-Din Yussuf ibn Ayyub (c.1138–94), a major figure in Near Eastern history and the first Ayyub ruler of Egypt and Syria from 1174.

4 Asad ad-Din Shirkuh bin Shadhi (d.1169), an important military commander who had campaigned in Egypt from 1163 on orders from Nur ad-Din.

5 Baldacensis.

6 Al-Adid (1149–71) the last Fatimid caliph,1160–71.

7 As-Salih Ismail al-Malik (1163–81).

8 The eunuch Gumushtigin.

the land up to the Euphrates and even those noble cities of Mesopotamia, Edessa, Charan etc. Saladin took the aforesaid lordship of Mosul by force, not without the great concern of the Christians. So much the more because when the Latins had first entered the land they were unskilled in warfare and almost unarmed going to war only with bows. Now by use and exercise, and frequent meeting with the Christians, they had more fully took on the discipline of knighthood and they used Latin styles in armour, shields and helmets, swords and lances and all manner of weapons, both for offence and for defence.

Chapter 4: The prohibition of the Lateran Council against exporting weapons and such like to the Saracens, and the doleful slaughter of the Christian people brought about by Saladin

When such things had been done for the subversion of the Christian people in the East, God beheld the low state of the Church in the west and brought an end to the dispute between the Church and the Empire because [it had lasted] for 16 years, so that nothing would either intensify it or cause it to last longer.[1] In the year 1177 Frederick I came as a suppliant to Pope Alexander III who had gone down to Venice because of the faithfulness of the citizens and the unassailable protection of the city. The Pope placed his foot on the neck bowed to the ground and said: ‘Thou shalt walk upon the asp and the basilisk: and thou shalt trample under foot the lion and the dragon’,[2] and absolved from sentence he was reconciled. In the following year the Lateran Council gathered, where a great number of bishops and abbots from various parts convened. There, ‘infidels and evil Christians who exported arms, iron and timber for galleys to the Saracens and supplied any essentials for attacking Christians either in their own galleys or in pirate ships over which they exercised control were to be subject to excommunication and their property was to be confiscated by secular princes and they were judged to be the slaves of those who captured them.’ [3] Now returning to Eastern history let us say that in 1184 the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Prior of the Hospital and the Master of the Temple went to Philip King of France. However, the third one of them died on the journey. They carried the keys of the city of Jerusalem and of the Holy Sepulchre of the Lord and asked that he should bring help. He, having summoned a council of prelates, **(p. 191)** ordered that they preach to his subjects to take the Cross and he sent the most active knights with a strong force of foot at his own expense. But nothing standing in the way there was a huge hole for disagreement in the Kingdom of Jerusalem [and] the waiting Saladin was a crafty man and very skilled in military

[1] The long schism caused by the double election of Pope Alexander III (1159–81) and the antiPope Victor IV (d.1164) and brought to an end by the Peace of Venice, 1177. See *Boso's Life of Alexander III,* trans G.M. Ellis (Blackwell, Oxford, 1973), esp. p. 107.

[2] Psalms 90:13. This was the treaty of Venice, 1177, that stipulated the calling of a general church council. This was the Third Lateran Council which met in March, 1179.

[3] See below, p. 327.

matters; we have made mention of this above at the end of Part 6. And because, according to the sentence of the Saviour, 'Every Kingdom divided against itself, shall be brought to desolation.'[1] It mainly came about because Raymond, Prince of Mount Royal and of all the lands beyond the Jordan, also Lord of Hebron and the surrounding territory had broken the truces that the Christians had with the neighbouring Saracens, taking enormous booty. [Saladin] gathered an enormous host of warriors, especially from Egypt, Arabia and Damascus and also from Aleppo and Mesopotamia. It is said that he had 50,000 soldiers in his following and especially countless foot soldiers. This man of keen intellect sent forward 10,000 of his chosen soldiers who raided through the land of the Count of Tripoli who had entered truces with him (see above at the end of Part 6), through parts of Tiberias and Nazareth up to the outskirts of Acre. After his fashion they provoked our men, if by chance they pursued them unwarily or met them by chance, they were able to destroy or capture them: nor did he lack a plan to evil effect. For the Master of the Knights of the Temple going out unwisely with more than 70 of his brothers and the Master of the Hospital, who with 10 of his brothers was returning from Castle Belveir from a meeting with the Count of Tripoli, was shut up by the Turks in Castle Robert. Although there were no more than 120 knights with them, they put up a courageous resistance to 10,000 Saracens, killing many of them. In the end the few were undone by the many and the Master of the Hospital was slain with several of his men, the rest were captured; the Master of the Temple with a few men managed to escape. On the first day of May the Saracens had a bloody victory over the Christians. The Saracens were encouraged by this event. In the following July, with all his men brought together he besieged Tiberias, the last city of the Kingdom of Jerusalem on the Damascus side. For already, apparently, the Count of Tripoli, whose city it was, had withdrawn from the broken truces of the Saracens, since he was openly rumoured to be a traitor to the King and the kingdom. He fortified the said city against the Saracens, leaving his wife in the citadel. The last King of Jerusalem, Guido de Lisinio,[2] and the said Count of Tripoli with almost all the nobles of the kingdom hurried to bring help to the city, [taking with them] the largest number of men that had been used together since the first arrival of the Latins up to that time, namely, 1,200 mailed knights and 20,000 foot soldiers with weapons, bows and crossbows, but they lacked the help of Divine favour. They pitched their tents by the fountain of Sephoria, more confident in their own strength than in Divine assistance. On the following day the Christian army advanced against Saladin. A force of lightly armed cavalry from the army of Saladin advanced against them, daringly surrounding the Christians on right and left and wounding their horses with arrows and spears. It was the advice of the knight John that they coordinate an attack on Saladin's battleline and this advice pleased everyone except the Count of Tripoli, who advised seeking

[1] Luke 13:17.

[2] Guy of Lusignan (1129–94) King of Jerusalem in right of his wife Sybilla (1186–92), then King of Cyprus, 1192–4.

safety in the hills, a dry and waterless place. The prudent Saladin, noticing this, on the following day before the Christians could reach water, joined battle with the thirsty Christians with his ordered ranks of pagans, both horse and foot. They dealt with them in one day that is the second of June 1188.[1] The Count of Tripoli, the traitor to the army threw away his arms and fled to the castle of Saphet. The Bishop of Acre, carrying the banner of the Holy Cross, was mortally wounded, on account of which he handed the Cross to the King. The King was captured together with the Cross, and the Christian people handed over to the hands of the impious. This is no wonder, as has often been repeated, 'The Clergy with the people wallowed in excessive luxury.' It was thought that a disease of avarice and lust had infected them. And so the Christians suddenly turning their backs on the Saracens were almost all, from the least to the greatest, slaughtered or certainly led into captivity. Raymond, that noble Prince of Mount Royal and Petra, who had been a captive among the Turks for 16 years, then freed, was led before Saladin and was beheaded with [Saladin's] own sword and hand. The King and the Master of the Temple were kept for a triumph and were threatened in captivity with many of greater and lesser rank, lacking courage in the light of what had happened. Saladin, however, ordered that the proceeds of plunder be divided on the bridge of Tiberias and the better things to be taken to Damascus.

Chapter 5: The loss of almost the whole of the coastal region ***(p. 192)***

And after this was done Saladin the Turk attacked the army of the Christians again and again, against those who were terrified by his approach alone like timid women because there were no men left, who could escape and who were not accustomed to fighting, but they remained in the cities and fortified places. Since this was so many Christians fled before few Saracens. The Saladin pushing his good fortune, after the aforesaid victory hurried with the greatest preparation to Acre. And while besieging the city took its surrender after two days. According to the treaty he offered a safe conduct to those wishing to depart and to those remaining safety. For Saladin wished nothing to be damaged and that they would live with him as tributaries. Nor did he break any oath and seldom denied anything he was asked for. Then he received the city of Beirut, whose citizens all distrusted the strength of their defences. He also gained Byblos without any opposition. Returning to Acre and advancing along the coast as far as Ascalon there was no city that dared resist him. The Ascalonites confident of their city's location, for Ascalon was a well-fortified place, replied to Saladin that they would hand their city over to no-one, until they were clearly informed whether the citizens of Jerusalem had surrendered or held their city. In that same year three moons were seen in the sky and in their midst was the sign of the Cross. Not long after three suns were seen in the sky. The sun was also slightly obscured and stayed like it for a long time and there was an eclipse of the moon, hardly worldwide, on 24 April. On 10 February,

[1] The battle at the Horns of Hattin was fought on 4 July 1187.

shortly before dawn, the night being very clear, that the moon came down to the earth for a short time; and after a period of darkness, as if taking up men, it slowly returned to its place.

Chapter 6: The loss of the Holy City of Jerusalem and of Ascalon

When these things were done Saladin pitched his tents before Jerusalem and for ten days from the west he constantly attacked it, the citizens defending themselves manfully. On the north side he destroyed the walls with catapults. At last on the fourteenth day of the siege, 2 October 1188 he accepted the surrender of the city on certain conditions: namely that a child might be redeemed for two gold pieces; a man who had lived there for ten years for ten, a woman for five. Numerous Saracens entered and profaned the holy places. In churches and in other places dedicated to God they stabled their horses and did other vile things. The Suriani redeemed the Church of the Holy Sepulchre with much gold lest it be polluted. The Turks worshipped in the Temple of the Lord with great reverence. Saladin, before he entered there, had the walls washed with rose water, for he had 500 camels loaded with that water. He let many thousands of poor people off the agreed price [of redemption] and ordered essentials to be given to the sick. He ordered that the great golden cross that stood on the summit of the Temple be taken down. This the Saracens did by pulling on ropes, consubstantially, they took it to the tower of David, which is on Mount Syon, and there they broke it up; however, it is not written by what order of Saladin's this was done. Jerusalem was captured by the Turks after it had been in the hands of the Latins for 88 years and before that it had been occupied by the Turks for just as long a period. From that time men were said to be born with fewer teeth; for before they were said to have had 32 teeth.[1] After this many were redeemed according to the agreement, going under safe conduct to places of safety. Meanwhile the wives and daughters of the knights of Jerusalem, who had been in the battle, were redeemed. Leaving the city and coming into the presence of Saladin, they made a sorrowful wailing. On his asking the reason, they replied that they had lost their men folk and their possessions had been taken for him. They begged that out of pity something might be restored to them. He, moved by piety, ordered that those of the captives who had survived be restored to them and that great gifts be given to the children from his treasury. According to the state each had occupied, so he consoled them according to the magnificence of their former condition. But after they reached Tripoli, having escaped the dangers of the Saracens they encountered cruelty at the hands of the Christians. For the Count of Tripoli and his companions, those sons of Belial, when they ought to have been merciful to their fellow exiles **(p. 193)** took away from them anything that the infidels had given them, solely in the Christian name. It happened that on

[1] What is meant here is unclear. While the teeth in every human mouth vary, most adults have 32 teeth including 4 wisdom teeth. Infants develop 20 deciduous teeth or milk teeth.

account of this excessive cruelty a certain woman, holding an infant in her arms, [behaved as follows]. These sacrilegious men took away those things which the Saracens had left her for the sustenance of herself and her son, for they spared neither sex, nor age nor condition, rather everything was examined thoroughly. After this treatment, with mind disturbed, in a spirit of sadness, and oppressed by desperation she threw her own son into the sea. Saladin, returning to Ascalon, took the surrender of the city on the same terms, so that he might free the King of Jerusalem and the Master of the Temple, whom he was holding as captives (above Chapter 5) along with certain others.

Chapter 7: A lamentation on the loss of the Holy City of Jerusalem

'The snorting of his horses was heard in Dan, all the land was moved at the sound of the neighing of his warriors; and they came and devoured the land and all that was in it, the city and its inhabitants: my sorrow is above sorrow, my heart mourneth within me.[1] Who will give water to my head, and a fountain of tears to my eyes? and I will weep day and night for the slain of my people.'[2] I wish that Jeremias had been there, some faithful Christian sanctified in the womb of Mother Church, a Prophet for bemoaning dire events and dire evils, who composed the mournful lamentations, who might sigh, bewailing with a bitter soul. 'How sits the city alone?' not just the stones but the Church of Jerusalem: 'full of foreign people' now greater than its own. 'The mistress of peoples has been made a widow', her bishop wounded in his battle and the King bound in chains. 'The prince of provinces is made a tributary' Oh that it was for gold and not for things left undone. As a result 'there are none to comfort her among all them that were dear to her'. As a result 'all her friends have despised her and have become her enemies.' Because deservedly she has suffered injury from creatures, who insult the Creator. Now it is fulfilled: 'The ways of Sion mourn, because there are none that come to the solemn feast' but rather to worthlessness. And also 'Jerusalem hath grievously sinned, therefore is she become unstable', so that she falls from the seat of dignity, which seemed to be founded on a sure rock.[3] And from the idleness of the priests saying 'Peace, peace and there was no peace':[4] they could hear 'Thy prophets have seen false and foolish things for thee: and they have not laid open thy iniquity, to excite thee to penance':[5] concerning which this can be said again. 'How is the gold become dim':[6] that is the Clergy who before shone with the splendour of wisdom. 'The finest colour has changed', for example, those

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1 Jeremias 8:16–18.

2 Jeremias 9:1.

3 Lamentations 1:1, etc; the citations up to this point in the chapter come from Lamentations 1:1–8.

4 Jeremias 6:14.

5 Lamentations 2:14.

6 Lamenations 4:1.

who were accustomed to serve in places dedicated to God like precious stones, 'they are scattered' like vagabonds 'in the top of every street.' But lest these monks and religious should take offence at this, let them hear what is said in the following [verses]: 'Her Nazarites were whiter than snow' on account of the purity of the lily. 'Purer than milk', on account of the sweetness of their tears. 'More ruddy than old ivory' on account of the prolonged mortification of the flesh: 'fairer then the sapphire' because of serene meditation and the contemplation of the heavens. This is no longer the case: but 'Their face is now made blacker than coals', because their hearts are filled with accidie[1] and the contemplation of evil things. From which 'they are not known in the streets' which they used to frequent just like laymen pursuing secular ends. 'Their skin hath stuck to their bones and is become like wood', because they could not refresh themselves from sacred scriptures they were dried of spiritual humour like dried wood and so they could not bear fruit especially not having a dwelling place for the monastic life. On account of all these things, 'The Lord hath accomplished his wrath, he hath poured out his anger: and he hath kindled a fire in Sion': not he who descended from heaven on the apostles, but he who consumed the children of Job.

Chapter 8: How Saladin besieged Tyre

After he was swelled up with victory, Saladin turned to the siege of Tyre. There was then in that city an active man Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat. For, it is said that on that very day when the Christians were crushed in the said battle he was coming from Constantinople [and] reached the city by ship. He, when he promised to defend the city, [asked] that if after the liberation, it might pass to his lordship, and this was willingly conceded by all the citizens fearing the lot of the city. Then he began to act promptly for protecting himself and them, fortifying the city all around and strengthening the citizens and to induce everyone to honesty for protecting their liberty **(p. 194).** Then Saladin coming up, and having positioned the Christians apart from his army, so that those in the city were in view of those surrounded, sent messengers to Conrad [offering] that if he surrendered the city he would receive back the part which he held and be rewarded with much treasure. On this being refused he ordered 24 galleys to come from Acre to attack the city of Tyre and to keep the sea so that they might cut off food and all help. He also set up 24 catapults shooting at the city continuously. However, the Christian warriors, under the leadership of a certain vigorous Spanish knight made sorties two or three times each day. The Saracens standing there when they came out were amazed by the courage of this knight and called him knight Guercius. The Marquis built a navigable vessel that could be sailed close to the shore and the men were protected and some shot arrows through small loopholes. The galleys could not come up to

[1] Sloth, or accidie is one of the seven cardinal sins. In Dante's *Purgatorio*, canto XVIII, 93–143 the slothful were condemned to a perpetual running uphill. They are placed in the fifth circle of hell in *Inferno*, Canto VII.

her. Also it happened that a certain youth, the son of an emir, having quarrelled with his father, ran to the city and asked for baptism. Having written a letter in his name with a stylus, the Marquis sent it to the enemy. In it the youth saluted Saladin as his lord, and then said that he should know the condition of the city and he should know that at night the Christians fled and that if he didn't believe this he should cause watch to be made at the gate at night. He, pleased by the content of the letter, filled his galleys with good men. The Marquis placing a careful guard on the walls but quietly summoned all from the barbicans. He ordered the whole army to run to the gate and took down the chain of the gate as a precaution. The Saracens sensing this believed the lie to be true and hurried to enter the gate. After some ships had entered the chain was raised and those who were in the ships were slaughtered. The ships captured were just like the ones they had before and were manned by the Christians in a solemn manner and they chased those fleeing away. The Marquis learning that all the barbicans had been occupied by the Saracens, hurried there, opened the gates of the city and attacked them. Immediately the Saracens were driven out and more than 1,000 were either wounded or killed in the rout. Saladin seeing that he was defeated on land and sea, was saddened and prosecuted the siege no further. In the evening he burned his galleys and his catapults and withdrew.

Chapter 9: In what manner the cities of Tripoli and Antioch together with other fortifications were saved from Saladin's attack

After this Saladin, neither active nor lazy, moved to Tripoli and ordered that the Count of Tripoli should cause the citizens to swear allegiance to him according to his oath to him. The citizens were consulted about this [and] while they sought clarification on the manner of fulfilling the oath, the time passed to the next day. At dawn the unfortunate Count was found dead by Divine providence and the marks of circumcision were found on him, which he had recently received. He had next to him the seal of Saladin and some of his household related that he wished to hand the city over to Saladin. Raymond the son of the Prince of Antioch succeeded him. Saladin, noticing that the majority of the citizens together with those who had fled there were prepared to defend the city [and] thinking that it would be easier to return there at some suitable time when he had captured other fortifications, went away. For he did not wish to waste any more time there, especially since William, King of Sicily had sent a powerful [force] with 70 galleys to the former ruler after he had heard of the sad fate of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in order to save the remaining parts. There were also 500 knights, 300 Turcopoles[1] and ample food supplies. Therefore, advancing towards Antioch Saladin, who was impetuous in spirit and was urging himself and his men to wipe out the Christians, besieged the city of Tortosa, ten miles away. He ordered that Guy the King of Jerusalem and

[1] *Turcopolos*. See C. Marshall, *Warfare in the Latin East, 1192–1291* (Cambridge, 1992), 58–60.

ten other knights be led before him to that place. For the Queen, Guy's wife, had sent to Saladin from Tripoli that he keep the agreements which he had sworn in Ascalon. He sent the King to the Queen and the Count his father to Conrad, Lord of Tyre and he freed the Master of the Temple, the Constable of the Kingdom, the Marshal and others. Because he could achieve nothing around Tortosa, Saladin advanced five miles, took Valania and destroyed it, because it was near the castle of Margath, on its hill. Advancing another five miles he took and fortified Gibel, passed by Liza and began the siege of Arx Gulielmi in the district of Antioch. In the space of three months he gained the whole principality and the castle which is called of Antioch, except the impregnable castle of the lord patriarch which is called Cursarium and the city of Antioch, from which he withdrew for a time, having received much money **(p. 195)** from the lord patriarch and hoping that, because he had occupied all the fortifications around about the city could not hold out for long. And so he conquered more than 25 cities and towns in the principality of Antioch.

Part 10

Part 10 contains the help offered to the Holy Land from the West at the time of Saladin, having 9 chapters.

Chapter 1: The wonderful response of the western peoples and the care of the Supreme Pontiffs in organizing the Crusade

Since the report of the downfall of the Christian people filled the whole world, you heard nothing in all the parts of the West, except a sad song, lamentations and wailing. For all the faithful were cast down in spirit, smitten by grief of the heart, stiff like dry wood or stones. This destruction was so sad for Pope Urban III[1] that he wept bitterly before everyone on the loss of the Holy Land and the Christian people. In addition he uttered dire laments because the Eastern Church had suffered unalterable overthrow in his times. The banner of the life-giving Cross had been captured and retained by the enemies of the Crucified Lord. The filthy dogs had thoroughly crushed the Land of Promise and profaned all the holy places. To this heap of evils, strife arose between Henry, the son of Frederick Augustus, whom his father had set over Italy and the Pope. For he had taken to wife Constance, the daughter of Roger I, King of Sicily, from whom was born Frederick II. On account of this dispute, the ability to make progress was denied the Pope who stayed in Verona. But then when the negotiations were completed he moved to Ferarra and it was there where he received the sad messengers. Languishing with worry he contracted a fever and not long after partly from the weakening by the fever,

[1] Pope, 25 November 1185–18 December 1187.

partly from the exhaustion of that bitter business, he passed away. Gregory VIII,[1] a worthy man in the opinion of all, succeeded him in the pontificate; distinguished in learning and speech, even more distinguished in purity and integrity of mind he approached all to help the Holy Land. But however comely the flower, it was soon ploughed out in its place, for he was buried at Pisa after only two months. After this Pope Clement III[2] succeeded him, with the unanimous vote of his fellow cardinals, stirred up to the help of the faithful across the seas, who remained a few just like sheep surrounded by wolves, he advised and persuaded, invited and asked the faithful kings, princes and barons and the whole Christian people, in remission of all their sins, to join in the recovery of the Church of Christ and our city. Moved by courage from above they swiftly sent help and actively hurried to assist. It was not a time of unwillingness, when the inspired anger of so savage a crowd sprinkled the Eastern Churches. Aroused on this account the prelates, princes, both great and less took the sign of the Cross on their shoulders, called all to join them and all called together to take help to the Holy Land.

Chapter 2: The journey and death of the Emperor of the Romans, also the siege of Acre by Guy, King of Jerusalem

Having heard certain rumours that the Roman Emperor, the Kings of France and England, the prelates and barons and innumerable people had taken the Cross, the prudent and wise Saladin most abundantly strengthened Acre with soldiers and supplies, thinking that such a great number of people could not arrive anywhere but at Acre, promising to help the city swiftly if it should be besieged by the Christians. The first of the Kings hurrying to the aid of the Holy Land was the Roman Emperor Frederick I, with his son the Duke of Swabia[3] and with him he brought some 500,000 men. Making the crossing by land they reached Constantinople. Crossing the Arm of Saint George they had plenty of food, on the orders of the Emperor of Constantinople, as far as the land of the Turks. But after the Germans **(p. 196)** had entered the land of the Turks, while they began to seize supplies unwisely and foolishly, the Turks withdrew. They were exhausted by hunger and every necessity like the seven tribes, so that the greater part of the army was lost. When he entered Armenia and Salef, he was attracted to bathe by the sweetness of a small river as some are pleased to say or according to others by a fall from his horse, he was brought out half dead. Dying not long after he gave the command of his army to one of his three sons whom he had with him, who a short time afterwards also died of natural causes in 1190. Pope Celestine crowned Henry the son of King Frederick with the imperial diadem.[4] What do you think

[1] Pope, 19 December 1187–20 March 1191.

[2] Pope, 21 March 1191–8 November 1198.

[3] Frederick VII (1167–91) was Duke of Swabia from 1170. He died at the siege of Acre.

[4] Henry VI (1165–97), King of the Germans, 1190–7 and Emperor from 1191.

that restless prince had achieved? Already having attacked the Sultan of Iconium because he had not kept his promises he had fought the Turks to a standstill. A very great fear overtook Saladin, who ordered that the walls of Laodicea of Syria, Gibel, Tortosa, Byblos, Beirut, and Sidon be slighted because he thought that the Roman Emperor would pass through those parts. He maintained only the forts. Returning to the story of King Guy, let us say that because he was set free he went to the consort of his kingdom who was in Tripoli. From there he went as far as Tyre. But on reaching there the Marquis shut him out and denied his request for entry. He claimed that the city was his not the King's: for which see Chapter 8 of Part 9. The King seeing that, because he could not lodge in his city, he had not one manor in the Kingdom of Jerusalem where he might lay his head. Shaken by the truth and enveloped in shame especially because the Holy Land of Promise had been lost in his reign. He looked as if he had given up life, stunned rather than active, because desperation is dangerous. In the summer which followed the loss of Holy Jerusalem, namely 1189, when he could still gather a few men, he besieged the city of Acre, pitching his tents next to the city on a slight rise. In the city there were four Saracens for every Christian. His brother Godfrey of Lisinium[1] was with him, a spirited man active in arms, for his brother's sake he went before all the Christians. When this had been reported to Saladin it is said that he gave thanks to God, because the rump of the Christians with their King had been placed in his hands. Asking his commander-in-chief why he had not hurried to gather plunder, he replied that because he expected his brother to come up he preferred to wait so that his brother might share in the wealth.

Chapter 3: The arrival of aid for both Christians and pagans, and serious happenings

It is a happy necessity which leads to better things, which does not rush to the edge of desperation but rather seeks refuge in divine help, because as the Apostle teaches, 'hope does not confuse'. Therefore, the son of the Emperor with the aforesaid Germans hurries to help those believing in the lord and in the power of his virtue. That noble man most steadfast in the service of the Lord, James of Avesnes,[2] comes too with many ships called Esneches and leading Flemings, Brabanters and Frisians, and at the right time he pitches his tents before Acre. The archbishops of Ravenna and of Pisa with a large army from Italy reach Tyre. Many of the faithful from various parts of the world and with one heart and mind hurry thither towards Acre. Then the army of the Christians, lest they suffer sudden and unforeseen attacks from the Saracens, felt safer having dug a ditch all around. After these arrivals, Saladin who had learned from experience that 'delay always does

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[1] Godfrey of Lusignan.

[2] James, Lord of Avesnes from 1171, reached the Holy Land in 1189 and was killed at the Battle of Arsuf in 1191.

damage for those already prepared',[1] began to plot all things against the Christian people that could ruin them. Then the Christian people were afflicted by many evils before the arrival of the Kings of France and England, for the enemy threatened them from before and behind; extremes of weather, pestilence and dysentery. Many starved to death in the sand around the city. Many died from arrow wounds. The Saracens burned many of their catapults, but they could not be defeated by any adversity. Although Saladin had harassed the Christians in the siege lines with many stratagems they still came out to fight. When there were more Saracens than ever, they never feared to expect a Christian attack, they left their camps freely. When the Christians had come up, a certain horse escaped from the control of its rider. An uproar broke out and the people became very frightened for no reason at all and began to flee. The Saracens seeing this regained their courage and pursued them boldly, shooting arrows at the backs of horses and knights. A few of the nobles, who thought it scandalous **(p. 197)** to show their backs to the infidels, were surrounded by a crowd and perished, among whom was the Master of the Temple and Andrew, Count of Brienne with several others. Those who were in the city, coming out to the fleeing Christians, killed many of them. So great was the disorder of the Christians and so great the panic that scarcely anyone survived unless he was an active man, skilled in arms. The aforesaid Godfrey of Lusignan, who had remained behind to guard the camp offered some protection with his men. Then a very great famine arose in the army, so that they were forced to eat the carcasses of horses and of other dead animals. A measure of corn, which was had from the Byzantines, was sold for 60 bezants. Then it happened that since around 30,000 men were starving, despite the opposition of the greater men, they attacked the Saracens to get some food. The Saracens, very craftily, pretended to flee, but they did not take their food with them and left behind gold, silver and other desirables. They secretly returned to those now recovering or laden down with heavy items and charged against them with a great shout. Almost all were either killed in the rout or were drowned in the sea. Some of them who had been able to escape were driven mad by terror. In these days Sybil, Queen of Jerusalem died and passed the kingdom to her sister Isabelle, wife of that noble man Henfrandus of Toron.[2] Aware of this the Marquis Conrad of Montferrat, who already possessed Tyre (see above Chapter 8, Part 9) and who was present in the army and moved by the ambition of ruling, married her in fact. Although this agreement was an abomination to the pilgrims, since she had complained bitterly of her husband, its legality was

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[1] Lucan, *Pharsalia*, a citation often used by medieval writers.

[2] Sybil or Sybilla (c.1185–25 July 1190) was the daughter of Amalric and Agnes of Courtenay. Her death with that of her surviving two daughters undermined the position of Guy of Lusignan who was King by her right. Isabelle (c.1171–1205) was her half-sister, the daughter of Amalric and Maria Komnene. She was persuaded to divorce Humphrey of Toron in order to marry Conrad. The divorce took place before this marriage.

accepted, because not only had they received bribes from Tyre from the Marquis but he had purchased the support of some of the great men with gifts.[1]

Chapter 4: The arrival of the Kings of France and England and the capture of Acre

Now we return to the crusade of the illustrious kings. When the dire news of the downfall of Outremer reached Philip, King of France and Henry, King of England, they met to settle the dispute between them. Contrary to the opinion of all, they each took the yoke of Christ to help the Holy Land, Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre. There were many prelates and several barons and numberless people [in the army]. The King of France decided that whoever wished to take the Cross [should pay] less on his movables for that year and that he would give a tenth of his revenues and so it was called the Saladin tithe. The King of England died after a few days. His son Richard succeeded him. He should have betrothed the sister of the King of France and asked that on account of the journey overseas this be postponed until his return. And so King Philip wisely entrusted his Kingdom to the Church of Saint Denis, and not deeming himself worthy to take the scrip and staff, the signs of pilgrimage, he set out. With him were the Duke of Burgundy, Henry, Count of Champagne, Theobald, Count of Blois, Stephen, Count of Sanfuerrez, the Count of Claremont, the Count of Pons, the Count of Flanders, the Count of Saint-Paul, and others. And when the King of France reached Messina he was honourably received by King Tancred. The King of England came from Marseilles to Messina. The King of France met him joyfully and they showed no small pleasure in mutual greetings. Carried thither was Abbot Joachim, called 'of Calabria',[2] who, to the two kings asking about the events of the crusade, replied: that 'the time for the return of our City of God is not yet come.' And so at the beginning of March the kings boarded their ships and galleys with many knights, instruments of war and plenty of supplies. The King of France had arrived first at the Port of Acre, where, long expected, he was received with much joy, like an Angel. He ordered his catapults to be erected, but he pretended to attack until the King of England should arrive. They say that the cause of his delay [was] because his mother the old queen arranged that the King of Navarre should give his sister in marriage to the King of England. When this was announced, his mother sent the daughter to King Richard as she was his betrothed. He rejected the sister of the King of France, the girl he should have married. When they reached the island of Cyprus, which was held by the Emperor of Constantinople, they sent a skiff to ask news of

[1] In 1187 he had married Theodora the sister of Isaac II Angelos. He abandoned her in Constantinople to go to Tyre. He was still married *de iure* in 1190 and this was the problem, despite the wording here.

[2] Joachim of Fiore (c.1132–1202), a Cistercian mystic who founded a monastery at Fiore in Calabria. He had made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He held a role of pan-European sanctity.

King Richard. He replied that they had no news of the King. However, the ladies were invited to disembark **(p. 198)**. On this being denied the vicar of the Emperor ordered galleys to be prepared for them against their will. Those who indeed had charge of the ladies were on the high seas and having sought out the King on behalf of the Queen Mother, his sister offered a bride to her brother and told him of the harm done by the Greeks.[1] He, furious, besieged Limassol and took it. There he gained horses and many other things. He married the lady that he had brought with him and rested there for some days. Thither Guy the former King of Jerusalem came to meet him. They advanced to the port which is near Nicosia, then a city and took the whole island. They besieged the vicar of the Emperor who had fled to the strongest castle and took it and with him [were] his wife and daughter, certain barons and a great treasure from the whole island that had been placed there for safety. He placed the island under the protection of the Templars and went to Acre with such booty. But when the King of France learned of this, he concealed his displeasure, went to meet the new arrivals. Humbly dismounting from his horse, he received the bride from the boat in his arms. Then they besieged the city, attacking from all sides and engaged the whole summer. Those who were inside [the city] resisted them with no small force. For catapults were opposed to catapults and sometimes destroyed [one another]. Wooden siege towers that were constructed at great expense were burnt with Greek fire [and] they inflicted various injuries on the Christians. One day Saladin sent new and fresh troops with weapons and supplies to the city in a huge ship that they call dromon. The King of England, meeting the ship with galleys near the port, took it to the great joy of the Christians and to the grief and gloom of the Saracen people. For amongst other things that were said to be in them were two snakes which they had captured to send against the Christians. The King of France was pounding the walls, towers and ramparts of the city with stones and destroying catapults, houses and all structures he denied any rest to the besieged. In the attack on Acre Count Theobald, the Marshal of France, the Count of Claremont, the Count of Perche and the Count of Flanders were killed. Baldwin, who was the son of the count of Hainault and afterwards Emperor of Constantinople, succeeded the count of Flanders.[2] Finally, seeing that the walls were breached, the Saracens were not able to withstand the Christian assault any further, June 1191; almost two years after the beginning of the siege. They surrendered the city to the Christians by treaty: 'that for the freedom of each Saracen, a Christian captive should be freed, and above all the Holy Cross should be returned to the Christian religion.' When Saladin did not wish to return the banner of the Cross, the King of England ordered that half the Saracens prisoners

[1] This seems to be the meaning of this sentence.

[2] Baldwin (1172–c.1205) succeeded his dead uncle Philip as Baldwin IX of Flanders. In 1196 he succeeded his father as Baldwin VI, Count of Hainault. He was a prominent leader of the Fourth Crusade and was elected the first Latin Emperor of Constantinople in 1204.

that they held be decapitated. The King of France, acting more mildly ordered that this be commuted on his [prisoners] for the sake of the Christian captives.

Chapter 5: The condition of the coastal region, the unfortunate dispute of the Christian kings and the departure of the King of France

Saladin, slippery as a snake, and perceiving that the city of Acre was captured and many of his warriors killed, was depressed; for he had placed his chosen men there (see Chapter 2 above). Despairing that the other places could be protected, he destroyed the coastal towns, namely Porphyria, Caesarea, Jaffa, Ascalon, Gaza and Durus. After this King Richard rebuilt Jaffa and left it with stout walls and under safe protection. At last fear of them oppressed the Saracens: not only Prince Saladin but the Kingdom of Jerusalem might be easily subjected to the kings; and even that the Saracens might be pushed beyond their accustomed frontiers. But the enemy of the human race, casting an evil eye on the successes of the Christian people and stirring up jealousy and strife between the kings, sowed tares over [them]. It happened that 'Contempt was poured forth upon their princes', while they bit each other in turn and dragged each other down, 'and he caused them to wander where there was no passing and out of the way.'[1] Then the Saracens were pleased and breathed in hope of holding on to the kingdom. The Christian people were dashed in adversity and confused with much shame. Meanwhile, the King of France took to his bed and was seriously ill. When he got better he decided to go home to avoid the distresses of strife. Some say that Count Philip urged him to go home if he felt death to be imminent in order to preserve his title. Others say that because the Count of Flanders was filled with envy he feared an invasion by the Count of Hainault. Therefore, bidding farewell to all the barons, he put the Duke of Burgundy **(p. 199)** in his place, handed his army over to him and left him with a great sum of gold and silver and plenty of supplies. Against the will of all the barons he boarded his ships, left the Holy Land and returned to France seeing the Pope in Rome on the way. He had returned as he wished, but he whom God had honoured with a double miracle of water, crossed the sea safely. In 1188 when the whole of his army had marched against Richard, Count of Poitou[2] because of a broken treaty, they were affected by drought and suddenly a most abundant amount of water came from the bowels of the earth and after his return nothing compared with this. In the following year wishing to cross Ligeria, throwing his spear in the river he found a ford that was unknown to man and when he had crossed before all, this being regarded as a miracle, his whole army followed. What do you think that the Almighty might have done if he had advanced against the infidel people, when he had done such things among the faithful?

1 Psalms 106:10.

2 The future Richard I.

Chapter 6: How the Christian people advanced to the siege of Jerusalem and why it abandoned this plan, and the rebuilding of Ascalon and Durus

Then it was announced to King Richard that Jerusalem would be undefended and could easily be taken without the clash of arms. Therefore, Richard called the Duke of Burgundy and the other barons and having taken counsel they advanced from Acre towards Jaffa bearing many difficulties on the way. For Saladin, following closely, had sent knights and Turcopoles to the flanks of the Christian army, who with showers of arrows wounded horses as well as Christian knights, until with many difficulties they reached the town of Assur. On that day King Richard was wounded by an arrow. After this the Christians turned the Saracen battleline advancing towards their camp into flight and they made no small slaughter of those in flight. But on that very day unknown to the Christian army, that distinguished warrior James of Avesnes, fighting with many of his own men against a host of infidels, died in the midst of the flower of his race. Saladin, with those who had fled advanced to Jerusalem and there he was safe. The Christians made camp at Bethnoble between Jaffa and Jerusalem. At the same time it was reported to King Richard that a great caravan was being led from Egypt to Saladin's army with many horses and camels, laden with supplies and other goods. He, eager for plunder but not without great danger, left the Christian army, travelling by night with a force of warriors, he brought plunder to them with great joy. After this they say that some of the aforesaid, having taken advice decided not to advance to besiege Jerusalem in winter time, especially because there was no fortress between Acre and Jerusalem, unless they could bring supplies for the army to Jaffa, and this not without serious and manifest danger. Then not without much regret, with many tears and the very great sadness of the greater part of the army, they were forced to retreat. Others suggest that while they were on the way the Duke of Burgundy had withdrawn the French because the flower of the French army was there. At the same time King Richard was there with few men, yet the honour of victory was assigned to him. This was detestable to the Crown of France and it was never cleared of this mark of shame. While some agree with this and others contradict it, the French army unexpectedly withdrew. King Richard likewise was forced to retreat. Those who understood the condition of the Saracens more fully claimed that Saladin had scarcely expected that army and could not find [anyone] to stay in the city on his withdrawal, terrified by the example of Acre. He could not help those whom he wished to help: he had refused to help those whom he could by returning the Cross, preferring that they be slaughtered. Because they could do no more alone, rather the Jews argued with the Samaritans, just like the English with the French. The Duke of Burgundy hurried with his men to Tyre and wintered there with the Marquis. King Richard moving with his army spent the whole winter working hard to rebuild Ascalon and exhausted much of his treasure. Also rebuilding Darus he left it fortified. Gaza, which had been theirs before, was repaired too and handed over to the Templars for protection. Having carefully strengthened Jaffa he withdrew to Acre.

Chapter 7: The appointment of Guy to the lordship of Cyprus, the second attempt on Jerusalem, the regency of the Kingdom of Jerusalem assigned to Henry III, Count of Champagne and truces made with Saladin ***(p. 200)***

Since fortune varied thus from time to time in the Land of Promise the Greeks gathered together to plot the death of all those Latins who were protecting the island of Cyprus on the orders of King Richard (see above Chapter 4). The Latins, although few in number, gained the victory by Divine providence; and the event was reported to King Richard and the Master of the Temple. The island was handed back to the King of England by the Master of the Temple so that he might dispose of it at his pleasure. On the advice of the said Master Guy, the former King of Jerusalem, who hardly possessed any land, asked for the island kingdom and got it, 1192. He invited all the disinherited knights to come with him. He divided the land that each would own according to what each had done. In the same year when a ship loaded with merchandise was robbed of not a few of its riches by the subjects of the Marquis, the merchants sought justice from the said Marquis, the Lord of Tyre, arguing that they were the subjects of the Lord of the Assassins, and they got nothing. This Lord sent his messengers again and again but [each time] they brought back nothing. Then he sent two men from his household, who pretending to seek baptism, came across the judge by chance and brought an end to the unjust man.[1] Having received news of this King Richard hurried from Acre to Tyre and on the third day he married his nephew Henry, Count of Champagne to the lady Isabelle, the widow of the marquis. On account of this he was reckoned by some to have been the perpetrator of the murder. This being truly done, King Richard, with his army and with others of like mind assembled to besiege Jerusalem and they advanced as far as Bethnoble. When they reached there, King Richard changed into a new man and said that he deeply wished to return to his own country. When this became known it brought great joy to the Saracens and sadness to the Christians. Hope had raised them up, grief and shame cast them down. They feared that on his account, having supported them with his sacrifices, they would lose the profit of such great efforts. And so the King of England told Henry that he would return to protect the Land and promised to send treasure and help. To him pointing out the wretched state of the Land after his withdrawal, he replied that he would make truces with Saladin and leave him in safety. Saladin, knowing that the time of the King's departure was at hand said that he would agree to no settlements unless the King of England slighted Ascalon, Gaza and Durum, which he had formerly rebuilt and fortified. He was prepared to leave Jaffa and all the land to Acre to the Christians. For he knew that with the fortifications destroyed the open land could not long survive the departure of the Christian army. And so the truces were agreed.

[1] Conrad of Montferrat was murdered by Assassins in Acre, not Tyre as suggested here on 28 April 1192.

Chapter 8: The return of the King of England, the coronation of the first King of Armenia, the crusade of the Germans and the death of Saladin; also the rule of the Holy Land comes to Almeric, King of Cyprus

And so the truces were confirmed in 1193. King Richard embarked his wife, sister and others on ships and ordered their departure. He, speaking to the Master of the Temple, said that he had few choices and could not return to his Kingdom without fear of death or capture, unless he travelled cautiously and incognito. He asked, through the brothers if one of his knights would sail in one galley to avoid these dangers. He freely granted his requests. Therefore, bidding farewell to Count Henry and his wife and to the other barons, he boarded the ship that had been made ready and thence, with a rough appearance he entered the aforesaid galley and sailed almost to Aquilegea. He could not avoid precautions lest he be betrayed wherever he was both on land and sea. Regaining horses he rode through Germany and entered a castle of the Duke of Austria.[1] Although he might have been accosted several times before by many people [his servant], who had been continuously with him, then turned traitor and he was captured. Suffering on all sides he was confined. Then robbed of all **(p. 201)** things he was handed over to the Emperor Henry, who imprisoned him for a year and a half, making things worse with many demands. At last, having paid 200,000 marks he crossed the sea to England. In the following year Bohemond, Prince of Antioch sent for Leo, Lord of Armenia who was his vassal that he should come to him in a named place. The latter gave the reason for his disobedience as fear, because earlier he had sent for his brother Rupin, Lord of Armenia, in like manner, imprisoned him and entering his land had occupied towns and castles. Then the Prince sent again because he had not induced his appearance on a stated day, and they both promised to meet one another. As a precaution the Lord of Armenia concealed 200 horsemen in a wood. He went to the Prince with only two companions; leaving behind the horn with his squire, he approached the place. After a long discussion the Prince ordered the Lord of Armenia to be detained. The squire learning of this called the knights to help their lord with the sound of the horn. These not only released him but also captured the Prince and his men and bound him with chains. The captured Prince handed over the administration of his land to Henry so that he might help because he could not be freed without his assistance. It happened that he was received very reverently by the Lord of Armenia and all of his land was placed under him voluntarily, leaving aside the matter of the Prince. And when he had spent some time in Armenia, he sought and obtained a meeting with the Prince to arrange peace. The form of the agreement was as follows: the Prince would be set at liberty and he would release the Lord of Armenia from homage and he would be his vassal; the Lord of Armenia would keep the land which he held in the area around Antioch [and there was] a marriage contract between the son of the Prince and the daughter of Rupin. In this way the peace was agreed. These things being done,

[1] Leopold V, Duke of Austria (1157–94) became duke in 1177.

the Lord of Armenia said to Henry his lord that, because he held a great land and many cities and castles and was rich in great revenues, so he should be crowned a king, especially because the prince of Antioch was subject to him and because he could not receive the crown from a more worthy man, he asked to be crowned by his hands. [Henry] willingly agreed to this and declared him King of Armenia. When the King of the Assassins heard that Henry the overlord of his land had gone to the Armenians, he sent messengers asking that he should visit him on his return journey and [Henry] agreed. It happened that on his arrival the King welcomed him with great honour and conducted him around his castles and various places until they reached a certain castle where there was an exceptionally high tower. On this watch tower there were two men clothed in white. The King said to his guest that his subjects would not obey him as absolutely as his own men. When he replied that this was possible, the King spat and immediately the two men threw themselves down. Shattered, they died in a moment. The King said to Henry, who was the overlord of the land and was still shocked: 'If he wished I will cause all my subjects to throw themselves down in this fashion.' But he did not wish it, saying that his servants would not obey in this way. And when he had spent time in this land at his pleasure, he returned home laden with gifts. And the King said to him: 'If he had any enemy or traitor to his kingdom, he might immediately bring about his death with his men.' Meanwhile, the Emperor Henry VI sent a host of Germans to safeguard the Holy Land, ordering them to observe the truces. When they were besieging a fortress near Tyre, which is called Thoron, the besieged should have given up according to the agreement. They should have gained the castle from them. While they scattered for the night they were surprised by the approach of an army of Saracens and withdrew. When they approached Beirut the terrified Saracen inhabitants surrendered the city and the citadel. However, learning of the death of the Emperor they went home. Some moved by their oath fortified Jaffa against the Saracens. But the Saracens taking the fortifications in a short time and without any difficulty took its inhabitants as captives. Saladin died in Damascus in 1196. He said to his standard-bearer: 'You who are accustomed to carry my standard in battles, now carry the standard of my death and with a silk cloth on the middle of your lance proclaim: Behold the dying King of the East. He should carry nothing more than this concerning all his glories.' Although Count Henry had married the Queen and held the lordship of Acre and of Tyre, he refused to be crowned king, for he always strove in this way for the benefit of others. It happened that when all things were ready for his return home, as he wished, he fell from the window of his house above the ditch of the city of Acre, [and] breaking his spine he died. Almeric, King of Cyprus, who had succeeded his brother Guy in 1194, married Queen Isabelle in 1198 and took on the administration and lordship of the land.

Chapter 9: The division and schism of the Saracen people and the re-negotiation of the truces ***(p. 202)***

After the return of the King of England and the crusaders, the Christians in the Land of Promise remained in great danger. Straightaway the evil race threatened them, unless the death of Saladin had brought hostility against them, serious discords and much suffering for the Christians. For the dying Saladin[1] had divided the land between his 12 sons and left no land to his brother Saphadin,[2] who had been the companion of his victories. He, not having land of his own, set out with the son of Saladin who had inherited the Kingdom of Egypt. It happened that the aforesaid son of Saladin, the Sultan of Egypt, going out hunting, fell headlong from his horse and died.[3] Then Saphadin assumed the lordship of the land, fortified the cities and castles and summoned knights and armed men from all sides with promise of great rewards. However, the other son of Saladin, who was Sultan in Damascus and Jerusalem, learning this news, gathered as large an army as he could, fearing that Saphadin would seize him and his kingdom, which in fact he did.[4] And because he seized not only the lands of these two bothers but also the lands and kingdoms of all the others except the kingdom of Aleppo, the hearts of many Saracens felt that new things were happening. Then the time was right for the Christians to take revenge but they had no ability to wage war, nor did they dare attack the Saracens, although several of them had suffered injury. The majority thought that they could live in some way or another among them and occupy what land was left to them or preserve the trappings of peace. However, those to whom it rightly belonged recovered the city and citadel of Byblos by paying money to certain Saracens without the Sultan's knowledge. While the Saracens occupied almost the whole of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and were divided against each other, the Christians for their part were scarcely affected and surrounded by enemies on all sides they willingly renewed the treaties under Almeric and Saphadin, which had been agreed by Saladin and King Richard.

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1 Saladin died of fever in Damascus on 4 March 1193, *pace* p. 319.

2 Al-Adil I (1145–1218) in full al-Malik al-Adil Sayf al-Din Abu Bakr ibn Ayub emerged from lands he took in Iraq to participate in the power struggles of his nephews and became Sultan of Egypt in 1200.

3 Generally known as Uthman, the second son of Saladin became the second Ayyubid sultan of Egypt as al-Malik al-Aziz Osman bin Saladin Yussuf (1171–98). He was succeeded by his son al-Mansur Nasir-ad-Din (1198–1200), whom al-Adil succeeded.

4 Al-Afdal ibn Saladin (c.1160–96) was exiled by al-Adil from Damascus in 1196.

Part 11

Part 11 contains the crusades and the various states and lordships of the Land of Promise from the death of Saladin to the coming of Saint Louis, having 16 chapters.

Chapter 1: How many crusaders went beyond the sea under the above-mentioned Fulk

After the Kings of France and England had returned from the parts beyond the sea, they showed implacable and mutual hatred to each other. Meanwhile Fulk, a certain priest, preached most earnestly in France and his teaching was borne out by miracles. Then many were moved to take the Cross to help the Holy Land. Even Richard King of England developed the idea that, if he could recover the land lost from the King of France, he would attack the land of Egypt with a great fleet and having subdued it would gain the Land of Promise and crossing thence to Constantinople would take the crown of the Empire. It happened that a large tournament was announced and many knights came together and there were those on both sides who laid aside fighting and took the Cross together to help the Holy Land. After this the aforesaid King was hit by an arrow from a catapult during the siege of a castle and died at Le Mans. Among the crusaders there were especially, Baldwin, Count of Flanders and Henry Dango his brother, Thibault, Count of Champagne, Louis, Count of Blois, Stephen, Count of Perche, the Count of Saint Paul, Simon, Count of Montferrat and Guy his brother, John of Neele, Emoranz of Boue and three of his brothers, Renald, Count of Dampierre and many others. The number of notable knights rose to 1,000 **(p. 203**). Also the aforesaid priest Fulk had kept back a great sum of money that he had collected from the Cistercians for the help of the Holy Land. With it because there was nothing more useful in Outremer the walls of Acre and Tyre, which had been ruined by earthquake, were restored. And so the aforesaid and many others decided to go by fleet from Venice. Then they chose Thibault, Count of Champagne to be over them and who all should obey and he should dispense justice. But he was close to death and so they substituted the Marquis of Montferrat for him. There were not many knights at that meeting; some of them took passage from Marseilles. John of Neele and many Flemings with him went by sea and through the region of Morocco.[1] All these who took passage at the same time headed for Acre, about 300 knights and not a few people with them. Then Stephen,[2] Count of Dampierre persuaded the King of Jerusalem to break the truces: because there would be many and enough for making

[1] John II of Nesle, castellan or burgrave of Bruges, left Flanders with the fleet in April 1202 and wintered at Marseilles. He was supposed to go to Modon but instead went straight to Syria where he died on 14 July 1204. He had participated in the Third Crusade.

[2] This name has an asterisk in Bongar's text, presumably because. *Stephanus domini Petri comes* is Reynald of Dampierre mentioned earlier in the chapter. Both Villehardouin

raids against the enemy. The King proclaimed that he was not of sufficient weight but that the barons were awaiting those who would come from Venice. He therefore tempted some 80 knights and many of the people to the Prince of Antioch who had a real war on his hands with certain Saracens. While he was on his way to fight dishonoured by his disobedience, he was captured with his war-band between Tripoli and Antioch [and] was imprisoned in chains in Aleppo. John of Neele with the Flemings reached Marseilles where the girl, who had been captured on the island of Cyprus [and] had been set free by the King of England on the death of her father the Emperor, had returned (see above Part 10, Chapter 4). She married one of the Flemish knights hoping that by their courage to retain the island of Cyprus. Therefore, they crossed to the island of Cyprus and announced to King Almeric that she would be his heir. He was threatened with death unless they left quickly. Therefore they crossed to Armenia and the aforesaid John took service with the King of Armenia against the people of Antioch also by association with the King he was not without the admiration of many, since he was a man held in high estimation. Others wisely landed at the city of Tyre or the city of Antioch. Leo, King of Armenia was angry with the people of Antioch, because when he had given his niece to Bohemond the son of Prince Bohemond whom he had captured (Part 10, Chapter 8), the young Bohemond had died before his father leaving a son Rupinus. After the death of Prince Bohemond the elder, 1201 they had not recognized the lordship of the aforesaid nephew by right, but rather Raymond, Count of Tripoli the other son. However, in 1203 the King of Armenia had entered Antioch on the side of the citadel and had occupied everything as far as the temple, remaining there for three days. Meanwhile, the barons and the other pilgrims who had gathered in Venice on the island of San Nicolo de Littore, which is one mile away from the city, while they were short of funds made an agreement with Enrico Dandolo, the doge of the Venetians: that he would supply what they lacked in funds and they would capture with him the rebellious Iadria[1] for Venice and then they would go on to aid the Holy Land. Therefore, after Iadria was taken and while they were compelled to take up winter quarters, that illustrious young man Alexius, the son of Isaac the Emperor of Constantinople and whose sister had married Philip, the King of Germany came to the doge of the Venetians and the barons of France. Pleading his case: 'Isaac had a brother Alexius whom he had redeemed from Turkish captivity for a great price and he was second to him in the Kingdom. He had repaid his brother and lord with punishment instead of profit, with grief instead of piety and had treacherously blinded the Emperor and had imprisoned his heir for 12 years. But having escaped with the help of God, I ask your help to restore the Empire to me.' He promised [to defray] the costs of the fleet and [make] generous contributions and subjugation to the Roman Church. Also there arrived the support of both the aforesaid King Philip, with whom the boy had been brought

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and the *Eracles* record that he insulted the King to his face. See Runciman, *A History of the Crusades,* III, 101–2.

[1] Zara in Croatia, besieged 10–23 November 1202.

up and the King of Hungary. The barons agreed to the request. By their efforts Constantinople was captured and the boy was crowned. Before the departure of the Latins the boy was suffocated by his tutor at night. Then the City was captured again. Half the Empire went to the Franks and half to the Venetians. Baldwin, Count of Flanders, was crowned Emperor in 1204. The Franks gave a quarter of their share to him and the Venetians likewise leaving a quarter part and a half of the whole Empire remaining to them. The Marquis of Montferrat gained the kingdom of Thessaly. Then the prophecy of the Babylonian Sybil was fulfilled: 'Eneadus had brought glory to Byzantium' that is the Empire was transferred from Rome to Byzantium. 'And the Greeks were strong' on account of the empire: 'luxurious' on account of peace; 'up to the lion' that is Manuel; 'with sixty feet' that is years, for he was 40 years old before he gained sole rule. 'Until his cubs' that is sons, 'were eaten by the bear' that is Andronicus their tutor. He was a relative of Manuel, since he was found to foment strife between the princes and the barons he was many times imprisoned **(p. 204)**. At last lest peace should be disturbed he was sent to rule the Pontic region. On the death of Manuel rule passed to Alexius a 12-year old boy. When another Alexius from the line of Manuel, proudly gained the rulership, he was called by his rivals Andronicus, who removed this Alexius and took power for himself and ordered that the guardian of the boy be drowned in the sea. 'The eagle looking down' Isaac or Isacus, 'eats the bear'. For when Andronicus wished to kill this Isaac the descendant of Manuel, the latter whipped up a commotion in the city and took the purple and the crown of Empire and occupied the place called 'the lion's mouth' where the royal treasures were. Then he besieged Andronicus in the Blaquernae and caused him to die ignominiously in chains and gratefully ruled all things taking the sister of the King of Hungary as his wife, by whom he had the boy Alexius who had sought help from the French and the Venetians as above. 'A goat holds the eagle', that is Alexius his brother by tearing out his eyes. For when Isaac was relaxing with a few friends in an abbey in Philippi, Alexius seized him and blinded his captive. 'The eagle eats the chicken', that is the boy Alexius of whom we have spoken. 'And he may be powerful', that is the French. 'In the water of the Adriatic', that is the sea of the Venetians. 'A gathering with a blind leader', that is Enrico, doge of the Venetians who was robbed by the Greeks as if he was blind. 'He goes around the goat' that is they curse Byzantium. 'The goat' is the Emperor of the Greeks, 'the Frenchman will not bleat like a sheep', that is their patriarch will not sing: 'for fifty-four feet', that is years, and 'six inches' that is months, 'and a half they had run around measuring', for it was so long that the Latins had refused to enter the empire.

Chapter 2: The breaking of the treaties caused by the Saracens

Saphadinus, hearing how many knights and people had taken the Cross in the West, fortified the city of Damascus with care, on account of the nephew from whom he had taken the Kingdom (see last chapter of Part 9) and moving to Egypt he sought advice on the defence of the land and gathered treasure. Meanwhile, the

Sultan of Aleppo approached Damascus with the nephew of Saladin who had been expelled from there. On hearing this, Saphadin, hurrying from Egypt raised the siege. It happened that one of the Egyptian Emirs, who owned castles in the area of Sidon, had armed galleys with fire throwers, which somewhere near Cyprus seized just five men in two small ships. The quarrel was reported to King Almeric, who took the matter up with Saphadinus. Saphadinus told Almeric that the truce should not be broken and that he would return the men and he had urged [his man] to obey, but when he sent 20 vessels with food and other essentials for defence to Sidon King Almeric, having seized the ships, put the crews in prison. Then unadvised advancing in the evening to Acre, with all his knights and many foot soldiers, and moving all night he raided the land of the Saracens in the morning, seizing great booty and a large number of captives of both sexes. And when this attack was reported to Saphadinus, he replied with an oath, 'they deserved such things and that he would give no help and would keep himself and his own.' John of Neele with his following, hearing that the truces were broken, eagerly moved to that area and many times the King went out and seized much plunder. Conradin,[1] the son of Saphadin, grieving at the damage done and moved by hatred of the Christian name, advanced with a very large army and led it within one league of Acre. Up to 1,000 Christian knights went out, but they did not meet in battle. The former retreated and many of the Christian knights became sick. The King eager for loot prepared ships and sent them to the area around Damietta, where in 1204, they seized many things.

Chapter 3: The weakening of the Christian army, and the form of the truces and the death of King Almeric and the meeting held concerning the marriage of the girl to whom the Kingdom descended

After sickness and death had broken out amongst the pilgrims, the Christian army was severely reduced so that the King could barely muster 50 knights. In September the greater part of the knights returned home on ships in convoy. Only John of Neele, Robert of Boue and Simon of Montferrat remained with Guy his brother **(p. 205)**, who had married the lady of Sidon. The King, realizing that the land was empty of Christian knights entered into truces with the Saracens. And when he had reached the palm trees near Cayphas, the fisherman had caught carp which were there. Particularly large and tasty ones were taken to the source of the river and he ate many of them. After midday he fell into a heavy sleep and infirmity overcame his senses. Reaching Acre, he died there in 1205. In the following year Prince Raymond took Nephin and Gibraltar, because the lord of Nephin had betrothed Isabella the daughter of the Lord of Gibraltar without the Prince's knowledge. The said Lord of Gibraltar was bound to make homage [to the prince] and when he was summoned according to the custom of the principality he did not wish to

[1] Al-Kamil (1180–1238) in full al-Malik al-Kamel Naser al-Din Abu al Ma'ali Muhammed. He was Sultan of Egypt 1218–38 in succession to his father.

attend and was judged by the Prince's court [in his absence] and after many efforts he was overcome in battle and from then on the Count of Tripoli held both [fiefs]. By Isabelle, Queen of Jerusalem, Almeric[1] had had one young son, Almeric, and two daughters: Sybil married to Leon King of Armenia and Melisant married to Bohemond, Prince of Antioch and Count of Tripoli. Therefore, on the King's death, the barons met with the Queen and John of Ibelin, Lord of Beirut and the brother of Queen Isabelle on their mother's side, was appointed guardian to the boy and the kingdom. The boy died within a short time and then his mother. As heirs to the kingdom there remained Maria, her elder daughter whom she had conceived with the Marquis Conrad and the aforesaid John as before. Also, after the death of Almeric, Walter of Montbéliard, the husband of his daughter, moved to the island of Cyprus so that he might act as regent for the boy-heir and the kingdom. At last the barons of the Kingdom of Jerusalem seeing that the girl Maria was now of marriageable age, meeting with the Patriarch of Jerusalem and other prelates and knights began to make diligent enquiries for a husband, who knew how and was able to govern the kingdom safely. At last they all agreed to send to Philip King of France who might provide a suitable man to govern and to defend the residue of the Holy Land that remained to the Christians. Besides the formal ambassadors the Bishop of Acre and Aymer, who was Lord of Caesarea by right of his wife, were [also] sent in 1208. Therefore, crossing into France through Marseilles they explained to the King the reason for their mission. He, having received the ambassadors willingly, quickly said that after taking thought he would send his own ambassadors. In the same year the city of Antioch rebelled against the Prince at the behest of the patriarch. The knights who had been driven out returned with the aid of the Prince. With these armed men the Count coming out from the citadel and overcoming the commune and its supporter had no doubt that the patriarch should be imprisoned and there he passed away in torment.

Chapter 4: The marriage contract between the Queen of Jerusalem and John, Count of Brienne and that between the King of Cyprus and Maria the daughter of Isabelle, and the breaking of the truces

The King of France having taken advice replied to the ambassadors that he would give them John, Count of Brienne[2] as a man suited to Syria, skilled in arms, fearless in battle and experienced in government. He was not unknown to them because he held a great county from his nephew Walter which is in Apulia, concerning whom

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[1] Almeric II of Lusignan died 1 April 1205. His son Almeric had died on 2 February.

[2] John of Brienne (c.1170–1237), became King of Jerusalem (1210–12) in right of his wife Maria of Montferat (d.1212) and then regent for their daughter Isabella II (d.1228). From which position, he was removed unceremoniously by Frederick II, who married Isabella in August 1225. He was co-emperor with and regent for Baldwin II of Constantinople (1229–37).

see below Chapter 10. Then satisfied with the freedom given to the King, the Count was sent for. Hearing from the King of the offer of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the offer of his own help, he thanked the King and accepting the offers, swore that he would present himself in person in Syria within two years, when the truces would expire. After these things were agreed and the ambassadors gone home, the Count of Brienne met with the Supreme Pontiff Innocent III and having asked for a subsidy for the Holy Land he received no more than 40,000 pounds of Tournois from the Romans besides his retinue under his control. When he was about to take his leave from King Philip he received as much again from him. Many rich and powerful men made the journey with him so that he could take 300 knights with him. In that very summer when the said count was crossing the sea, two of the sons of King Almeric had died namely Guy and John and only Hugh survived to whom the kingdom of Cyprus devolved. Also, Maria the elder daughter of Count Henry having died the surviving daughter Alice was married to the said Hugh in the same year. This was according to the wishes of their parents while they were alive, since they had sworn an oath to arrange a marriage between their heirs. Her uncles John of Ibelin and Philip of Ibelin took the said Alice to King Hugh. On the return of John and Philip from Cyprus to Acre the time of the truces had run out. Saphadinus asked that the truces might be renewed again according to the pleasure of the said Count of Brienne who was on his way **(p. 206)**. Although he offered ten nearby estates to the Christians and to the Masters of the Hospital and the Germans and all the barons wished to renew the truce, the Master of the Temple and the clergy would not agree, even though it would be beneficial. When the truces expired the Christians marched out and returning after four days they had little or no gain. For the Saracens had crossed the Jordan and all feared the arrival of Count John and the Crusaders.

Chapter 5: The arrival and coronation of Count John of Brienne, the attack of the Saracens on Acre and what they did in the Land of Promise

When the agreed time drew near the aforesaid Count and the crusading knights and another multitude of people boarded ships in Marseilles and sailing by the north wind, they headed not for Acre but the river at Haifa. The clergy and people of Acre greeted him with great rejoicing on the Vigil of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross.[1] He did not delay to betroth the Queen on the next day; also on that day homage was offered by all, 1210. Then he hurried to Tyre with the Queen for their joint coronation in the presence of almost all the barons and clergy, having sent a number of knights to guard the city of Acre. While the coronation rites were taking

[1] 13 September.

place at Tyre, Conradinus[1] and Melec Mahadan,[2] whom we have mentioned above Chapter 1, now with the consent of their father[3] attacked the city of Acre with a large army. Outside the city they found all the people of Acre armed and ready for battle. While Conradinus could scarcely approach the Christian army and could not overcome it, his horse was struck by an arrow under the eye, which penetrated to the brain. The wounded horse, working itself into a frenzy and rearing up, threw Conradinus to the ground. Although he recovered the situation quickly, in this instance the Turks shouted 'Heu' so fiercely that a sudden dread struck all the Christians. However, evening coming on Conradinus withdrew with his force. On the third day after the coronation, the King, Queen and others returned to the city of Acre. After his return King John mustered a large force and attacked an estate crammed with riches commonly called Iusse, and having looted many other estates, with considerable booty in men and draught animals he returned home safely with his men. From then on the pilgrims did not go out from Acre, no King, no baron, no crusader, but behaved as if they were besieged. The populace was like an army until another crusade should arrive; for which see the following chapter below. The only exception was Walter of Montbéliard, the brother of the mother of King John, who had fled to him from the Kingdom of Cyprus. When King Hugh had reached his majority he was asked to account for great sums of money. Sailing with a fleet to Egypt, he went up the river of Damietta as far as a town commonly called Bore and returned to Acre with much plunder. In the same year 12[1]4 Albert the Patriarch of Jerusalem died in a procession and Rudolph succeeded him. The Agarenes thinking that King John and those who had come with him were far weaker than they had thought, immediately after the coronation mustered an army and having raided among the Christians, attacked the castle on Mount Tabor, just nine leagues from Acre, so that they might threaten that city more effectively. The pilgrims more often fled from them and returned home, nor did men of much wealth and power remain there.

Chapter 6: The gathering of a crusade at Acre and what they did in the Land of Promise

The Lateran Council was called by Pope Innocent III to help the Holy Land in 1215. Having confirmed the statute issued by the Council of Lyons 'Concerning the non-carrying of prohibited goods to the Saracens',[4] powerful men and many people

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[1] Al-Mu'azzam (d.1127) was governor of Damascus from 1201 and ruler of Syria after 1218. See below, p. 335 for his death.

[2] Al-Kamil (1180–1238), see above p. 324, succeeded his father as ruler of Egypt in 1218 and was also known to Sanudo as Melec Equema and Lequuemerl.

[3] Al-Adil I (1145–1218), see above p. 320. He was generally known as Saphadin to westerners.

[4] See p. 302 above where the reference to previous conciliar decrees is to the Lateran Council of 1179 rather than to a Council of Lyons. There had been local embargos ordered

took the Cross. In the following year Antioch was handed over to Rupinus by the treachery of the Seneschal of Antioch and in 1217 the Christian army gathered at Acre. The King of Hungary was there with many Hungarians; also the King of Cyprus, the Duke of Austria[1] with many German knights and the Archbishop of Nicosia with many clergy. In their ranks the Patriarch of Jerusalem with great humility took up the banner of the life-giving Cross **(p. 207)**, the whole host of the clergy and people shedding reverent tears. For the Cross had been cut up and kept when war threatened with Saladin (see above Part 5, Chapter 4), now it was carried against the enemy. The wicked Agarenes, thinking that the army of the Lord would advance through the Plain of Fabae in order to cross Mount Gelboe to Bethsan, all withdrew and left a devastated land open to the Christian army which reaching the waters of the Jordan on the Vigil of Saint Martin[2] and rested for two days by washing their bodies. Then having visited the holy places where the feet of the Lord had trod, they reached Bethsaida, the city of Andrew and Peter. Then on the first Sunday of Advent they attacked the castle (see previous chapter) built on Mount Tabor and among others the King of Jerusalem pressed the enemy greatly and laid low a certain emir. With the approach of night the army went down without glory. From then on they suffered many things from robbers and the harshness of winter, especially on the Vigil of Christmas:[3] many of the prisoners of both sexes were baptized. After this the army of the Lord was split into four parts. The Kings of Hungary and Cyprus went to Tripoli and there the King of Hungary, after a short delay, departed with great loss to the Land of Promise: taking with him in the galleys the pilgrims, the war horses, baggage animals and weapons; although he was at first warned by the Patriarch and as a result bound by the chain of excommunication. Another part, made up of the timid and effeminate remained in Acre. The King of Jerusalem and the Duke of Austria with the Hospitallers of Saint John, the prelates and others swiftly and practically seized the castle at Caesarea. The Templars with the help of the pilgrims and the Hospital of the House of the Germans rebuilt the castle which formerly was called 'of the Son of God' and they called it the castle of the pilgrims. There in the ditches unknown coins were found, praising the efforts and expenses of the pilgrims. In March of the following year cogs and other [vessels] came from the Province of Cologne. For six days before Pentecost[4] when the Cross was being preached there had appeared in that province a triple image of the Cross in the sky: a white one to the north, a similar one to the south, a third of azure colour having the rood of the cross and the figure of a crucified man with raised arms with the mark of nails and

for centuries previously; the first in Venice having been ordered in 960, see J. Norwich, *A History of Venice* (London, 1982), 88.

[1] Leopold VI (1176–1230) succeeded his elder brother, Frederick I, in 1198. He crusaded in Spain, in southern France and at Damietta.

[2] 10 November.

[3] 24 December.

[4] Whitsunday, 50 days after Easter.

inclined head, among other things. In another place, in the town of Frixia, at the time of the preaching of the Cross a dark-blue cross appeared next to the sun. In the diocese of Utrecht in the town of Doctum, a great white cross appeared, and if the timber had been artificially made from the opposite of wood, it was in motion north to south. Then it was decided by the Pope that the Christian army should be moved to Egypt.

Chapter 7: The siege of Damietta, the strife between the legate and the King and the loss of the Holy City of Jerusalem

In May 1218 the Christian army about to proceed to Egypt gathered at Pilgrims' Castle where ships had been made ready. Many boarding the ships with favourable winds reached the harbour of Damietta in three days. The captains and the chief people at leisure in the castle or those who stayed in Acre could scarcely follow them. In the meantime the army elected a captain of its own, the Count of Saarbrücken,[1] and reaching the harbour of Damietta it entered hostile territory before the arrival of the King and the others; and the Lord made the river water sweet, although it was near the sea. Then many barons from France and a great crowd of people began to arrive. The King too with the remainder of the army came to the place. The legate Pelagius[2] arrived suddenly and had a meeting with the King, who was commanding the army, about his authority, claiming that he ought to have command of the army, because the crusade had been summoned by the Church and the crusaders were under his charge. The King dissembled that he would conduct himself for the Lord. At this the army was divided: in councils, too, everyone followed not the truth but his affection for his prince. While the Christians were besieging the city, a certain book written in Arabic script came to the attention of certain Christians. The author denied that he was a Christian, a Jew or a Saracen. In it, it was maintained that Saladin had resisted the Christians and that Damietta must be captured. He also said that a certain King of the Christian Nubians should destroy the city of Mecca **(p. 208)** and the bones of Mahumet be thrown away. At the siege there was an angelic man Francis,[3] who for the sake of propagating the faith and desire of martyrdom, had travelled three times in infidel lands. While the Christians were preparing themselves for the fight, this servant of Christ groaned vehemently and said to a companion: 'If this flawed gathering should go to war, it will not go well for the Christians.' He, knowing through the Holy Spirit of the prophecy argued and laid out the danger to the Christians. Then starting a prayer to Christ, he approached the Christians with greetings and warnings: he forbade the battle, denounced the fall [into sin]: the truth was treated

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[1] *Comitem de Saroponte*.

[2] Pelagio Galvani (c.1165–1230), Cardinal Priest of Albano since 1213, and appointed leader of the Fifth Crusade by Honorius III in 1217.

[3] Francis of Assisi (1181/2–1228), for his preaching before al-Kamil at Damietta in 1219 see below, pp. 331–2. He was canonized by Gregory IX on 16 July 1228.

as a fairy story, the prophecy was scorned: they had hardened their hearts and did not wish to be turned. Therefore, battle was joined and there was war. All the ranks of the Christians fled: the end of the battle was disgrace not triumph. In the same year Hugh, King of Cyprus died in the city of Tripoli, leaving an infant son Henry, just nine months old, and two daughters. One married Walter, Count of Brienne the other, Isabelle, the son of the Prince of Antioch in 1219. Jerusalem was taken by Conradinus. The walls and all things were thrown down except the temple of the Lord and the tower of David. Concerning the demolition of the Tomb of the Lord the Saracens took counsel and wrote threatening letters that they sent to the citizens of Damietta as a consolation. However, no-one presumed to touch it because of the reverence in which the place was held. It is written in the Koran[1] that they believe that Jesus Christ was conceived and born of the Virgin Mary, was a Prophet and more than a Prophet, had lived without sin, had restored sight to the blind, had cleansed lepers, raised the dead, was the Word and Spirit of God and had ascended alive into Heaven. The wise ones among them when they go up to Jerusalem at time of truce, ask that the book of the Evangelists be shown to them and they venerate them with kisses on account of the gentleness that Christ had taught and especially because of that Evangelist [who wrote]: 'The Angel Gabriel was sent, etc.'

Chapter 8: The capture of Damietta and the rapid lapse of the Christian people into vice and sin

It happened that during the winter a pestilence affected a very large number in their mouths and legs so that many died and it moved from there to the inhabitants of Damietta. Then the Sultan sought to help the city. First, one night he sent parcels of corn wrapped in skins and waxed in the river. The Christians noticing this placed ropes across the river and attached bells. As the parcels came down they were collected up by the Christians in ships made ready for the purpose. Second, the Sultan placed rags containing supplies inside dead horses and camels and let them float down the river with other corpses. Those who were in Damietta knew of this ruse and dragged in the floating corpses ashore. The Christians noticing this examined everything most carefully. Third, he chose 400 active Saracens to carry bread and light supplies through the Christian camp by night; only four got through, the rest were killed or captured. From then on the Christians continuously battered the corners of a great tower with catapults, so that they saw the tower weakened, so that someone could cross over but he would not be helped by any on the inside. It happened that at a stormy and overcast time, certain Christians put up scaling ladders against the ramparts of the city. After this they climbed up the tower and found no-one there and returned and reported this to the King. The King reported to the Legate and the council that they could take the city when they liked. The report pleased everyone and all were ordered to take up arms at

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[1] *in alcorano.*

the appropriate time. The King sent knights and armed men by night who were best able to defend the tower. At day-break the standard of the King of Jerusalem was put up on the tower and those who were in it called out, invoking the aid of the deity and of the Holy Sepulchre. Then a cry went through the Christian army, and many running to the scaling-ladders and climbing down into the city, opened the gates of the city. A multitude of people entered and the city was captured on 9 November 1219 after a siege of one year and seven months. Oh that [they were] occupiers rather than victors and considered that the victory might be attributed to the Creator alone. There was no formal surrender, no violent plundering with uproar, but the Sultan, burning his camp, withdrew dispirited and the Christian people were enriched with spoils. Almost 30,000 Agarenes were captured, and innumerable others were dead from pestilence and hunger. One thousand men were sent to scout Tampnis. The Saracens slighted the castle there, so that no one could be safe there. But because they received such gifts from the hand of the Lord, they immediately forgot his commandment and left the path which God had shown to them **(p. 209)**. So, as that most holy father Francis perceiving that murders, adulteries and thefts were multiplied he withdrew from thence because they did not wish to be converted to God by his warnings and examples. So that he could gain an audience with the Sultan of Babylon he constantly exposed himself to many dangers. For a cruel edict had come from the Sultan that 'whoever brought the head of a Christian, should receive a gold bezant as a reward.' But this intrepid knight of Christ continued his journey in castles and thence in open fields, terrified not by threat of death but eager to provoke it. And so travelling with an enlightened brother, with the strength of light and courage, the Saracen satellites met them, fiercely arrested the servants of God, cruelly and contemptibly confined them, torturing them with noise, lashing them with whips and putting them in chains. The Sultan questioned them when they were led before him: 'from whom, for what and in what manner they had been sent.' But that servant of Christ Francis, brave in heart, replied that 'he had been sent by no man but by God so that he might show the way of salvation to him and his people and announce the gospel of truth.' Then with the greatest firmness of mind and with the greatest fervour of spirit he preached to the Sultan about the three and one God and Jesus Christ the Saviour of all. Because the Sultan noticed the admirable fervour and courage of this servant of God he heard him willingly and shortly invited him to spend time with him, but he, lit up by a heavenly miracle said that: 'if you wish to be converted with your people to Christ on account of love for him, I will most gladly stay with you; but if you are undecided about the faith of Christ, put away the law of Muhamet, order the very biggest fire to be lit and I, with your priests, will enter it, so you will know which faith is the stronger and more certain to be observed.' To which the Sultan replied: 'I do not believe that any of my priests would wish to expose himself to the fire to defend his faith or subject his spirit to torment.' But the holy man countered: 'If you promise to convert I will enter the fire alone; and if I shall be burned it shall be put down to my sins, but you will know that Christ is the truth and wisdom of God, the true God and the Lord.' The Sultan replied that

he dared not take this option because he feared the uproar of the people. However, he gave him many precious gifts, which this lover of poverty spurned as if mud; from which the Sultan conceived an even greater love for him and he asked this servant of Christ to take these things for the Christian poor and for the churches and to pray for him.[1] Because he detested the weight of money and did not see the root of true piety in the mind of the Sultan, he took nothing whatsoever. And when he accomplished nothing in the conversion of that people, by divine revelation he returned to the lands of the faithful, consecrated by honorary martyrdom with the passion and wounds of Jesus Christ.

Chapter 9: Certain incidents: the confusion of the Christian people and the loss of Damietta

Having heard of the capture of Damietta the Georgians wrote to the victors that they would be cowardly if they did not capture Damascus or some other famous place by force of arms. They also wrote to Conradinus, see above Chapter 3, Part 8. In the same year in which Damietta was captured Raymond recovered Antioch from Rupinus by the treachery of William Farabel. When he was expelled Rupinus fled to King Leon of Armenia, his mother's uncle, heedless of the wrong when he expelled him from Antioch. [Leon] was ill and almost immediately passed away. Leaving his daughter under the guardianship of Constantine, a relative and a rich man and he cast off his nephew. The latter went to the Legate at Damietta and asked and begged for the help of money and soldiers to recover Antioch and Armenia. When he reached Tarsus he was captured and imprisoned by Constantine and there he died. The King of Jerusalem also hearing of Leon's death and that he had left some castles to the Christians returned to the region with hope and advanced to Antioch. For he wanted to acquire Armenia for himself by right of his wife: but she was suddenly sick and died and within 15 days his small son, who was 4 years old, also died. Meanwhile, in 1220, Conradinus, Prince of Damascus destroyed the castle of Saphet. Many pilgrims from Italy reinforced the army at Damietta. In the same year the Tartars began to devastate Georgia, then they entered Greater Armenia where is Mount Ararat, where the ark of Noah is found. At the foot of which is the first city that Noah built, besides which the river Arsasis flows **(p. 210)** which flows through the midst of Mongon[2] where the Tartars winter, to the Sea of Salvanicum. Now returning to the narrative, we relate that the Legate advanced from Damietta. Those who took the side of the King of Jerusalem denounced him because by this he took away honour and lordship from the [King]. He hastened the march and had already placed the camp of the army in the orchards of the city and expected to stay there only for four days. On the fifth day they resumed the

[1] This story comes from Jacques de Vitry, *Historia occidentalis. De Ordine et praedicatibus Fratrum Minorum* (1221).

[2] The Mugan Steppe, through which the River Aras flows eastwards to the Caspian Sea.

march and rode along the bank of the river on the Damietta side and alongside them ships carried all supplies. With no opposition he came to the point where the branch of Tamnis divides from the branch of Damietta. We make mention of this in Book 1, Part 1, Chapter 2. At the meeting point of the two rivers they laid out a camp and fortified it on both sides with ditches. After the fall of Damietta the Saracens had set up camp on the other side of the river and beyond, building many huts. They also built a city which they called New Damietta. Since the Christians remained there for a month and did nothing they ran out of supplies since the Saracens from the third branch which is called Rosith, brought galleys to the branch of Damietta through the mist in a channel by which they irrigate the land, thus preventing the carrying of food to the Christian army. Having discussed the matter they decided to withdraw secretly and late at night they moved camp. This was not hidden from the Saracens who all night attacked the Christian people with arrows. So forcing a rising of the water, by mid-morning after they had gone three leagues they found themselves stopped by water and could barely move, since it touched the knees of many and they lost all their food and equipment. But God, who did not hold back his pity in anger, seemed to have said of the fate of the Christian army: 'If my people had heard me, if they had walked in my ways, I should soon have humbled their enemies and laid my hand on them that troubled them.'[1]And because he did not censure them in anger, he granted grace so that in such great danger they arranged truces for eight years, with the protection of Christian persons and possessions and the return of captives both those who were in the forts of the Sultan and those of his son Conradinus. In return for food and transport the Christians surrendered Damietta and all their captives in 1221. Damietta had been held by the Christians for eight months.

Chapter 10: The favourable disposition of the supreme Pontiff and the cardinals to assist the Holy Land, the hand-over of the Kingdom of Jerusalem to Conrad, son of the Emperor Frederick

When the city was handed back to the Saracens everyone went to Acre except a few pilgrims returning to Italy and the Master of the Germans[2] who reported to the Emperor in Apulia and then to the supreme Pontiff of the Christians. When he heard it Pope Honorius III, breathing with a bitter heart, called the Emperor to him. He arrived quickly and together with the assembly of cardinals they discussed what might be done after this. Finally, they summoned the King of Jerusalem, the Masters of the Hospital and the Templars to discuss with them what they thought might be done most advantageously to help the Holy Land. The Emperor, going back to Apulia, sent four galleys for them and sending another galley to the Master of the Temple for the legate himself who was allied with him. The Emperor took

[1] Bongars cites Psalms 80:11 but in fact it is Psalms 80:14–15.

[2] Hermann von Salza (c.1179–1239), was the fourth Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, 1209–39.

them with great honour and expense to the supreme Pontiff in 1222 And when they had considered various ideas to help the Holy Land they all agreed that the Emperor should marry Isabelle, daughter of the King of Jerusalem and heiress of the Kingdom, when she reached the time of puberty that is within four years, and in two years time he should go to help the Holy Land. Both proposals were confirmed by oath and sentence of excommunication was added to anyone doing the contrary. Then the King of Jerusalem, going to Philip, King of France was well received and after he had commended the Holy Land to him, he took the pilgrim route to visit the Blessed James [in Santiago], staying also with the King of Castile, whose sister he married. Having done all this when he returned to France King Philip went the way of all flesh, leaving 300,000 pounds of Paris to help the Holy Land: 100,000 in the hands of King John,100,000 in the hands of the Master of the Hospital and 100,000 in the hands of the Master of the Temple. In the previous year the Tartars crossing the Carpathians which divide greater Asia from Europe came to the Marches of Hungary which they call woods' and through Hungary they spared neither sex nor age. Then Philip the son of Prince Raymond of Antioch betrothed Isabelle the daughter of King Leon of Armenia and took the Kingdom. In the following year **(p. 211)** when he had been exceedingly nasty to the Armenians, he was captured by Constantine whom we have mentioned in the previous chapter, and was imprisoned where he died. Constantine gave the aforesaid Isabelle in marriage to his son Hayton. In the same year Raymond, son of the Prince of Antioch, married Alice, Queen of Cyprus, after the death of King Hugh and his surviving son Henry just nine months old. In the time stated above the King of Jerusalem went to the Emperor to arrange the betrothal of his daughter and the Emperor sent the Archbishop of Capua with 14 galleys to betroth the girl, then she was crowned in Tyre in 1225. After the Queen was brought to the Emperor at Brindisi the Emperor demanded of King John that he hand over the Kingdom and all rights to himself and the Queen. [John] was astounded for the Master of the Germans who had been the mediator in this business had assured him that these would remain with him for life. Not wishing to upset the conditions he obeyed the orders. On the next day the Emperor going with the Queen to Foggia said nothing to his father-in-law. The latter, pretending grief and anger, followed the Emperor and he visited his daughter of his own blood who showed him no affection but rather asked the Lord of Tyre and other Syrian knights who were in the [King's] following to do homage to her; which they did. He sent the Bishop of Amalfi to Acre so that he might receive the homage of all in his place and with him went 2 counts and 300 knights from the Kingdom of Sicily. Hugh of Montbéliard[1] remained as bailie of the land for the Emperor just as he had been formerly for King John. The case of the dispute between the Emperor and his father-in-law they assigned to Walter, Count of Brienne, the latter's nephew because he was the son of the daughter of King Tancred and had been close to the Emperor, because he had claim to the Kingdom of Sicily and King John had given him support. Because

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[1] Odo of Montbéliard.

of this the Emperor had ordered that they both be killed. Then both returned: the Count of Brienne went to France, the other to Rome to Pope Gregory IX. Before 1227 the Emperor sent Thomas[1] to Acre as the bailie of the land. [Thomas] by his honesty had a greater reputation than the Emperor would have done on his arrival. Then the Germans began to strengthen the castle of Monferrat. When the time came according to the sworn undertaking that the Emperor should make his crossing, he prepared ships at Brindisi and he announced that to the Germans and the French, and many counts and powerful men crossed to the port of Acre. When the Emperor should have made the crossing and with him the Patriarch of Jerusalem he fell seriously ill and gave two galleys to the Patriarch to proceed. Then the pilgrims who were awaiting the arrival of the Emperor in Acre, not wishing to be idle, chose Henry, Count of Lambor as their captain and having consulted they hurried to repair the town and castle of Sidon, 1227. When the pilgrims arrived at that place the scale of the operation and of the work alarmed them. Then by common agreement on the island they built two towers with a wall in front of the gate; the work went on from the Feast of St Martin[2] until the middle of Qudragesima.[3] In the meantime, Conradinus Sultan of Damascus[4] died leaving a 12-year-old son, Melecel Naser,[5] under the guardianship of the Emir Esedinebec, who was lord of the castle of Saquet. Then the pilgrims went on to strengthen the castle of Caesarea, which Conradinus had destroyed. At the same time Philip of Ibelin, who since the death of King Hugh had been the bailie of the Kingdom, died. The Empress died in 1228, having produced a son called Conrad[6] on whom the right to the Kingdom of Jerusalem descended.

Chapter 11: The passage of the Emperor against the will of the Church and what he did in Cyprus

In the following summer the Emperor prepared 20 galleys to make the crossing, having in his household no more than 100 knights. Pope Gregory, hearing this, sent messengers to him that he should not cross the sea as a crusader until he had been absolved from the sentence which he had incurred and unless there was full satisfaction he would incur a charge of perjury from him because he had delayed the time of crossing and especially because he was crossing in a very mean way and not as an Emperor. Not waiting for the formal charges, he set out. Meanwhile, five nobles on Cyprus plotted the downfall of the Ibelin family.

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[1] Thomas of Acerra.

[2] 11 November.

[3] The first Sunday in Lent and here refers to Lent as a whole.

[4] Al-Mu'azzam died in November 1227.

[5] An-Nasir.

[6] Yolande died giving birth to Conrad, 25 April 1228. He became Conrad II of Jerusalem (1228–54), Conrad IV King of the Romans (1237–54) and Conrad I of Sicily (1250–4).

Meeting the Emperor somewhere in Romania they brought much evil against the Lord of Beirut and Philip, his brother, the bailie of Cyprus **(p. 212),** offering that if he took Cyprus he would have enough money for his court, but above all 1,000 knights. These flatterers and traitors were willingly believed. Then the Emperor reached Limassol and sent polite and enticing letters to the Lord of Beirut calling him his dearest uncle, for he had been the uncle of his dead wife, asking him to come to him with the young King and with his sons and friends. The latter spoke with his friends about this and all replied with one heart and voice that the plot of the King was clear and that by no means should he place himself in the Emperor's power, because although he used sweet words, the depravity of his heart and deeds was clear. Let him reply with civil words that they as well as the whole of Cyprus were ready and prepared to do him honour in the service of God and aid for the Holy Land. The Lord of Beirut replied that they had offered faithful and friendly advice, but he chose rather to accept, or die or suffer whatever God allowed rather than it could be said by anyone that he had held up the business of God and of the Holy Land of Promise. And so gathering his friends, knights and horses of the island together with the young King and his own children he went to the Emperor and placed himself and them in his hands. The Emperor showing great joy ordered that the black clothes worn on account of the death of his brother Philip of Ibelin be changed and gave them lengths of scarlet for new garments and invited them to dinner on the next day. When the meal was over and the formal matters done the Emperor, who had concealed armed men, looking the Lord of Beirut in the face said in a high voice that he wanted two things from him. The first was that he should return the city and castle of Beirut to him, because he could not reasonably continue to hold it. Second, that because he was the bailie of the young King who was only eleven years old and of the Kingdom, he should endeavour to return whatever he had received from the death of King Hugh, ten years having already elapsed, according to the usage of the court of the Germans. Disguising this as words of solace the Emperor, touching his head spoke from the crown that he should follow his plans in these things or he would be arrested immediately. Then the Lord of Beirut standing up said in a clear and loud voice: 'I hold Beirut justly for Queen Isabelle, my sister and the daughter of King Almeric, which her husband Henry gave to me in exchange for the Constableship, when it had been recovered after it had been destroyed by the Christians. It was in such a state that the Hospitallers, the Templars and the barons did not want it. I rebuilt it at my own expense to the honour of Christianity. I have defended it with my own efforts and I hold it by just law. From the office of bailie I stress that I have had nothing.' Then the Emperor became angry and made many threats; to which he replied: 'When I held a council in Nicosia, all this was said to me but I chose to bear everything for the love of Christ and my own honour.' Then the Emperor was very disturbed and his face changed colour. But religious and honest men, acting as mediators, reduced the matter to this, that having given 20 vassals and his 2 sons as hostages, the Lord of Beirut should be judged by the court of the Kingdom of Cyprus for the office of bailie and for Beirut at the Court of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. On

the next day the lord of Beirut was informed that the Emperor was just satisfied with this agreement and did he wish to accept it? Then he ordered his men to take up arms and went to Nicosia. The Emperor besieged him and again they were reconciled by the pact that until the young King should reach the full age of 25 years, the Emperor should receive the revenues of the Kingdom and for Beirut he would accept the homage of John, Lord of Beirut, saving the issues which he wished to oppose him in the Court of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

Chapter 12: The deeds of the Emperor in the Land of Promise and the form of the truces

Therefore, Frederick, having been slack in his aims returned to them and went to Acre and found there the pilgrims who had returned from the rebuilding of the castle at Caesarea, and with no mandate he wanted to stop them from departing: 'for rightly his command was spurned who did not wish to observe the command of a superior.' He advanced from Acre to the castle at Cordana, which is situated at the head of a river that flows past the city. From there he sent Balian, Lord of Tyre and Thomas, Count of Acerra as ambassadors to the Sultan Melec Equema.[1] Carrying great gifts they gave greetings because he wished to have him as a brother and a particular friend; if he would wait for him, he should know that he had not crossed the sea moved by a desire to gain the Land. His wish could be satisfied in any way that he pleased **(p. 213)** except for the holy places and the Kingdom of Jerusalem which the Christians had formerly possessed and which was owed to his son by right of inheritance. If he might return these things peacefully, he will be a peaceful successor; giving up these things would spare the shedding of blood of many people. The Sultan had pitched his camp at Neapolis, having his brother, Melec Elasserap,[2] with him and 7,000 horse and a huge number of foot soldiers. He received the ambassadors well and gave them gifts, saying that he would reply to the Emperor with his own ambassadors. Meanwhile, two friars minor brought letters from the Pope to the Patriarch of Jerusalem that the Emperor was excommunicated and that he should be denounced as a perjurer. He should forbid the Hospitallers, Templars and the Germans from attending him or obeying him in any way. Therefore, the Sultan noticing the very humble arrival of the Emperor, the return home of the pilgrims, the dispute between him and the Church and the publication of the new decree in the East, estimated that what he had achieved was very modest. Nonetheless, he sent ambassadors who reported that the Emperor, from the friendly and fraternal affection that he sent to the Sultan, had revealed what he intended. What he wanted from the land of Jerusalem, the Sultan barely contemplated, not because of the value of the land, but because what he sought was forbidden. For the Saracens revered the Temple of the Lord, which is the House of God, as much as the Christians revered the tomb of Jesus Christ

[1] Al-Kamil.

[2] Al-Asraf Musa (d.1237) ruler of Damascus from 1229, and Baalbek from 1230.

and they came to it from everywhere and he could not persuade the Caliph to make what is illegal legal. After this the Emperor asked, what then did he intend to offer? He replied to him that he had nothing to give in this respect. Finally, they thought that they might send reasonable gifts by his ambassadors. Then they gave an elephant, racing camels and beasts from Arabia among other gifts to the Emperor. The Emperor hearing them gave gifts to the ambassadors and with them sent his own messengers to the Sultan. They thought to speak with the Sultan at Nablus, but they were told that they ought to go after the Sultan to Gaza. When he heard them the Emperor understood for himself that the Sultan was playing for time. Summoning the principal citizens, the pilgrims and the knights of the three houses, he said that he wished to advance to strengthen Jaffa, so that he would be nearer Jerusalem and the way would be safer. He asked them and those with them to proceed. Everyone agreeing with this. The Masters of the Hospital of Saint John and the Templars replied that they were forbidden either to submit to him or obey him by the supreme Pontiff whom they wished to obey, but that for the good of the Holy Land and of the Christian people they were prepared to follow the others, but at the same time they would not proclaim his orders and bans. The Emperor was angry at this and did not reply to this request. He advanced to the river Monder without them. They followed at a distance. This river flows between Caelarea and Arsur. Then the Emperor realizing the danger of this separation, re-united them with the army, conceding that his orders would be proclaimed as 'from God and Christianity' with the name of the Emperor suppressed. Coming to the place, they set about rebuilding the castle. While these things were going on, in the depth of winter, in a specially-adapted vessel, a secret messenger came to the Emperor, bringing news that the supreme Pontiff had prepared a large army, had already captured San Germano and was moving towards Capua and that many cities and castles would surrender and that John the former King of Jerusalem and Thomas, Count of Calan were the captains of the army. The Emperor was worried and considered the danger of losing the kingdom of Sicily and that on account of his return the great danger and scandal that would happen to the Christians in the loss of the Holy Land. The condition of the weather delayed his return. Then he looked at truces with the Sultan that would restore matters to their former state, leaving aside for the Christians, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth and the settlements that are on the direct route to Jerusalem and the land of Toron and the suburbs of Sidon which the Saracens held. The Sultan still held the temple of the Lord and that which was included in its circuit. The Emperor went up to Jerusalem and placed his crown on the larger altar of the Church of the [Holy] Sepulchre, taking it he put it on his own head, without the blessing of any dignity of prelate or of cleric. Then he returned to Acre and secretly ordering the disposition of the city he hurried to Brindisi[1] via Cyprus in 1229.

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1 Brandeis.

Chapter 13: The request to the Emperor to send his son Conrad to the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the dispatch of a vicious bailli ***(p. 214)***

After the return of the Emperor, Alice the Queen of Cyprus and mother of Henry went to Acre and said that the Kingdom of Jerusalem belonged to her by right because she was the granddaughter of King Almeric by his daughter Isabelle. Having discussed this it was replied that a bailie was on his way, who would rule the land on behalf of the Emperor as guardian for his son Conrad and that they should send so that the unknown heir might come over within a year. The Emperor replied to the messengers that he would do this within the aforesaid time as he ought. Meanwhile, the Sultan of Babylon, Melec Elquemel,[1] and his brother, Melec Essaraf,[2] advanced to besiege Damascus. The Damascenes, seeing that a boy, the son of Conradinus,[3] ruled over them and whom they did not wish to protect them, decided to surrender themselves to the Sultan of Babylon. The tutor of the boy, of whom we have spoken above in Chapter 10, handed the boy over to his mother in a place called Crach, in case he was murdered by his uncle. The Saracens also raided far and wide against the Christians. Now returning to the progress of the Emperor in Italy we say that after he reached Apulia and gathered an army, he moved towards Capua, gradually forcing his enemies to retreat, until they had returned to their own land. Then many German princes and prelates, the Patriarch of Aquilegia and many others set themselves up as mediators and imposed peace with certain conditions so that the Emperor was forgiven by the supreme Pontiff. Then he showed much solicitude for the help of the Holy Land, hearing of many evils done to the Christians by the Saracens, apparently some 10,000 pilgrims, who were on the road, had been killed and no less than 15,000 Saracens had gathered wishing to expel the Christians from Jerusalem, running through the streets and alleys they stole things, wrecked houses and even killed many men. He sent 300 knights and 100 others made up of crossbowmen and mounted soldiers, also Richard Filiangeri as his marshal, right-hand man and justiciar of the land, who did nothing other than cause schism and division between the barons, building on the evils which Frederick had begun. On account of the agreement of the majority in a public meeting it was said to him that the Emperor, like his predecessors the kings of Jerusalem had been content that no baron could be deprived of his lordship except by judgement of the court and that he had sworn that on oath. However, he had done otherwise concerning the lordship of Beirut and so it seemed that he should correct this error. When he replied aggressively,

1 Al-Kamil I (1218–38) see above, p. 324.

2 Al-Ashraf (d.1237), in ful'lal-Malik al-Ashraf I'Muzaffar-ad-Din captured Damascus in June 1229 and ceded his lands in Iraq to al-Kamil in return for his recognition as ruler of Damascus. In 1237 he rebelled against al-Kamil but died on 23 August.

3 Al-Mu'azzam (1218–27), the brother and rival of al-Kamil I, in full al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Sharaf-ad-Din, died on 27 November 1227 leaving a seven-year old son named after his great grandfather Saladin, al-Malik an-Nasir Salah-ad-Din Da'ud (1227–9).

those gathered at Acre consulted together as to how they could prevent future dangers, fearing that he might harm them in many things by his evil. They swore that they would protect one another with justice against his attacks. So that they could act more freely, all set up the Fraternity of Saint Jacob, to which it had been granted by royal privilege and by special grace that as many as wished to join could be received. Because of this in Syria and in Cyprus scandals did not sleep but increased. In 1230 the Tartars, having conquered the East, divided themselves into two columns and advanced to the North and the West. One entered Hungary and Poland from Russia along the bank of the Black Sea, crossing the Carpathians which the Hungarians call 'the Woods'.[1] Gregory IX caused a crusade to be preached against them in Germany. After their retreat the peoples of Pannonia, namely the Olaci and the Siculi, who live near the said Woods, closed the passes so that they could not cross them anymore. In 1233, Bohemond IV, the Prince of Antioch died. Raymond his son succeeded him in the lordship of Antioch and that of Tripoli. In 1235 Pope Gregory IX caused the Cross to be preached in France for the aid of the Holy Land. In the following year not only many barons, knights and ordinary people but also the clergy were marked with the sign of the Cross by the Franciscans and [other] preachers. However, with the agreement of the Pope the crusade was delayed for four years.

Chapter 14: The revocation of the agreement made between them and the Emperor Frederick concerning the Kingdom of Jerusalem

After this they sent ambassadors from the Kingdom of Jerusalem, led by the Master of the Germans, to reach an agreement with the Emperor. At the will of the Emperor **(p. 215)**, with the efforts of the aforesaid mediator and with the consent of the said ambassadors, since the term of the negotiated peace had run out. After the return of the ambassadors and having been much occupied with sending things back they realized the troubles of Outremer and that he would take away the immediate freedom of the princes and of others from the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Therefore, having consulted about this they sent to the King of Cyprus, whose kingdom was constrained by very heavy problems by that agreement. They all agreed that they should send solemn ambassadors to the Pope in whose presence the aforesaid pact had been drawn up and confirmed, stating that they did not wish to agree to the pact because they wished to preserve their liberty that they had always had by ancient agreement under the Latin kings. Nor were they held to those things since the ambassadors had the commission and faculty to openly end [the pacts]. The supreme Pontiff received the ambassadors well and closely followed the points of the complaints and at last replied that the matter was by no means one of wonder that they scarcely accepted the pacts. He ought not to stop the recital of such things in his presence because the ambassadors assured him that they had been ordered to act in this way. If therefore they did not wish to continue

[1] *Montes Ripheos, quos Ungari Sylvas vocant.*

the aforesaid pacts it would be placed in their decision. He would scarcely force them to observe it; rather he would not fall short in help and favour. He wrote effectual letters that the two kingdoms, Jerusalem and Cyprus, should act together and cherish one another. In 1238, the Sultan of Babylon Lequemerl[1] died and his second son Edel[2] succeeded him, because the elder son Salab[3] was absent for he was lord in an Eastern land which his father had given to him in his life time and had made him a Sultan. Iohet,[4] the nephew of Saladin, in the absence of the sons of Lequemerl, was received as Sultan in Damascus. Bohemond V, the Prince of Antioch was separated from Queen Alice because they agreed that they were related in the fourth and third degree. The King of Cyprus betrothed Stephanie the sister of Otho King of Armenia.

Chapter 15: The crossing of the King of Navarre and others and the renegotiation of the truces

In 1239, Thibault, King of Navarre and Count of Champagne, Hugh, Duke of Burgundy, Henry, Count of Bar-Le-Duc, Peter, Count of Brittany, Count of Forrois and of Nevers by right of his wife, Almeric, Count of Montferrat, John, Count of Maçon and many other wealthy men from France made the crossing. And so they reached Acre via Marseilles and Aiguemortes and having consulted they decided to rebuild Ascalon. When they reached Jaffa, the Templars knew from the report of a scout that about 1,000 armed Turks had gone to Gaza, against whom they could send 300 knights. While the Turks chose to avoid a battle, their commander sent supplies with 200 archers to shoot at the Christians from a distance. 'And while they feared a downpour unnecessarily, snow came down over them.' For the Turks in consideration of their timidity, advancing swiftly against them, changed to flight. There Almeric of Montferrat was captured and Count Henry died and many knights were either killed or captured. Those who could escape, reaching Acre, frightened the King of Navarre and others; and breaking out in fear they thought no place was safe unless they remained in Acre. While they were waiting there William the cleric from Tripoli brought news that the Sultan of Hama[5] wished to place all his forts into Christian hands and also enter a treaty for baptism. Then the pilgrims rode to Tripoli and having enquired about the matter found that it came from fear of the enemy. When security was restored nothing was done. The pilgrims then placed castles near the Fountain of Sephorie. While the pilgrims stationed themselves there, a messenger from the Sultan of Damascus arrived, whose name was Salab, who was lord of Mahubeth and a son of Saphadinus as the

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[1] Al-Kamil.

[2] Al-Adal Abu Bakr II.

[3] As-Salah Ayub, who had been sent to Mesopotamia in 1234, suspected of plotting against his father with Mamluks.

[4] As-Salah Isma'il, brother of al-Kamil.

[5] Al-muzaffar Taqi-ad-Din.

figure shows.[1] Through fear of the other Salab[2] who was his nephew by his brother Guemal, who had been joint Sultan of Damascus and Egypt. For the second Salab coming from the eastern parts, had taken Damascus from Ioheth, a nephew of Saladin who had occupied it on the death of Guemal. When he had moved against his younger brother, Edel, who had taken Egypt for himself, he was taken prisoner by Nasir, the son of Conradinus, who should have been Sultan of Damascus; see above Chapter 10. But the lordship had been taken from him as by his uncles: see Chapter 12. The aforesaid messenger therefore asked and begged the Christians for a truce in this form. By the treaty he would return to the Christians the castle of Belfort and the castle of Saphet and the whole territory of Jerusalem. They without him or without his [open] assent would not sign a truce with the Sultan of Damascus **(p. 216)**, but should attack him by placing their castles near Ascalon or Jaffa, so that the Sultan could not enter Laberna and the region of Syria. He himself would place a castle at the headwaters of the river of Jaffa. This treaty was entered into by oaths by the barons who were in the army and by the Sultan of Damascus and his Emirs. The Sultan of Babylon was the first Salab, who we have said had recently taken it from his relative Nassar [sic]. For Nassar, hoping to regain the lordship of Damascus by his captivity was frustrated in this hope because the other Salab had occupied it in the meantime. Turning to other schemes he made an agreement with his relative whom he held captive. For longing for his father's lordship he offered his sister in marriage and the lordship of Egypt. The latter promised that, if he gained power, he would assist in the recovery and peaceful occupation of the kingdom of Damascus. After this agreement was made, the emirs of Egypt, seduced by gifts and promises, handed Edel, his brother and the Sultan of Babylon, over to Salah [sic]. From then on he was imprisoned and took no further part. And so the pilgrims reached Jaffa and would have gone to Damascus. Among the Christians a not insignificant dispute arose; for the aforesaid treaty had been negotiated by the mediation of the Templars, with little or no consultation with the Hospitallers. So with the mediation of the Hospitallers, the Sultan of Babylon entered a truce with a part of the Christians and with no regard to the previous oath taken by the King of Navarre, the Count of Brittany and many other pilgrims, the pact was agreed by an oath or rather by perjury. After this agreement those who had sworn to it returned home from Acre. Except for the Hospitallers those who remained behind at Jaffa fulfilled their obligations to the Sultan of Damascus.

[1] This Salab was as-Salah Isma'il. Saphadinus was al-Adil I. There is no table included in the text.

[2] As-Salah Ayub.

Chapter 16: The crossing of Richard, Count of Cornwall and the handing over of the kingdom of Jerusalem to Queen Alice

At the same time, that is 1240, Richard, Count of Cornwall,[1] the brother of King Henry made the crossing with many knights and with much treasure. Reaching Acre, he heard of the controversy over the truces but did not wish to become involved, although he received many contrary approaches. However, he had decided that he would rebuild Ascalon, if the pilgrims and others who were in Jaffa wished to go with him. This plan pleased everyone and they undertook the task just as Richard, King of England, his uncle, had done before. After Richard had fortified it as far as he could he sent for the knight Walter, who held Jerusalem for the Emperor, and gave him the castle so that he might both serve the Emperor and return to his own possessions. The pilgrims returned to Jaffa and the Sultan as usual placed castles near the Christians. At last the pilgrims returned home from Acre. At the time, for which see an earlier chapter, when the pilgrims were in Acre Queen Alice had married Ralph, the brother of the Count of Nesle, who after the ceremony, not without the support of many men, sought to govern Jerusalem for the benefit of the kingdom, because, as he alleged, it belonged to him by right of inheritance. The Queen also asked for this; see above Chapter 12. The men of the kingdom gathered and having taken counsel replied to the request that Queen Isabelle who had married the Emperor in Apulia, had left a son Conrad and had left the right to the kingdom justly to him by the law of inheritance. But because he had not come nor wished to be among them, they took back Queen Alice for their lord and conferred the regency of the kingdom on her and made their homage always saving the right of the aforesaid Conrad. It happened that Richard Filangieri, the marshal of the Emperor was summoned by him, and he left the guardianship of Tyre to his brother. Balian of Ibelin, the Lord of Beirut, having summoned help and withdrawing from Acre attacked and captured the city. The Apulians ran to the citadel. The disturbed time brought Richard to the gate of Tyre; for his release the city was returned to Balian. After the capture of the city Ralph, the consort of the Queen, who was partner in her rule, reaching Tyre with the Queen asked that the city be placed in his rule, but the victors replied that they could not give the city to him, but would guard it carefully until to whom it should go was clarified. The aforesaid Ralph seeing that his desire to rule was not supported, but that they gave all things to the will of the Queen, abandoned his wife and left with the King of Navarre, the Count of Brittany and other Crusaders. In 1241, the Tartars invaded the land of Turkey, where there were almost 100 cities, not counting castles and villages **(p. 217)**. Among other places worthy of note was a monastery of 300 maidens which was called Saint Brassanus, whose wall, when it was attacked by enemies, moved itself and threw back stones thrown from catapults. In the

[1] Richard, First Earl of Cornwall (1209–72) was the second son of King John, was Earl of Cornwall (1225) and elected King of the Romans in 1257. He was reputed to be one of the wealthiest men in western Europe.

following year, in the southern region the Tartars wasted Russia, Gasaria, Sugdania, Gotia, Ziquia, Alania, Poland and some 30 other kingdoms and they advanced to the borders of Germany.

Part 12

Part 12 contains the crusades of Saint Louis, King of France[1] and also the varied and continued troubles of the Holy Land until all the Christians were removed from it, having 22 chapters.

Chapter 1: How Louis, King of France took the Cross, the campaign of the pilgrims in the Holy Land and the loss of the Holy City of Jerusalem

In the year when Innocent IV[2] was elected again, on account of objections raised by priests on behalf of the Emperor Frederick, lest a general council should be summoned in Rome, he went to France in 1243 about the feast of the Blessed Andrew.[3] It happened that King Louis about the feast of the blessed Lucia[4] became unconscious, so that he was thought by many to be dead. He was mourned by his mother, his wife and his brothers as if he was dead and the clergy were gathered to celebrate his obsequies; so that they were amazed that he had returned to them. Looking around he ordered the Bishop of Paris to be summoned. Then grief turned to joy and the Bishop was forthwith presented. The King said to him: 'Lord Bishop I ask you to place the Cross for Outremer on my shoulders.' Hearing this, his mother and his wife prayed on bended knee that he might hope for full health of body: then at last he did what he chose. Moved he replied that he would not take food or drink until he had taken the Cross for Outremer and again he asked the bishop for the Cross. The bishop not daring to deny the Cross to anyone who asked for it, placed the Cross on him not without a shower of tears and all both in the chamber and in the hall emitted spasmodic groans as if life had passed in tears. Having taken the Cross he asserted that he was reborn. When he was fully recovered he contacted those living overseas by letters stating that he was a crusader at the behest of that King who had hung on the Cross for his great love of the human race. The cities and fortresses bravely held out because he was coming to their help as quickly as he could. At that time Salab,[5] the Sultan of Egypt,

[1] Louis IX (1214–70), the son of Louis VIII and Blanche of Castile, became King of France in 1226. He was canonized in 1297. His consort was Margaret of Provence (1221–95) whom he married on 27 May 1234.

[2] The death of Gregory IX (1227–41) on 22 August 1241 was followed by 18 months of disputes before cardinal Sinibaldo Fieshic (Innocent IV) was elected on 25 June 1243.

[3] 30 November.

[4] 13 December.

[5] Al-Malik as-Salih Najm-ad-Din Ayub (r.1240–9).

summoned the easterners, where he had formerly been lord, to come to him (see above Part 7, Chapter 14). In 1241, he sent money and promises to those coming to that land, if by chance they should choose to remain. But on account of their terror of the Tartars about 20,000 Khorezmian horsemen[1] came, who passing close to Tripoli caused great damage and suddenly moving to Jerusalem they killed some 5,000 people with the sword, for they spared neither sex nor age. Then they went to the Sultan who had pitched camp near Gaza. Salab, the Sultan of Damascus sent 4,000 horsemen to Acre under the command of the Sultan of Calamele. Then the Christian knights rode to Ascalon and the Turks with them. Walter, Count of Brienne, who was at Jaffa, joined them. There were 600 Christian knights as well as other mounted men and foot soldiers. At Ascalon they discussed what they should do. The Sultan of Calamele said that they had a very large army opposed to them and a nomadic and inhuman people who were desperate. They should stay secure in a safe place, well-supplied with food and the opposing multitude, compelled by dearth, would withdraw out of necessity. This advice pleased many Christians. With other ideas a group went out and fought; the battle was fierce but short in duration. The Damascene troops fled and barely a quarter of the Christians could escape, the rest were either killed or captured. The Sultan of Babylon returned home and against the hope of the Khorezmians fortified Balbeis so that they were not allowed to enter Egypt **(p. 218)**. They were divided from the outset and were attacked by the cultivators of the land and they continued to cause harm until within three years they were completely driven out of the land. In 1245, the Pope deposed the Emperor at the Council of Lyons and in 1246, Queen Alice died. Her son Henry, King of Cyprus succeeded her in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, placing a bailie in Acre. In the same year the Pope sent Ezalinus, a Dominican,[2] and John of Plano Carpine, a Franciscan, with others to convert the Tartars. After this the Sultan of Damascus was overcome in battle by the Sultan of Aleppo. He was handed over in chains. Hearing this, the Sultan of Egypt coming with a great army took Damascus, Calamele and Mahubeth. Then moving quickly through the lands of the Christians, the castle at Tiberias was secured and then Ascalon, and he destroyed many forts which the King of Navarre, the Count of Brittany and the Count of Cornwall had restored. In 1247, the Turkmen, coming through the region of Dathagnes, entered the principality of Antioch depopulating villages. These men are despised above all among the Saracens for they have neither castles nor towns nor value treasures, but content only with animals they use felt tents. While the Antiochenes observed them they unwisely hurried to disperse themselves in flight, in contrary fashion returning in order after a chase they repeatedly won many victories and became a terror to the inhabitants of Antioch.

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[1] *Corasminorum equitum*.

[2] Friar John travelled 1245–8, whilst Friar Ascelinus returned in July/September 1248. Both their stories were extensively reported in Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* (1253); see I. de Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans* (London, 1971), 89–111,115–9.

Chapter 2: The crossing of Louis and the capture of Damietta

After taking the Cross and having settled matters for himself and his kingdom, he sent ahead of him men who were to prepare supplies and services on Cyprus. On 28 September 1248 he reached the island of Cyprus taking with him his two brothers, Robert and Charles, and many barons and prelates. Soon after his brother Alphonse followed him leaving his mother, the lady Blanche, as guardian of the kingdom. After a long sojourn in Cyprus on 15 May 1249 he hurried from Limassol to Damietta and on 4 June, the fleet stood at anchor before the city. The Christians noticed that the port was filled by a multitude of foot and horse and protected by galleys, but nonetheless they decided to disembark on the island on the following day. Therefore on the next day, at mid-morning, with the standard of the Cross flying, they prayed and they hoped that with his help they might have victory from the enemies of the Cross of Christ. When the ships, on account of the lowness of the water, could not reach the land, many with the ardour of the faith jumped into the water fully armed. Nor did their boldness slacken because the Turks resisted them with spears and arrows, rather it increased. Then the Saracens were terrified and retreated to the city. Then stricken with terror they burned the city and fled by night leaving it to be occupied by the Christians at will. In the same year the Pisans and the Genoese fought with each other in Acre for 21 days, with machines and various engines they harmed each other. Finally, with the mediation of the bailie who governed the city on behalf of the King of Cyprus they made peace by land and sea for a period of three years. On account of the flooding of the Nile the King remained at Damietta for the whole summer, then on 27 November he moved camp so that he might advance against the army of the Saracens at a place called Armasor. On the march they heard that the Sultan had died and that his son was awaited who had been in eastern parts and on 22 December they reached that place. Also on the way the Templars and the Count of Arles who had command of the advance guard found Lysac, that is the advanced guard of the Saracens in a place called Sarmosac and rushing among them they slaughtered 55 of them. On the following day out of those who had crossed the river to attack the Christians around 1,000 were killed or captured. However, the Christians not wishing to attack the Saracens against the current of the Tampnis, about which place see what we have said above Part 7, Chapter 9. They tried to build a bridge over the river, against which the Saracens used machines and weapons. Meanwhile, on 8 January the Christians went out from Acre against Bethsan and against a camp of Turkmen, having captured a certain Emir they reported up to 16,000 animals. At last on 8 February 1250, a certain Bedouin who was in the army said to the King that there was a ford downstream where the Christians crossed not without great danger with horses swimming and the banks badly guarded. Many perished in the river. After they had crossed in great number they came to the camp of the Saracens and many emirs were killed **(p. 219)**. The Saracens terrified fled and willingly gave

up Armasor[1] to the Christians. The Christians, intent on plunder, wandered hither and thither through the town, suffered a severe defeat from the Saracens who had recovered their courage and returned. For the Saracens swarmed everywhere and the Christians lacked the support of catapults, they withstood the attack until the ninth. However, the horses of the Saracens were largely slaughtered and the Christians held the field. The Count of Arles and two other counts were among the dead. Afterwards the Christians pitched camp next to the machines which the Saracens had left behind and built a bridge so that others might cross over. On the last day a great number of Saracens came together and attacked the Christians from all sides, but made headway nowhere. The Christians in battle order killed many of them and at last drove them back.

Chapter 3: The capture of King Louis and how Damietta was handed over to the Saracens

After some days the new Sultan[2] came and the earth resounded with instruments and new shouts. From then on everything conspired against the Christians against their desire, both plagues and hunger. For hardly anyone mourned the dead or the sick and the sickness affected both men and pack animals. The Saracen galleys held up the transport of supplies, for they took two caravans one after the other. On 5 April King Louis, hindered by lack of supplies, abandoned his camp in order to withdraw to Damietta. Having left the place on that day when he reached a village called Sarmosac such a great number of Saracens surrounded the Christians that they could not resist their onslaught. The King with his two brothers was captured, and most of the army either on land or on the river were killed, captured or consumed. At last all the Christian army surrendered to the Saracens. The captured King and the Christian people agreed a truce and in this with much negotiation they agreed with the Sultan that the Sultan should release the King and his brothers and all captives [taken] since the arrival of the King in Egypt and also those captured at the time of his grandfather (concerning which see above Part 10, Chapter 5) and that the Christians should hold in peace that land with all its appurtenances in the Kingdom of Jerusalem that they held when King Louis arrived and whatever remained in Damietta, which the Christians could not carry with them, he would send for them by his messengers. The King should return to Damietta and release the captive Saracens both in Egypt and in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. For the redemption of the captives and for costs and damages [he should pay] 100,000 silver marks and for a period of 10 years he should not attack the Saracens. After this was agreed on 2 May, the Saracen knights not without the concurrence of most of the army rose up against the Sultan in Cairo and they came in anger to the tent of King Louis wishing to harm him and other Christians, but finally the same

[1] Mansourah.

[2] Al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Turan-Shah (1249–50) returned from Diyarbakr in Turkey on the death of his father. He was murdered by Baybars on 2 May 1250.

peace and truces that had previously been agreed with all the emirs [prevailed]. Then the King was freed and his two brothers, the Legate, the Lord Patriarch, barons, many knights and several others and on 8 May they returned to Acre. After most of them had reached there sending for the captives and their equipment, they received scarcely 400 out of 12,000 men and nothing from their things. Indeed, they slaughtered those not wishing to be converted to their religion. Louis seeing that he could not wage war according to the truce decided to return to France but hearing that the Land of Promise was in danger, deprived of all hope of help if he returned, he remained sending his two brothers as a consolation to their mother. He remained in Syria for five years from 1249 to 1254 and especially for the redemption of the captives. He repaired the town of Acre. [When the capture of the King was made known in France there was a crusade of shepherds and many boys and girls. Some of these were fraudulent [but] they found that some of the boys appeared with the faces of angels and miracles were performed, saying that they were sent by God to avenge the King. Among them were those who called themselves masters and after the manner of bishops pointed the way. They harried the clergy and religious by robbing, wounding and killing them. All the people favoured them. But the deceit of the majority being revealed, within a short time the story vanished like smoke].[1] In the same year, that is 1250, Henry, King of Cyprus betrothed Placentia, daughter of Bohemond, Prince of Antioch in the month of September **(p. 220)**. The Emperor Frederick died on the feast of the blessed Lucia.[2]

Chapter 4: The state of the Land of Promise at the time that King Louis was there and his return to France

In the same year as above, the Sultan of Aleppo[3] gathered 30,000 horsemen and went into Egypt. At first he was successful but afterwards he was overcome by the Egyptians and from the whole might of his army scarcely 2,000 escaped. From the Egyptians about 2,000 were killed. In the following year [1251] on 29 March the King of France went to fortify Caesarea. Then Bohemond, Prince of Antioch and Count of Tripoli, died to whom his son Bohemond succeeded. In the following year on 15 April the King of France went to fortify Jaffa. In this year, Queen Blanche, his mother, died. Bohemond, with his mother Lucia, came to Jaffa where he was knighted by the King of France. In the same year Julian, Lord of Sidon betrothed the daughter of Aitho King of Armenia. In 1253 the Sultan of Damascus came before Acre and made peace with the Sultan of Egypt against the existing oath and they destroyed a village near Acre called Doc and Recodauer. Afterwards

1 Insertion by Bongars in square brackets.

2 13 December.

3 Al-Malik an-Nasir II Saladin, Emir of Aleppo (1237–60). He was invited by Kurdish troops to rule Damascus in July 1250. The campaign of the Syrian Aiyubids referred to took place in October 1250 and December 1250 to February 1251.

they took Sidon, killing 800 people and 400 were taken as captives to Damascus. However, the King of France, after repairing Jaffa, rebuilt Sidon. Henry, King of Cyprus died. Then Hayton, King of Armenia went to Tartary, see Part 13, Chapter 6. In 1254, having completed the wall of Sidon, the King of France went to Acre on 8 March and at Easter he knighted Balian of Ibelin, son of the Lord of Arsuf who had betrothed Placentia, Queen of Cyprus. On 24 April the King of France with his men prepared himself to go to France and had at his disposal eight ships and four galleys. On the next day in the evening on the feast of the Blessed Mark[1] he left harbour at Acre, leaving 100 knights to guard the city under the command of the Seneschal of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. In the same year, on 22 May, King Conrad died. Bohemond, Prince of Antioch betrothed Sybil daughter of Aitho, King of Armenia.

Chapter 5: The dispute of the Genoese with the Venetians and Pisans in Outremer

Pope Alexander IV gave Saint Lazarus at Bethany and Mount Tabor to the Hospitallers. In the following year [1255] Marcus Iustinianus, Consul of the Venetians, came to Acre and presented a letter from the Pope to the Patriarch of Jerusalem saying that he should place Saint Sabas in the possession of the Venetians. However, the Genoese had brought letters to the prior of the Hospital, saying that they ought to have Saint Sabas. For this reason in 1256 a dispute broke out between them and in that year the Genoese, with the help of the Pisans broke into their quarter as far as the church of Saint Mark. Then the Pisans were reconciled with the Venetians and they received Lecaban and the measures of the Venetians and they agreed for a period of 20 years that they would join with them in hatred of the Genoese. In the following year [1257] the Genoese made an agreement with the lordship of Acre against the aforesaid treaty; the lordship of Acre in alliance with the Genoese would attack the Pisans and Venetians together, and they captured two towers from the Pisans. In the same year Lorenzo Tiepolo the captain of 13 galleys arrived in Acre in support of the Venetians and took the port of Acre by force. The Genoese equipped galleys in Tyre and fought against them. The Venetians captured three of the Genoese galleys off Tyre and took them to Acre. At that time, on 1 February, Bohemond, Prince of Antioch came to Acre, bringing with him Placentia Queen of Cyprus his sister and Hugh his nephew, the son of the Queen and heir of the kingdoms of Jerusalem and Cyprus and, at the induction of the Master of the Temple, he sided with John of Ibelin and John, Count of Jaffa and Arsuf, and the Venetians and the Pisans. In 1258, peace and harmony were restored between Bohemond, Prince of Antioch and Balian, son of the Lord of Arsuf. Balian and Queen Placentia were divorced by mutual agreement. The Queen with her son and the Prince returned to Tripoli and John of Ibelin remained as bailie of Acre **(p. 221).** In the same year 49 galleys and 4

[1] 25 April.

ships of the Genoese came before the port of Acre on the Vigil of Saint John.[1] The Venetians and Pisans armed 40 galleys in response and fought with them between Acre and Jaffa and defeated them, capturing 24 galleys and killing or capturing 1700 men. Then peace was restored in the city of Acre by treaty so that the heavily fortified tower of the Genoese was demolished and all their buildings; those who remained in Tyre should never fly their flags on their ships in the port of Acre, nor should they have in Acre a court or public crier different from the rest.

Chapter 6: Wars of the Tartars, Saracens and Christians

In the same year the Tartars occupied the land of the Arsasids[2] and the whole of Persia: and in Baghdad they cut off the head of the Caliph of Baghdad. Then, in 1259, John of Ibelin, the Lord of Arsuf, who was bailie of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, died and Iofridus was made bailie, who was also Seneschal of Jerusalem and had, by his rigour in punishment, exterminated brigands. In the following years the Tartars breaking in by force took Aleppo, Hartenc, Hama, Calamela and Damascus, killing all those Saracens who opposed them. Then they entered the Kingdom of Jerusalem and took Sidon, but they could not take the castle by the sea. From fear of them the inhabitants of Acre cut down the orchards outside the city and demolished the towers of the gardens, taking away even the tombstones from the cemetery as well as the stones from the buildings. But on 3 October on the plain of Tiberias [the Tartars] were defeated by the Sultan of Egypt.[3] Afterwards the Sultan returned victorious to Cairo but was murdered by Bendocdar[4] who succeeded him in the lordship. Then Julian, Lord of Sidon[5] sold Sidon and Belfort to the Templars, on account of which no small dispute arose between them and the King of Armenia. In the same year John of Ibelin, Lord of Beirut and John of Zibelet, marshal of the kingdom, were defeated by the Turkmen; a large body of Templars and many knights from Acre were either captured or killed. In 1261, Balian, Lord of Arsuf sold Arsuf with its appurtenances to the Hospitallers. In this year Palaeologus,[6] having expelled the Latins, was made Emperor of Constantinople. Also Placentia, Queen of Cyprus, died and Hugh of Lusignan, the nephew of the Prince of Antioch, was made bailie of Cyprus. In

[1] 23 June; the Vigil of the Nativity of John the Baptist.

[2] The Assassins. The Mongols took Alamut on 20 December 1256.

[3] The battle of Ain Jalut was fought on 3 September 1260. Baibars commanded the Mamluk army.

[4] The Bahri Mamluk sultan al-Muzaffar Sayf-ad-Din Qutuz (1259–60) was murdered on 23 October. Baybars or Baibars, in full az-Zahir Rukn-ad-Din Baybars I al-Bunduqdari al-Salihi (c.1220–77), Mamluk Sultan, 1260–77; see Peter Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt, Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century* (London, 1987).

[5] Julian Grenier, Lord of Sidon.

[6] Michael VIII Palaeologos (1223–82), ruled from 1259. He re-entered Constantinople on 15 August 1261 and was crowned the same day.

1262, the Saracens from Babylon besieged Antioch, but the Tartars coming at the behest of the King of Armenia then lifted the siege. In the following year [1263] on 14 April, Bendocdar with 30,000 horse came before Acre and on the following day bravely came up to the gates of the city and burnt the gardens and the city was in great danger. It was claimed that the reason for this was because the Templars and Hospitallers did not wish to return slaves to the Sultan according to the treaty and he wished to have back what was due to him. Far from any doubt he swore a truce with the Count of Jaffa. In the same month the Saracens destroyed the monastery at Bethlehem. In the same year Pope Urban IV granted the kingdom of Sicily, which Manfred occupied contrary to the wish of the Church, to Charles, Count of Provence and brother of Saint Louis, King of France, to recover. Also in the same year, on 2 September, 55 galleys and tarides of the Venetians came before Tyre and the venetians who were in Acre came to their support with seven galleys. About 2,000 men from Acre came to help Tyrenians. The Venetians achieved nothing in their attack and returning to Acre were there for 15 days and harmed no one.

Chapter 7: The petition to Isabelle from the bailiwick of the Kingdom of Jerusalem: the destruction of various places by both Christians and Saracens

Henry, son of Bohemond, Prince of Antioch, with his wife Isabelle, daughter of Hugh, former King of Cyprus and Queen Alice, came to Acre seeking the bailiwick, because it was due to him. It was granted to him without homage or oath of fealty because he had not brought the heir to the kingdom with him. On account of this Isabelle returned to Cyprus leaving her husband in Acre as bailie **(p. 222).** On 16 January in the following year [1264] the Hospitallers and Templars destroyed Lilion. Having slaughtered many people, they led away human booty of both sexes up to about 300 and many animals and lost no more than 3 Christians. On 15 June the Christians left Acre with the Hospitallers and Templars to take back Gerard whom the Saracens had taken with many others in Rama by treachery and whom they did not want to give back. They went as far as Ascalon, wasting and burning everything and killed two emirs who they found along with 28 out of 400 who were with them and, by the grace of God, they returned home unscathed. On 20 September Oliver of Termes reached Acre, who, accompanied by the knighthood of Acre and the Hospitallers and Templars, destroyed Bethsan and many villages. Wasting the land roundabout he took away a great booty of men and pack animals. On 26 January in the same year Bendocdar took Caesarea by treachery. From fear of him the inhabitants of Acre demolished the towers of windmills and the church of Saint Nicholas in the cemetery. The Sultan besieging the castle of Arsuf completely cut it off. Hugh of Lusignan, the bailie of Cyprus, with the flower of the knighthood, took a fleet to Acre on the day of the Blessed George[1] in 1265. The knighthood of the kingdom of Cyprus was then of great courage and foresight and there were in their company 130 knights and other mounted warriors. On the

1 23 April.

last day of April in the same year the castle of Arsuf was captured: a clear sign was seen from the east in Acre like a sword as long as a lance that struck the tower of the Church of the Holy Cross. One-hundred-and-fifty Hospitallers were captured or slain and all who were in the castle, about 1000, were taken captive to Cairo. On 20 October the Count of Nevers reached Acre with 500 knights.

Chapter 8: Various attacks of the Sultan of Babylon against the Christians and the treacheries of the Genoese and Venetians against each other

On 1 June 1266, Bendocdar came before Acre and stayed there for eight days. Gaining nothing there he went to the castle of Montfort and gaining nothing there he went to the castle of Saphet and took it on the twenty-fourth of the month. Contrary to the terms of surrender he killed everyone except the castellan. [For having taken the castle after sunset he sent an Emir to persuade them to adopt the law of the Saracens or else all would perish by the sword. But everyone, comforted the whole night by the words of two friars minor who were there, chose martyrdom rather than deny the faith of Christ, and the slope through the mountain flowed with blood just like a river of water. There were more than 600. After them they caused brother James of Podio and brother Jeremias to be tortured and then beaten because they had strengthened everyone and the prior of the Templars in the faith. At last they were taken to the place of the others and they were decapitated. The Sultan had the place surrounded by a solid wall because at night a light shone on the bodies and this was noticed even by the Saracens.][1] Meanwhile, on the fifth day of the same month one emir rode around the cities and districts of Tyre, Tripoli and Tortosa. And on 22 August, in a similar manner one brave emir riding through the land of Armenia, captured one of the sons of the King and killed the others along with many people. And the reason for this was the King's journey to the Tartars: see above Chapter 7. In that month the Count of Nevers died at Acre, not without loss to the Christians, especially the poor. Then Hugh of Lusignan with three divisions, French knights and other horse and foot soldiers advanced towards Tiberias. Then rumour resounded in the land. The Turks, who were in Saphet, had set ambushes around the plain of Acre. It happened that because of lust for plunder, the advance guard was cut off from the others by three leagues, so that the Turks attacked them and defeated them in an ugly fashion. In the month of December John of Ibelyn, Count of Jaffa, died. On 2 May in the following year [1267] Bendocdar came before Acre and while some of them carried the banners of the Hospital and the Temple, [others] unthinkingly slaughtered up to 500 poor men who had come there for money from vegetables and such like; and it is said that they extracted the poison of anything and cut the hair of the head up to the ears. On the following day the Sultan withdrew **(p. 223)** to Saphet and on the seventeenth of the month returning to Acre he ordered that the tower of the gardens, the trees, vines and whatever he could be destroyed. On 16 August in

[1] These square brackets have been inserted by Bongars in the printed text.

the same year Luca Grimaldi with 25 Genoese galleys reached the port of Acre and he would not allow any convoy to enter or leave which they did not seize for themselves and take to Tyre. They burned two Pisan ships. But on the twenty-eighth day of the same month 28 Venetian galleys arrived at the port. The Genoese, so that they might know of their arrival, as secretly as they could left the port and set course for Tyre. The Venetians immediately followed them and having taken five galleys returned to Acre. Returning on the following day they found that they had left Tyre and followed them for some time. Then in the month of November Hugh, the heir to the kingdom of Cyprus died and Hugh of Lusignan his relative succeeded him.

Chapter 9: Various attacks by Bendocdar against the Christians and the loss of the city of Antioch

On 7 March in the following year [1268] Bendocdar took Jaffa through treachery and at a time of truce he killed many poor people and gave safe conduct to many who were first robbed. On 15 April he took the castle of Belfort and on 22 April Hugh, King of Cyprus came to Acre. Then the Sultan came to Tripoli and destroyed the gardens. After that he advanced against Antioch and on 29 May he took the city without any resort to violence and after its capture up to 17,000 people were slaughtered and more than 100,000 captured and the city once so famous was made as quiet as a desert. He also seized Port Praebonelli near the entry to Armenia. On 24 September in the following year [1269] with little external show or joy of heart Hugh, King of Cyprus took the crown of Jerusalem in Tyre. In that year such was the dearth that a measure of grain cost eight bezants. Then some nobles with perhaps 1,200 knights set up an ambush in a wood one league from Acre. The Turks who were in Saphet rushed upon them. Although they resisted bravely, with the arrival of a multitude, few out of many were taken away. In the same year the King of Aragon[1] came to the help of the Holy Land and on the fourth day a strong wind arose. Having almost suffered shipwreck he returned with part of the fleet. The other part, with which were two of his illegitimate sons, thinking that the King had made for Acre, went there. The King, however, terrified of the dangers of the sea and to the body did not wish to proceed further. It happened that a child of the aforesaid King perceived the aforesaid struggle straightaway and wanted to go to help the Christians. However, he was advised against it on account of the number of Turks. In the same year there was an earthquake in Armenia that threw down 5 castles and 12 monasteries and villages of the Armenians.

[1] James I (1208–76) was king from 1213. He got no further than Aigues-Mortes in September 1269. His two illegitimate sons were Pedro Fernandez and Frenan Sanchez.

Chapter 10: The crusade and death of Saint Louis, King of France in Tunis and the form of peace between Charles, King of Sicily and the King of Tunis

Louis, King of France[1] longing to change the earthly for the heavenly kingdom, going on crusade against the enemies of the name of Christian, had with him the King of Navarre and his wife,[2] the daughter of the brother of the King of France, the Count of Toulouse and Poitiers[3] and his sons Philip,[4] who would succeed him in the kingdom, and John Tristan[5] and other barons and a very large number of fighting men. Edward, son of the King of England followed after him.[6] And so, having mustered an army, the King set about the siege of Tunis because it caused great damage to Christian shipping. On 2 June the brothers began the crossing, reaching the port of Sardinia[7] and then sailing towards Tunis it reached Carthage. Then disease took hold of the army. His brother Charles, King of Sicily[8] was looked for since he denied assistance to his brother and the Christian people. However, the King advanced to Garba and set up camp in a place which is called Certucerne.[9] There John Tristan became ill and died and after him the Legate. After him the King, Saint Louis, who, while he was sick, never stopped praising the Lord, he would often intersperse this prayer: 'O Lord, Grant that we may so despise the prosperity of this world that we may dread no adversity **(p. 224)**.' Also for the people he prayed likewise: 'O Lord be ye the sanctifier and keeper of your people, and restore the wretched with your blessed aid.'[10] And as the end approached he looked up to heaven and said: 'I will come to your house O Lord. I will worship in your sacred temple.' When he had said this on the feast of the Blessed Bartholomew[11] in the year of the same Lord 1270, the King by the grace of God slept in the Lord. There was bewilderment at the death not just among

1 Louis IX died 25 August 1270. He was canonized in 1297.

2 Thibaud or Theobald II (1238–70), became King in 1253 and in 1256 married Isabelle of France (1241–71) the eldest child of Louis IX. He died in Trapani in December 1270 returning from Tunis.

3 Alfonso or Alphonse, Count of Poitiers and Toulouse (1220–71), the younger brother of Louis IX, died in Italy on his way back from Tunis.

4 Philip III the Bold (1245–85) succeeded his father in 1270.

5 The second son of Louis IX, who received the County of Valois as his appanage in 1268.

6 Edward I (1239–1307). He became King of England in 1272.

7 Cagliari in southern Sardinia.

8 The youngest brother of Louis IX and Count of Anjou (1226–85). He became King of Sicily by conquest in 1266 and acquired the thrones of Albania (1272), Jerusalem (1277) and Achaia (1276). His political ambitions lay in Greece and the Aegean not North Africa.

9 Gerba and Carthagena.

10 For another version of these prayers see Joinville, *The History of St. Louis*, Book II, cxlvi (p. 227 in Joan Evan's translation, Oxford,1938).

11 24 August.

the common people but among all the counts, knights and barons. After the death of the blessed Louis, his brother the King of Sicily arrived, set up machines and prepared instruments of war and set about attacking Tunis by land and sea. But on account of the aforesaid plague he made a truce with the King of Tunis. Having received a large sum of money for the costs which the Kings had incurred there, he led the army to Sicily where the King of Navarre died. When they reached the port of Trapani, a tempest arose that destroyed the fleet and the army returned by land. Among the clauses of the treaty the King of Tunis promised to release all Christian captives; and that monasteries to the honour of Christ might be set up in all the towns of his kingdom, in which the faith of Christ might be freely preached by the Dominicans and Franciscans and any others, and that he would not stop voluntary baptism, and he became a tributary of the aforesaid King Charles.

Chapter 11: The attack of Bendocdar against the Christians, how the Christians persuaded the Tartars against him and the wretched making of the truce

After the crusade had left Tunis, in the same year and from the same place 500 Frisians reached Acre, the men were beloved by all and Catholic. The lack of provisions, which I have already mentioned above, had come to an end and there was an abundance of all good things. On 18 February in the following year [1271] Bendocdar besieged the castle of Crac, which belonged to the Hospitallers, and on 8 April those inside not wishing to defend the place any longer surrendered the castle on condition of their personal safety. He also destroyed the tower of White castle and Gibelathar[1] which belonged to the prince. He also made a truce with the Count of Tripoli and took and destroyed Montfort which belonged to the German Order. Then he stood before Acre. He also took one castle belonging to the Old Man of the Mountains.[2] Fourteen Saracen galleys were wrecked off Limassol and of the crews about 3,000 were killed or captured. On 9 May, Edward, about whom we have made mention in the preceding chapter, reached Acre with his uncle[3] and the son of the Count of Brittany[4] and many household knights. His brother[5] followed him in September with fewer men. Then waiting on the brutality and savage power of Bendocdar against the Christian land and people,

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1 Krak des Chevaliers, Castrum Blancum/Chastel Blanc and Gibelacer.

2 *Vetulus de montibus*, the leader of the Assassins in the Lebanon.

3 His uncle was Richard the first Earl of Cornwall (1207–72) who had joined the Sixth Crusade and offered advice to Edward on crusading but did not go east with him. Richard's son Henry of Almain (1235–71) did leave with Edward but was sent back to England on business from Sicily. He was murdered whilst at Mass in Viterbo by his cousins, the sons of Simon de Montfort.

4 John I the Red 1216–86), Duke of Brittany from 1237, had been on Louis's Tunisian crusade. His son was John II (1239–1305) who had married Edward's sister Beatrice in 1260 and became duke in 1286.

5 Edmund Crouchback (1245–96), Earl of Leicester and Lancaster since 1266.

having consulted with others, they sent experienced ambassadors to the Tartars, who provoked raided the whole land of Antioch, Aleppo, Hama and Calamele right up to great Caesarea, killing Saracens everywhere. Then they returned to the place called Marays at the gateway to Turkey, taking away much booty of slaves and animals. They chose to rest there on account of the very great effort and the plentiful supply of water in contemplation of their beasts of burden. At that time, on 22 June, those who had arranged these things set out to demolish a place which is called Saint George. On the way the English worn down by extreme heat, over-eating fruit and too much honey perished in droves. On 23 November the Lord Edward and his brother, the King of Cyprus and three divisions and pilgrims with foot soldiers went to Caesarea to slight Caco. On the way they discovered that the Turkmen had arrived, not expecting any hostilities. Therefore they seized upon them unawares and killed about 1,500 and driving off 5,000 animals. On account of the plunder they abandoned their main purpose, namely the tower of Caco.[1] For this reason they were thought less brave by the Saracens and the Sultan himself made a formal reply to the ambassadors of King Charles who had come to him to arrange a treaty: 'because so many and such like failed to take one fortified position, he could not believe that such men were able to take the Kingdom of Jerusalem from his men.' On 21 April 1272 a truce was made between Hugh, King of Jerusalem and Bendocdar. It applied only to the plain around Acre and the road which leads to Nazareth.

Chapter 12: The departure of the Lord Edward from the Holy Land, the help sent by the Church and by the King of France and certain incidents ***(p. 225)***

Edward, who was afterwards King of England, used to have a Saracen who was an intimate friend, and as such he could easily come to him when he pleased. On 18 June when he woke up from his siesta in his room, the Saracen struck him several times with a hunting-knife. But Edward was not scared at all. The Saracen having been thrown to the ground, he quickly took the sword away. Some knights of the Assassins happening by ran him through. Since the wounds took a long time to heal and since some of the barons had already departed, he started out on his own journey home on 22 September. In those days a dispute broke out between the King of Cyprus and his barons: the King demanding that they should do military service outside the island. They by maintaining the contrary were not held to it at all. Finally, they met with mediators. [It was agreed] that four months in a year they might serve the King outside the island, when he or his son were present in person. Lord John of Grell was made Seneschal of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The Patriarch of Jerusalem brought 500 armed men, both foot and horse at the expense of the Church. Ayton, King of Armenia died, to be succeeded by his son Leo, see

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1 Qaqun on Mount Carmal.

below P[art] 13, C[hapter] 8.[1] On 8 April 1273 Oliver of Termes returning from the King of France brought 25 knights and 100 foot archers at the King's own expense. Then Pietro Geno, the bailie of the Venetians came to Acre, who did not allow John of Montfort, who called himself lord of Tyre, to remain in Acre, because he infringed the rights of the Venetians of Tyre unduly. But the knights of the household, to avoid a scandal caused him to go to Nazareth and approach Tyre from there. Also, Giles of Santi came to Acre with 400 archers in the pay of the Church and the King of France and after him Peter Damian with 300 archers under a similar arrangement.

Chapter 13: The concern of the Council of Lyons for aid to the Holy Land

Gregory X[2] was chosen Pope. When he was Archdeacon of Liege, out of devotion, he went to visit the Holy Land. For this reason his election caused great joy among the faithful of the Land of Promise and brought hope of great assistance, because the Vicar of Christ was devoted to the Holy Land. He had seen it with his own eyes and had touched its wretched and doleful state with the hand of experience. He would return from Acre, among other encouraging words of a sermon, opening the feeling of his heart, after being told of the condition of the Holy Land and Jerusalem, he said: 'If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand be forgotten. Let my tongue cleave to my jaws, if I do not remember thee: If I make not Jerusalem the beginning of my joy.'[3] He did not consign it to oblivion but proposed to summon a council to deal primarily with aid for the Holy Land. Because he could more readily have more prelates and barons at Lyons than at Rome he decided that the council be convened there on 1 May 1274. There came solemn ambassadors from Germany bemoaning the very serious state of the Land and especially of the Churches, on account of the poverty of the King and they swiftly returned to arrange matters. Rudolph, Count of Hapsburg,[4] King of Germany and Emperor, was chosen, and the Pope confirmed his choice for the support of the Holy Land. Indeed, he wished to be signed with the Cross immediately. Philip, King of France,

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[1] This is the first time that 'p' and 'c' have been used for part and chapter. '81' in Bongars is a misprint for 8. It is corrected here.

[2] Tibaldo Visconti (1210–76) was elected Pope in 1271 while he was on the Ninth Crusade with Prince Edward. His election came after the longest conclave in history following the death of Pope Clement IV on 29 November 1268. The words from Psalm 136 were used in his farewell sermon in Acre.

[3] Psalm 136:5–6. The marginal note in the Bongars edition (Psalm 13:66) is a misprint.

[4] Rudolf I of Germany (1218–91) was crowned King of the Romans at Aachen on 24 October 1273, the successor to Richard, Earl of Cornwall. His family lands were in Swabia and were greatly augmented by his staunch support of Frederick II and Conrad for which he was excommunicated by Innocent IV in 1254. He was never formally crowned Emperor, but he was the first to bring the Hapsburgs to prominence in south Germany.

came before the time of the Council and gave back to the Supreme Pontiff the County of Vienne which had for a long time been held by his predecessors from the Church and devoutly he took the Cross. Thither came Alfonso, King of Castile[1] seeking the Crown of Germany for which he had been elected at the same time as Richard, Count of Cornwall[2] in 1256 [sic] and for gaining the Empire he had spent a great deal and now promised very great things to help the Holy Land. But at last at the request of the Pope he conceded to Rudolph, renouncing all right that he seemed to have. Also, in attendance at the Council were ambassadors representing the princes and inhabitants of the Holy Land. The Pope listened to them attentively because his thoughts were directed thither where he had been himself. Then it was decreed that for the assistance of the Holy Land, a tenth should be levied from the Churches for six years and even that boxes with three locks be placed in Churches for receiving the offerings of the faithful **(p. 226)**. The King of Cyprus[3] too sent his procurators to reply to the lady Mary[4] who had passed through the Kingdom of Jerusalem seeking to gain it for herself by hereditary right. There were also ambassadors of the Greeks and the Tartars at this Council: see above Part 8, Chapter 1. But when all these things were decided the glorious Pontiff brought an end to the Council and returned to Rome for the coronation of the Emperor. He was taken from their midst at Aretino[5] in Tuscany, because of the men's sins he did not fulfil their pious proposition.

Chapter 14: A disturbance of the faithful in Outremer, both external and internal, and certain help sent to them

On 11 May 1275, Bohemond, Prince of Antioch and Count of Tripoli, died and his son Bohemond succeeded him. On the advice of his mother[6] and of the Bishop

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[1] Alfonso X, the Wise, of Castile (1221–84), was King of Castile, Leon and Galicia from 1252. Through his mother, Elizabeth of Hohenstaufen (1203–35), he was a cousin of Frederick II. He was elected King of the Romans in 1257 and disputed the title with Richard; whose death presumably resurrected his hopes.

[2] Richard, Earl of Cornwall (1201–72), see note 1, page 343 above, was crowned King of the Romans at Aachen on 27 May 1257. His title was largely nugatory and he made only four visits to Germany.

[3] Hugh III of Cyprus and I of Jerusalem (1235–84), known as 'the Great', was crowned King of Cyprus in 1267 and of Jerusalem in 1268.

[4] Mary of Antioch, who was well-received by Gregory X, was the daughter of Bohemond IV of Antioch and through her mother, Melisende of Lusignan, was the granddaughter of Isabelle Queen of Jerusalem. She was advised to sell her rights to Charles of Anjou for 4,000 *Livres tournois*. This transaction was completed by 1277, when Charles assumed the title. She died in Apulia in 1307/8.

[5] Arezzo.

[6] Dowager Princess Sibyl.

of Tortosa,[1] who influenced him in all things, since he was still a minor, he went to Armenia, to the King, his uncle,[2] for the purpose of being knighted. On 12 August, Oliver of Termes died. In the same year Bendocdar, who was called Melec Madamer, rode through the plains of Armenia and put more than 20,000 men in the mouth of the sword, taking captive as many as 10,000 boys and girls, together with more than 300,000 horses and greater and lesser beasts. The King with his knights skulked in the mountains. The merchants and others, who sought to avoid danger with their goods by taking ships to sea, fell into the hands of pirates and eventually reached Acre. Around the end of October Lord William of Roussillon[3] reached Acre with 40 knights and 60 other horsemen, and with 400 crossbowmen in the pay of the Church. After the death of the Prince of Antioch his relative, the King of Cyprus[4] came to Tripoli with many companions to advise and assist the boy who remained, but the bishop of Tortosa because by dealing with the mother[5] before he arrived had taken over the care of the boy, frustrated the intention of the King, on account of which he left Tripoli and came to Acre. Then in Tripoli no small dispute broke out because the Romans,[6] who first had the lordship of the land in the lifetime of a previous prince, harmed many knights on account of which three of them were killed by sword. And because the Bishop of Tripoli [was] a Roman and defended the Romans, for he was the uncle of the Prince and the Bishop of Tortosa, the tutor of the Prince, defended the knights. Dissension arose between the bishops that was the root of the succeeding evils and the seed-bed of the discord between the Prince and the Templars. Also the Lord of Gibelet[7] came into disfavour with the Prince through the doing of the Bishop his tutor, because with the Templars as intermediaries he had entered an agreement with the Bishop of Tripoli. Then the trouble created and multiplied evils in the land. On 27 June in

[1] Bartholomew, Bishop of Tortosa, bailie of Antioch.

[2] Leon III of Armenia.

[3] On Gullielmus de Rosseylon see Marshall, *Warfare in the Latin East,1191–1291*, 81 and 84.

[4] Hugh III of Cyprus, the Great (1235–84) was the son of Hugh of Antioch and Isabella of Lusignan next adult heir of the house of Antioch. He became King of Cyprus in 1267 and of Jerusalem in 1268.

[5] Sibylla of Armenia (c.1240–90) was the daughter of Hethoum I of Armenia and his Queen Isabella. She became the second wife of Bohemond VI (1237–75) in 1254 and assumed the regency for her son Bohemond VII (1261–87) appointing Bishop Bartholomew as her bailie.

[6] The Roman faction derived from the Roman relatives introduced into the government of the principality of Antioch by the Dowager Princess, Luciana of Caccaamo-Segni, the second wife (married 1235) of Bohemond V (1233–52) and great niece of Pope Innocent III. This unpopular move took place after her husband's death when she was regent for her son Bohemond VI. Her brother Paul Bishop of Tripoli headed the faction.

[7] Guy II Embriaco (d.1282) married Margaret Grenier, daughter of Julian Grenier of Sidon. The Embriaco family had come east in 1099 and received the lordship of Gibelet in 1110.

the following year [1276] Prince Henry,[1] father of the King of Cyprus, sailing from Acre to Cyprus perished in a shipwreck when his taride hit a rock. In October, the aforesaid King, exasperated, went from Acre to Tripoli without leaving any officer there who might exercise justice or anything else. There were many points at issue between him and the commune and the brotherhoods and the households and he did not wish to rule them. Above all the Templars, without reference to the King, had bought the village of Fauconeria from a certain knight who held it by homage from the King. Several times the King had asked that he might appoint officials since he could not hold the city in such condition, especially on account of the hostile ambushes and attacks. Indeed, there were messengers, prelates, religious, knights, Hospitallers, Germans, Burgesses, Pisans and Genoese. The Templars and the Venetians were scarcely in this reckoning, but they said: 'If he wishes to come let him come and if not we don't care.' The King did not wish to listen to any petitions. Between these groups the King's friends in order to stir up trouble in the town, started brawls between the familiars of the Hospitallers and the Templars and some of those who belonged to the Temple were killed. The injured, in order that the evil designs of the plotters might be frustrated and because they wished to pursue other things, went away in disguise. Because the Master of the Temple let slip the direction of the city's affairs by other means, those waiting on the outcome of the things mentioned above turned to the King again and sweetened the coming back with the sweetest of prayers. He, agreeing with their petitions, appointed the Lord of Arsur as bailie and William of Flori as sheriff as well as other officials, and then secretly returned to Cyprus.

Chapter 15: The end of the lawsuit in the Roman Curia between the King of Cyprus and the lady Mary and how the said Mary gave her rights to Charles King of Sicily ***(p. 227)***

Before the King of Cyprus returned from Tyre he chose messengers to send to the kings and princes of the West and especially to the Pope and the cardinals, who were to deplore the disobedience shown to him at Acre, requesting that, concerning these things and the condition of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, they should apply a health giving remedy. The aforesaid Mary, who was always present at the Roman Curia (see above Chapter 13) as an heiress eagerly pressing her point for gaining the Kingdom of Jerusalem, learned from the messengers of the Temple all the things narrated above. Then she asked in her usual way from the Bishop of Dukadzin[2] who had been appointed the Judge, the right of deciding for himself. The procurator of the King of Cyprus explained that according to custom

[1] Henry of Antioch or of Poitiers (1217–76), son of Bohemond IV of Antioch (1172–1233) and his first wife Plaisance Embriaco (d.1219). In 1233 he married Isabella of Antioch, daughter of Hugh I of Cyprus, and in 1263 he was bailie of the Kingdom of Jerusalem when his wife became regent. He was the father of Hugh III.

[2] Albanensis (or Arbanensis) in Epirus.

any litigation concerning the Kingdom of Jerusalem did not belong in the Roman Curia nor concerning this matter or any other was it obliged to respond here. It belonged to the barons of the kingdom to judge. The lady accepted this legitimate exception and asked the judge and other lords cardinal and priests there present that an exception should be given to her through the public hand strengthened by their seals. It was granted to the petitioner and the matter was completely taken over by the Roman Curia. After this, in 1277, the aforesaid lady gained what she had wanted and in the presence of several cardinals and priests and the greater part of the Curia she gave away, as the legitimate heir of the Kingdom of Jerusalem as had been shown and declared several times by the Lord Judges of the laws, the master of decrees, advocates and wise men, all rights that she had and could have in the kingdom to the aforesaid Charles, King of Sicily. The King received the gift and caused instruments of the said donation to be made by several public notaries, strengthened nonetheless with the seals of several cardinals and priests who had been personally involved in the business. Then the King gave lands and other gifts to the aforesaid lady with which she was well pleased and so the right to the Kingdom of Jerusalem came to King Charles. Pope Adrian showed great interest in helping the Holy Land after the manner of Gregory[1] and sent the Patriarch 12,000 pounds tournois for building galleys or for other things according to the judgement of good men and by his letters he comforted the inhabitants of the Holy Land a great deal and raised the hope of great assistance, but he lived as Pope for only 39 days.

Chapter 16: The arrival in Acre of the bailie of King Charles and how the citizens paid homage to him

And so Roger, Count of Saint Severin[2] was sent as bailie of the Kingdom of Jerusalem for King Charles and reached Acre with six galleys on 7 June 1277. Immediately on his arrival Balian of Ibelin, Lord of Arsuf,[3] having evacuated the citadel, ceded it to him. He entered the citadel with his men and took the lordship of the land with the help of the Templars and their following. Then William of Rousillon died, who was the captain of the men of the King of the French.[4] Then

[1] After the death of Gregory X (1271–76) on 10 January 1276 he was succeeded by two short-lived Popes: Innocent V, 21 January–22 June 1276 and Adrian V, 11 July–18 August 1276.

[2] Roger of Sanseverino was bailie from 1277 to 1282 when he was recalled to Italy following the Sicilian Vespers of 30 March 1281. He had the support of the Templars and the Venetians.

[3] Balian of Ibelin (1239–77) sold his lordship of Arsuf to the Hospitallers in 1261. He became constable of Jerusalem, like his father John, in 1268 and was appointed bailie by Hugh of Cyprus in 1276. He delayed before handing over the citadel to Roger.

[4] Philip III, born 1245; King 1270–85.

peace was established between the Venetians and the Lord of Tyre[1] through the mediation of the aforesaid Templars during the bailiwick of Alberto Morosini and started by his predecessor John Dandolo. The Venetians recovered the right to a third part of Tyre which they had by reason of their conquest and had long enjoyed but the Lord Philip of Monfort[2] took away their right from them on account of their war with the Genoese (see above Chapter 5). Then the aforesaid Balian died. After a suitable time Roger the bailie for King Charles asked several knights who were in Acre to make homage to him as representative of the King. They replied that they had made homage to the King of Cyprus and so could not make homage to him unless they obtained permission from [the King of Cyprus] or unless he behaved badly to them in respect of the right by which the region was held. And when they had sent often to the King of Cyprus he had replied that he would allow them nothing at any time. At last the count peremptorily ordered that they would lose their fiefs, houses and all other goods if they did not make homage to him. Then with the intervention of the Master of the Temple they agreed that they would still send to the King of Cyprus and if they did not receive sufficient response they would do homage to the said count in place of King Charles. The count likewise swore according to the traditions of the kingdom what he ought **(p. 228).** Then he appointed a seneschal, a constable, a marshal, a sheriff and other officials according to the custom of the country. The prince of Antioch was asked to do homage. Suitable procurators were sent and he made due homage to King Charles.

Chapter 17: The defeat and death of Sultan Bendocdar and the dispute of the Prince of Antioch with the Templars and how the King of Cyprus wished to occupy Acre

In the same year [1277] Bendocdar, Sultan of Babylon, hearing that the Tartars had besieged one of his castles called Laberie[3] on the Euphrates, crossed the river

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[1] John of Montfort (d.1283) was the son of Philip of Montfort and Lord of Toron (1257–66) and Lord of Tyre (1270–83). In 1268 he married Margaret of Lusignan (1244–1308) the sister of Hugh III of Cyprus.

[2] Philip of Montfort (d.1270) was the son of Guy of Montfort and Helvis of Ibelin the daughter of Balian of Ibelin. He had considerable estates which he left in the 1230s to go east. Henry I of Cyprus as Regent of Jerusalem created him Lord of Toron in 1240 when he married his second wife Maria of Antioch-Armenia, the eldest daughter of Raymond-Roupen of Antioch. He was Lord of Tyre from 1246 and Constable of Jerusalem in 1244. He joined the Seventh Crusade (1249–54) and expelled the Venetians from Tyre in 1256. He was one of the few allies of the Genoese in the war of St Sabas. He was murdered by Assassins in Tyre in July 1270.

[3] Bira or Birtha on the Euphrates.

by swimming and found 6,000 *Muguli*[1] who had brought much hurt to him and having disbanded his forces he returned wounded to Damascus and suffering from dysentery he died on 15 April, by which the Christians were immensely pleased.[2] His son Melequelsayt[3] succeeded him. Then a serious dispute broke out between the Prince of Antioch and the Templars. For the men of the Prince grew weary of the familiars of the Templars and the Prince himself as an arrogant young man, used to shout at and insult these very brothers. Wounded, they laid aside their complaints. The associates[4] and the Bishop of Tripoli sowed not peace but discord. Hatred grew to such an extent that the Bishop himself, having abandoned his household, fled to the house of the Templars of which he was an associate and was under its protection as were all his men. It happened that as the Master of the Temple was going through the land of Tortosa, he was refused entry to the city of Tripoli and he caused an instrument to be drawn up concerning the offences done to him by the Prince and then returned to Acre to make war against him, having sent away some of the associates to attack the Prince in Gibeleth. The Lord of Gibeleth returned from Tripoli angry with the prince. The Master of the Temple armed seven galleys and sent them to besiege Nephyn[5] along with soldiers by land. But the galleys suffered shipwreck, because they were going against the will of the Lord and those who were proceeding by land went back to Acre. The Prince gathered many cavalry and foot soldiers and hurried to besiege Gibeleth; achieving nothing profitable, he lost many soldiers. At that time the Master of the Temple died. In the same year Hugh, King of Cyprus, with a great following and 700 horse arrived in Tyre intending to advance on Acre, for he had made agreements with several from the city and caused payments to be made in Acre to the Pisans, the Pulani and many others. But before he could carry out his plan four months had elapsed and the knights returned to Cyprus. And so the plan ruined the King returned to Cyprus after them. After three years, with the mediation of the Master of the Hospitallers, peace was made between the Prince and the Templars.

Chapter 18: The clash of Christians and Saracens in the countryside around Margath[6]

In 1278, the Hospitallers advanced to the castle called Margath and captured the bailie of the Saracens, who was in those parts and killed him and began to wage

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[1] Insurgent Muslim group who fought for the Great Khan, see Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitas* (Paris, 1678).

[2] The chronology is muddled here. The Bira campaign belonged to 1273 and Baybars died in June not April, when he was campaigning in Anatolia.

[3] As-Sa'id Nasir ad-Din Baraka Khan (1277–80).

[4] *Confratres*.

[5] Anefah.

[6] Margat or al-Marqab, which means watch-tower.

war throughout the area of Margath. Then Sangulascar[1] came before Damascus to attack the Saracens. Defeated, he fled to Aqua Frigida. At the end of October 1280 the brothers also raided the land between Margath and Coible[2] and found the land around the towns well-fortified and damaged the mills. Then a report arose throughout the land of Castrum Blanchum[3] that 500 knights, both Turks and Turkmen, were following the Christians. While they pressed hard on them the Christians turned and rushed against their pursuers. The fighting was fierce, however, the Christians won and lost only one man. In February the army of the Sultan came before Margath from Maraclea. There were 2,000 cavalry and 3,000 infantry, carrying with them whatever was necessary for a siege. They attacked those who were in Margath. They, going out, attacked the Saracens and defeated them, killing many. The victory was given to them from heaven and only eleven of the Christians lost their lives. In the following year [1281] the Tartars appeared raiding as far as Calamele and Aleppo and putting to the sword all Saracens in their way **(p. 229)**. The Sultan of Babylon hearing this gathered as large an army as he could, as many as 100,000 horse and a like number of infantry and concentrated the army around Calamele. Great carnage was made by both sides. At last the Tartars held the field with more surviving. When night came many of them withdrew with their prince; some followed the fleeing Saracens on the one hand and on the other the King of Armenia (see below Part 13, Chapter 18). There the story of the Tartars is completed.

Chapter 19: How Hugh, King of Cyprus died having reached Tyre and how his son Henry gained Acre

When Sicily had rebelled from King Charles in 1281 and Charles had recalled the Count of Saint Severin, who was his bailie in Acre, Hugh became his replacement in 1283. The King of Cyprus crossed to Beirut in January and reached Tyre in September. And when many had sent across their horses by land, the Saracens came down from the mountains slew some in the Pass of Daugia near Sidon and took others, with their animals, prisoner. The King understood that this was the work of the Templars from Sidon. Death came to John of Montfort, his brother Anfredus and Bohemond the second son of the King of Cyprus. The King himself, who had long been sick, was overwhelmed by grief for the death of his close friends as well as of his son, and on 26 March 1284 he died in Tyre. On 11 May his son John was crowned in Nicosia. On 27 April in the following year [1285] the Sultan of Babylon besieged Margath. On 27 May the castle surrendered with the safety of the garrison guaranteed; for already they had reached the barbican and one tower, called Josperon, had fallen down. The aforesaid King John died on 20

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1 Sunqur al-Ashqar, see Paul Crawford, *The Templar of Tyre* (Aldershot, 2003), 94–5.

2 Al-Khawabi.

3 *Chastel Blanc* or Burj Safitha.

May. His brother Henry succeeded him and on the day of the Blessed John[1] 1286 he entered Acre with a fine fleet and was well received. But Hugh of Pelichyn,[2] who was there for King Charles, held the citadel and defended it against the King and caused all those who were in Acre to enter the service of France, of which he was the captain, except a few who from love of King Henry did not wish to enrol. With the siege of the citadel in place on the fifth day King Henry, guaranteeing the safety of persons, captured the citadel and on the Feast of the Assumption[3] he was crowned King of Jerusalem in Tyre. On the Vigil of Saint Andrew[4] he returned to Cyprus, sending the Lord Philip of Ibelin, his uncle, as bailie of Acre.

Chapter 20: The loss of the castle of Licia and of Tripoli

In 1287, an emir called Leteratayn was sent by the Sultan of Babylon to besiege a castle which Sangolascar had held against the aforesaid Sultan.[5] Having occupied the castle, he took the castle of Licia from the Prince of Antioch on 13 April. Then he came to Crach[6] and there he ordered a great preparation of machines and other things necessary for the siege of Tripoli, which was reported to the Prince by a certain emir who belonged to his household. Then the Prince strengthened the castle of Nephyn with supplies and ordered that 60 bake houses be set up in the city. And so the Sultan came to the siege of Tripoli, but meanwhile his son died and he drew back, overcome by grief. The Countess of Blois[7] reached Acre and built, among other praiseworthy things, a fine tower at the barbican near Saint Nicholas and a fine barbican between the gate of Saint Thomas and the gate de Malpas and on 2 August she went to the Lord. On 19 October Bohemond, Prince of Antioch died. His mother asked that homage be made to her. To which it was replied that it was due to Lucia the sister of the Prince because she was now of adult years and was married.[8] At last they agreed on this that all would swear together to the mother of the dead prince and she to them to protect their rights and this was

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1 27 December.

2 Odo Poilechien, a Frenchman in Angevin service who had come to Acre with Roger Sanseverino and replaced him on his departure for Italy, see Marshall, *Warfare*, 81.

3 15 August.

4 29 November.

5 This was the castle of Saone or Sahyun that had passed into Muslim hands in 1188.

6 Krak des Chevaliers had been surrendered in 1271.

7 Alice of Brittany and dowager Countess of Blois who landed in Acre on 18 June 1287 leading a small group of crusaders, see Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, III, 413.

8 Lucia of Tripoli (d.c.1299), married to Narjot of Toucy (d.1293), admiral of the fleet of the Kingdom of Sicily. She came to Tripoli from Auxerre. Their son Philip inherited her claim to Antioch.

done. She decided that Bertrand of Gibeleth[1] should take her place, until [Lucia's] husband arrived. In the same year the Lord John of Grelli[2] arrived as captain of the soldiers of the King of France. On 18 March in the following year [1288] the Sultan of Babylon, Melec Messor,[3] came before Tripoli and uproar arose in the city and all those outside were summoned within the walls and began to prepare for the defence of the city, according to what they could do. The Sultan made a ferocious attack and took the barbican and the tower of the bishop, which had huge walls, whose midst they had already destroyed by machines **(p. 230)**. In the confusion the Christians continued the fight till the ninth hour. Then the Saracens occupied almost all the walls; all the foot soldiers withdrew to the sea. The cavalry could not bear the stones thrown from the walls and they too withdrew to the sea. Concerning the Saracens who had entered by the sea near the hospitals, they put up a hard fight and many were killed and many drowned. Around 7,000 Christians were killed. Others were saved by fleeing to the galleys and other ships. On 26 April, after the city was taken, the Sultan ordered it to be destroyed and burned by fire. After a few days for little expenditure he accepted the surrender of Nephyn and ordered it to be destroyed. He ordered a city to be built at a place called Mount Pilgrim, which was only one mile from the sea and then he went to Damascus. At that time King Henry, reaching Acre, made a truce with the Sultan and both having confirmed it by oath he returned to Cyprus in August, leaving his brother Almeric to guard the city. On behalf of the King and the Syrians, John of Grelli went to Pope Nicholas IV,[4] who previously had been called Brother Hieronymus and had been general of the Friars Minor, to report on the wretched state of the land and that no one was safe outside the walls of the city and to ask for help. The Pope caused a crusade to be preached in the whole of Italy and ordered the Venetians to arm 20 galleys over which Scopulus[5] had charge as captain and he had beside an opportunity from the crusaders who on their journey out attacked the land of Candalorius, although they did not capture it. Others crossed through various places in due time. The Pope also gave 1,000 gold unci to Lord John of Grelli and the same amount to the Lord Rubio of Suli,[6] who had offered to go to the aid of the Holy Land. The aforesaid John of Grelli travelled through Sicily and he received five well-armed galleys from King James;[7] but because in that year the Sultan did not come before Acre,

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1 A member of the Embriaco family who was very unpopular.

2 John of Grailly, see Marshall, *Warfare*, 80–3.

3 Kalavan, in full al-Mansur Sayf-ad-Din Qala'un al-Alfi, born c.1222, was Sultan1280–90. Here Sanudo uses his epithet al-Malik al-Mansur.

4 Pope, 1286–92. He succeeded Bonaventura as general of the Franciscans in 1272.

5 Jacopo Tiepolo the son of Doge Lorenzo 1268–75 and through him Lord of Skyros and Skopelos, hence the epithet, see Crawford, *The Templar*, 101.

6 Roux of Sully or Hugh the Red of Sully was sent by Charles of Anjou to capture Berat from the Byzantines. He campaigned unsuccessfully in Albania 1279–81.

7 James II of Aragon (1267–1327), second son of Peter III of Castile-Aragon (1276–85) and Constance, daughter of Manfred of Sicily. He was King of Sicily (1285–96) and

he returned home. The said Rubio of Suli returned home for the same reason and others of the aforesaid crusaders also departed. After several months had passed since the said captain had reached Acre, he was persuaded by the prayers of many to hurry to the Pope with two galleys to solicit the wages for the galleys for the coming season. Although the Supreme Pontiff provided it, the time of the contract expired. When he returned he found that the galleys had returned home due to lack of wages. He, too, although he had brought reports concerning the arrival of the Sultan, having handed over the money to the Patriarch, would not stay there however much they asked him but went away as his men had done.

Chapter 21: The loss of the city of Acre

The Sultan Melec Messer planned to raise an army to destroy the remnant of the Christians in the land of Syria. And in October 1290 he moved the army. But [God][1] did not wish to expel those who loved him from thence until their iniquities were complete. He still patiently supported them, lest by chance they should return from their evil ways to penance. Messer died on the march and his son called Seraf [2] succeeded him. Since lust and other sins increased all the time in the breaking of baptismal trust and they did not wish to abandon evil or return to the path of justice. Seraf took up his father's plan, moving it forward more fervently. Especially because, contrary to the spirit of the truce, some crusaders cut down 19 Saracen merchants in Acre in a place called Lafunda near the exchange and justice was denied him when he asked. Like an instrument of a severe judge, although dreadful, to those shunning pity on 5 April 1291 he besieged the city of Acre from all sides. It is said that he had in his army 60,000 cavalry and 160,000 foot soldiers. In various places he set up many machines for bringing down the walls and towers of the city. He also made many mines and tunnels directed at the new ground recently made before the tower Maledicta[3] and at the sbaralium or barbican of King Hugh and at the tower of the Countess of Blois and the tower of Saint Nicholas. Afterwards he caused many wicker screens[4] to be placed in the mouth of the tunnels and many close by from the tower of Saint Nicholas to the barbican of the Lord Edward. And after the wicker screens he caused many Carbagas[5] to be set up, which threw large stones at a rapid rate of fire so that the walls and towers were thrown down. On 4 May, King Henry came to help the besieged with 200 knights and 500 foot soldiers **(p. 231)**. On 8 May they destroyed the barbican of King

King of Aragon and Valencia from 1291.

[1] It appears that there is a lacuna here.

[2] Al-Ashraf Salah-ad-DinKhalil (b.1262) was the son of Kalavan and Sultan 1290–94.

[3] The accursed tower or great tower stood in the inner wall between the towers of the King and the tower of the Germans, see Crawford, *The Templar*, 106.

[4] Boachiers or leboauchiers.

[5] Small hand-operated Turkish catapults, see Crawford, *loc.cit.*

Hugh and set it ablaze and likewise a walkway running round the wall because it seemed that they were not strong enough to defend it by any other means. On 15 May the Saracens took by force the new round tower of the King which was in front of the tower Maladicta and this was defended by chosen warriors. On Friday 18 May the Sultan delivered a most ferocious assault on the city using the whole strength of his army against the whole circuit of the walls, from the sea on one side to the sea on the other. The Saracens entered by the said new tower with a great effort and captured up to the barbican. Thence, through the stone gateway, which the Christians had made; so that they crossed through from the great wall to the barbican and entered the city. They split up: some going towards the gate of Saint Nicholas and others towards the gate of the Legate. Then the Christians fled towards the sea and the Saracens scaled the walls with ladders unopposed and occupied everything within the city. The King and the Masters of the Temple and of the Hospital of the Germans, John of Grelli, and other knights went to the city gate to go out to the barbican, but the force of resistance was greater. For the Master of the Temple, with his brother knights, making a last attack, was hit by an arrow and died. He was brought as far as the Temple. After this the Turks seeing that there was no defence at the gate of the tower Maladicta, entered the city and cut down whoever they found. The King, and the captains who were with him, realizing that the entry was open and that all had perished went towards the sea and boarded galleys with the most important people. Some of the impious who had escaped the swords went to the Temple. Only the Patriarch, like a good shepherd, cared for the sheep, and since there was a galley ready to receive him nearby, so that he might save the flock entrusted to him, rowing around in the water he wished to gather all to him in his small boat until it was too full and sank. So he gave his soul for his flock and with his flock. He alone had gone out carrying a crucifix and the image of the crucifixion before him. And so a crowd gathered in the harbour and when they were able to board small ships in order to escape on greater ships they got in the way of one another (for where there is a crowd very terrified by fear of death, there is confusion) and threw one another into the sea. There was also a violent gale at sea, so that the great ships were not able to leave. On all sides there was quaking and terror and the groans of death. The Sultan ordered a quarter of the city to be burned, so that he consumed everything with iron and fire. Now he cleansed the sins, but not the evil city, ungrateful for the Divine grace. The Kings and princes of the land had flowed to her. The parts of the West had sent the help of all tributaries to her, and now all the elements fought against her. For the land, which had been moistened by all the Christian blood, swallowed the blood. The sea absorbed the people, fire consumed the buildings and the air was darkened by smoke and fog. Then justly was that tower called Maledicta, by which the evil Saracen race had entered and he who had given it that name prophesied an event of dire misfortune not knowing what he had said.

Chapter 22: The loss of the remaining parts of the Holy Land

On the same day that Acre was captured the city of Tyre was evacuated in the evening leaving it to the victors to occupy unopposed, without a sword blow without the noise of war. Boarding ships they left. On the following day the Saracens entered, unopposed, and did what they wished. On the day after the capture of Acre the Sultan sent to those who had fled to the Temple, so that they might surrender the place, and safely go where they chose. The agreement having been sealed the Sultan sent a certain emir with 300 men to the place, of which some seized Christian women, taunting them to frighten them. Then the Christians took up their arms and killed them all. The Sultan pretended to be angry, he approached the prior again, [and] he blamed his own men as if he did not know what had happened. Then the Marshal of the Temple with several others went to the Sultan, unaware of any treachery, and was beheaded. Those who had remained in the Temple seeing this returned to the tower which was called the Master's Tower. The Saracens undermined the tower, supporting it with beams. When the Christians returned to it so many Saracens climbed the tower that the ladders broke under the weight, and the tower falling down with the Christians in it; **(p. 232)** not only those who were inside but also many Saracens who were outside were killed. However, those Templars who had escaped earlier reached Sidon and fortified the castle by the sea. The Sultan sent an emir, named Segei against them. When he could not overcome them by land, he had ships prepared in Licia. The Templars, learning of this were terrified and sought refuge first on the island of Tortosa and then on Cyprus. Then those who were in Beirut sent messengers [to Segei] asking what his plans were for them and the secretive Segei replied that when a form of truce was in place between them and the Sultan, they might pass through his lines freely. While they were arranging this they were butchered or captured and bound in chains and he destroyed the walls of the city and the citadel. After a short time had elapsed, Pilgrims' castle was abandoned by the Christians and it was slighted by the Saracens. Then the whole of Syria was lost and all the Christian inhabitants of the Land of Promise were either dead or had fled as exiles and having brought this on themselves they took refuge on the island of Cyprus. In that place, having with them what load of sins they carried in their conscience and the cause of the aforesaid downfall, they lived a wretched life with many difficulties and in much fear; referring thus to Isaias Chapter 9: 'At the first time', namely that of Saladin, 'the land of Zabulon and the land of Nephtali was lightly touched.' For it was in those places that according to the books Saladin began to be victorious when his horsemen passed through the areas of Tiberias and Nazareth. 'And at the last', namely Bendocdar, Messer and Seraf,[1] 'the way of the sea beyond the Jordan of the Galilee of the Gentiles was heavily loaded.' This Galilee of peoples borders the sea and Tyre, just as the other Galilee, Tiberias. For under the Sultanate of the

[1] Baybars, Sultan 1260–77, Kalavan, Sultan 1279–90, and Al-Ashruf Khlil, Sultan 1290–93.

three aforementioned the severity of the Divine vengeance grew worse against everything this side of Jordan and especially in the coastal region that had been left to the Christians. The Egyptian ‘people that walked in darkness’: for the Egyptian interprets shadows ‘He has seen a great light’ of applauding fortune and ‘to them that dwelt in the region of the shadow of death’. By infidelity and other sins, ‘the light’ of victories ‘is risen for them’. But lest they think that on account of the favourable things they should be grateful to God, it follows: ‘Thou hast multiplied the Nation’, filled with worldly goods they are multiplied from the fruit of corn, of wine and of oil, ‘and hast not increased the joy’, because without Divine grace there is no perfect joy; indeed only carnally, ‘they shall rejoice before thee, as they that rejoice in the harvest’, because with the approach of harvest they have expelled the Christian farmers from the land, ‘as conquerors rejoice after taking prey when they divide the spoils’,[1] so that through such injuries, shame and repeated disasters the Christian people should finally recognize that they had departed from their Lord God, which is a wicked and bitter knowledge; and that the world may know that sin has driven the Christians from the Holy Land just as it had driven the Jebusites, see above Part 1, Chapter 3 and later the Jew, Chapter 14 of the same Part; the authorities and prophetic and Divine warnings of this are shown in Chapter 3 in the same Part.

Part 13

Part 13 contains certain contingencies after the complete loss of the Holy Land, having 11 chapters.[2]

Chapter 1: The heavenly vengeance against the undutiful Saracens

When the news and misfortunes reached the ears of the Supreme Pontiff and of the Roman chapter they immediately sent 20 galleys to the afflicted faithful on the island of Cyprus. The Cypriots armed 15 more of which 25 proceeded to occupy a castle called Quandelor, because the Turks had fortified it so strongly that no one could touch them. Withdrawing from there they went to Alexandria and stayed there for some days. Since they achieved nothing they returned to Cyprus in penance for they moaned that they had recently been rebuffed by God rather than gaining the victories that were proper. He reserved the punishment of Saracen cruelty to himself, as [Moses] says in Deuteronomy. ‘See ye that I alone am, and there is no other God besides me: I will strike and I will heal,’ both the faithful and the unfaithful. He continues: ‘I will render vengeance to my enemies and

[1] The citations are from Isaias 9:1–3.

[2] The material dealing with Armenia, its relations with the Tartars and with Cyprus in Part 13 of Book 3 comes from Hayton of Corycus (d.c.1308), *La For des Estoires d’Orient* (c.1300), written at the Premonstratensian abbey at Poitiers where he was abbot.

repay them that hate me. I will make my arrows drunk with blood **(p. 233)** and my sword shall devour flesh.' He continues: 'he will revenge the blood of his servants: and will render vengeance to their enemies and he will be merciful to the land of his people.'[1] Oh that the pitying and merciful Lord would bring this about quickly! Seraf,[2] that great persecutor of thee Christian name, perceiving that after such great victories he was challenged to war again, especially where he was strongest in his lordship, erupted as follows. Summoning his emirs he said that he wished to conquer the island of Cyprus angrily repeating three times 'To Cyprus, to Cyprus, to Cyprus'. He ordered 100 galleys to be made ready so that the mission could be carried out quickly. The latter, frightened by his arrogance, promised to carry out his orders. After the space of a few days, having called them together he said again, because a thought had entered his heart after the conquest of Cyprus [he wished that] the Baghdad[3] area be subjected to him. The emirs seeing that he pressed them so hard and in such enterprises [and] exposed them to dangers, decided to kill him and this they did. For, while he was out hunting, he was killed in an ambush. Then a great dispute arose among the emirs as to which of them should be the leader. And the choices fell in many ways. At last Bedeyre gained the principality by force, but on the following day he was assassinated with his family. In like manner Gothbega succeeded him, and in like manner he and his were killed by Leschin, who likewise in the space of a few days was cut down with his family. And at the same time [there was] Seyay, a great emir, because he brought many evils to the Christians. By the same means almost all the great emirs of the Kingdom of Egypt were killed by his supporters. In the same year the whole population was affected by famine so that most died from starvation. This was followed by a severe plague, which affected both the rich and those who lived in luxury. For, although the preachers of the law did the will of God in the deserts, for which reason power was rightfully, theirs, their designs were evil. For they did not want to serve proper justice but to drive out the name of Christian. To this end they destroyed churches throughout the land and threw crosses and the images of saints in the mud. Doing many things of this sort they rightly incurred the vengeance of the Heavenly Judge.

Chapter 2: The disagreement of the remaining emirs

After this slaughter of the Saracens, a young man, Claudus,[4] brother of Seraf and son of Messor, became Sultan of Egypt. Under him were four powerful men, of

[1] Deuteronomy 32:39–43.

[2] Al-Ashraf Khalil (c.1262–93), in full al-Malik al-Ashraf Salah-ad-Din Khalil ibn Kalawan, was the eighth Mamluk Sultan from 1290 until his assassination on 14 October 1293.

[3] The Mongols had occupied *Baldacensem regionem* since 1258.

[4] Al-Malik al-Nasir Nasir-ad-Din Muhammad (1285–1340) was the son of Kalawan and brother of Al-Ashraf Khalil. He became the ninth Mamluk Sultan and had three reigns:

whom the two principal ones, Naboyseler and Bibarsimicher, hated each other. The third was called Merecendal, who was envied and hated by the first two. He protected himself and the Sultan from them as much as he could. The fourth, called Caleminus, expecting the fall of the others, conducted matters quietly. The other emirs and officials, altogether, did what they could to seize goods from the court and to snatch many things from the royal treasury. Two of the forenamed barons, Nabayseler and Bibarsinacher, although they hated each other, not long after conspired against Merezendal [sic], so that he was expelled from court and by their influence not just from court but was also driven from the whole of Egypt. He went, with his family, to the region of Saphet, Acre and Castrum Peregrinorum and gained the lordship of the area. The Christians of Outremer also, although damaged by the disasters [inflicted on them by] the infidels, stirred up scandals amongst themselves especially in Armenia. In 1294, when Hayton, King of Armenia, went to Constantinople because his son was betrothed to the sister of Andronicus, taking with him his brother Thoros, the other brother Sebath[1] crowned himself king; moved [to do so] because Ayton had never wished to be crowned, but had adopted the habit of the Franciscans and so from then on was commonly known as 'Brother John'. When Aytun returned he was expelled from Armenia. For this reason he sailed first to Cyprus and then to Constantinople and from there he went to the Tartars to make a formal complaint against his brother. But the latter won his case and in gratitude for [Ayton's] capture he took a Tartar wife, taking the brothers Ayton and Thoros in return. Loaded with all good things he led them to Armenia [where] he ordered Thoros to be strangled with a bow string and took away Ayton's sight which he recovered with the blessing of God. A fourth brother, Constans, was most upset by this, attacking King Senibat, he captured him personally and chained him in prison. He restored Ayton to freedom. The latter, now a free man, sent both his brothers under safe custody to the Emperor of Constantinople, requesting that they not be allowed to escape. The Saracens **(p. 234)** raided Armenia in 1299, seizing the castles and the strongest places. Brother John, who only saved himself and his family by hiding in a cave, sought the help of the Tartars. He roused them against the Saracens, showing how much plunder they would gain; that their battlelines shining in gold and silver were not to be feared, since they would find more booty than danger therein.

Chapter 3: The base origins of the Tartar warriors

Because the Tartars have often been mentioned we now say something about them. There land is called Mongal or Tartaria. It is located in the region where the east meets the north. On its east is the land of the Leytaei and the Solundari; on

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1293–4, 1299–1309 and again from 1309–40.

[1] Sebath or Senibat (1277–c.1310) seized power in 1296 with the aid of his brother Constantine and was recognized by Ghazan the following year. Constantine turned against him in 1298, after the cruelties described, and he was imprisoned for the rest of his life.

the south the land of the Saracens; between the west and the south the land of the Hervycori [and] on the west the land of the Naymori. On the north it is surrounded by Ocean. In some part it is very mountainous and in others plain land, but all is very mixed with gravel and much sand. Not one part in a hundred is fruitful and it lacks supplies of water. As a result there are no towns or cities, except one which is called Cracurim[1] and it is said to be good enough. The land is best for nourishing flocks. The climate there is very intemperate: in the middle of summer many die as a result of lightening and thunder, and then a huge amount of snow falls and suddenly there may be both great heat and intense cold. Sometimes 160 people die at the same time from hail storms and some dwellings are destroyed. There are very cold winds and so fierce that men can scarcely ride during them, when they must stay on the ground. It never rains there in winter but frequently in summer, but so little that it can scarcely moisten the dust and the roots of the grass. The inhabitants of that land are very fierce and barbarous, unskilled in arms they wander around only feeding their flocks. From the outset there were several tribes, and since they were always quarrelling over animal pastures, two or three or four of them came together from whom they set up a leader. However, seven of these tribes among the rest, from ancient times, were reckoned of greater worth and up to the present are so esteemed. Of these the first is called Tartar, the second Tangoth, the third Eurath, the fourth Ialayr, the fifth Sonit, the sixth Mengli [and] the seventh Theboth. Also the aforesaid land of Mongal once contained four peoples; of which the first Iechmongla is called the Great Mongols. The second is the Summongal that is Watery Mongols, who call themselves Tartars, from a certain river of theirs which is called Tartar. The third is called Mercha, the fourth Merecrit: all are of one tongue and one shape. From the first a certain Cyngis[2] began to pilfer and to raid the men of these peoples, and then to recruit comrades for raiding and at last induced the men of his tribe to follow him as leader. Then he began to fight against the Sommongali and subjected them in battle and likewise both the Mercha and the Merecrit. Incensed against Cyngis by these events, the Naymani, to whom the Tartars were tributary, invaded their lands, took booty and killed men. At last fighting in a narrow valley Cyngis was the victor and subjected the Naymani to servitude. After this, in 1202, the Tartars left their ancient boundaries and came to the destruction of peoples.

Chapter 4: How the Tartars achieved victory against the Indians

In former times the Indians were known by their common borders. When David, the son of the former Prester John, Lord and King of India, ruled the Indians he sought the usual tribute from the Tartars and at the same time imposed new demands. The Tartars, already exalted, discussed whether they should simply obey or whether they could resist in some way. Cyngis advised that they should not pay

1 Karakorum or Holin.

2 Genghis Khan (c.1162–1226), founder of the Mongol Empire.

the tribute, that they should destroy all the Indian rulers and officials that they should all rise up together and without delay against the King of the Indians. He said, 'To achieve such a difficult task, sober and due order should be followed without which nothing great can be safely anticipated.' Then it was necessary to set up one general lord over all the Tartars. It was essential, too, that the host was to be ordered in this way, so that over 4 men he placed a fifth to whom all were obedient and whoever did not obey was killed; likewise over 9 he put a tenth man and over 99, a hundredth and by this means the whole mass of the people was ordered up to 1,000 and up to a 1,000,000 and beyond as was necessary **(p. 235)**. There should be one who is over all, like a lord or chaam, which is emperor or king, whom all were bound to obey on pain of death. All approved of this advice and chose him as their lord, to swear the aforesaid subjection and obedience both to him and to his successors. He, now formally Lord, on the following day, while going up a hill called a meeting among them, saying; 'Up to now three sins have been common amongst us: lying, stealing and adultery. Lest, therefore, with an avenging God, these should prove an impediment, now or in the future, let us promise to abstain from them and those who go against this shall be killed.' They promised to observe all these things. This being done he ordered them first to take up arms; second to divide themselves into two equal parts, third to go from this area against the enemy and in cleansing the whole land of India to spare neither sex nor age, so that they might shake off the yoke of servitude and gain their freedom. They carried out his orders courageously and from the start there were great successes with victory following victory so that they thought, not unreasonably, that they could easily rule the whole world. The most powerful of their weapons were those equipped with bows and arrows. The foot soldiers made up the greatest part, the lesser part sat in ox-carts and least of all were the asses, pack animals and foals. And so King David, realizing that he was unprepared and could not oppose them, while he fled from one part of their army was threatened by the other part. When the whole of his family were killed except for one single daughter, Cyngis Chaam married that daughter.

Chapter 5: How the Tartars extended their rule to the west and the north

Cyngis Chaam died, struck by lightening. His son Octota,[1] a very prudent man, succeeded him. He, realizing that he had conquered Asia, sent out 10,000 horsemen to test the types and strengths of peoples. He placed a wise and strong man, Gebesagada, over that host and ordered that he should cleanse all the provinces until he came across anything insuperable. Therefore, Gebesagada, attentive to his orders, took, swiftly and suddenly, the cities and castles that he came across. He slaughtered the armed men and took the horses, weapons and essential supplies. He spared the people, leaving their treasures untouched. He reached the great

[1] Ogodei Khan (c.1186–1241), the third son of Genghis Khan. He was chosen heir in 1219, over his elder brothers Jochi and Chagatai, who were feuding with one another.

Caucasus Mountain where Alexander had built Alexandreta which was later called 'the iron gates'.[1] This barred the passage from deepest Asia to greater [Asia]. The Tartars, entering the land suddenly, completely overthrew this impregnable city, both the town and the place. When they agreed to delay in destroying the town, the report of Tartar ferocity reached the Georgians. And so their King, Iuanus,[2] gathered an army and came up against them in a certain plain called Mongan.[3] Although he fought fiercely in the beginning, the Georgians finally fled and the Tartars followed them for days on end until they came to Arsoron,[4] a city of the Sultan of Turkey, see above Part 11, Chapter 16. And there they learned that the aforesaid Sultan[5] was approaching them with a host of warriors. Terrified by this, following the orders that he had given to them, they returned to Octota. Having heard this and having called his three sons to him he gave a large army to each of them with money and equipment. He ordered the eldest Jochi to advance to the western coastline; the second [son] Batho to the north and the third Cagaday to the south. He kept the greater part of Asia for himself. After this a part of Octota's army advanced to the Kingdom of Catay, another part of the Kingdom of Tarse, where the Tartars had first learned letters and had been corrupted by the example of that people to worship idols. However, they chose the immortal God from all the other gods. And so Octota chose 30,000 warriors and, under the leadership of Batho, sent them against the Sultan of Turkey. In the meantime, however, the aforesaid Sultan had died and his son Guiatadin[6] had succeeded him. He, learning of the arrival of the Tartars, calls and hires for wages from everywhere and whoever he can against the fury of the Tartars, lest they should occupy the western shore to the destruction of many. Among other nations, there were there 2,000 Latins, commanded by two captains, John of Liminata from the island of Cyprus and Bonifacio of Molini from Venice **(p. 236)**. Therefore, in 1244, having gathered a large army, he blocked the advance of the Tartars and, having joined battle, he was defeated. Let us say to the sons of Octota returning, that Jochi conquered the Kingdom of Turquestan and part of Persia, where finding all things necessary for himself and his subject tribe, he stopped and his successors still rule there. Batho had advanced to the kingdom of Cumania and the defeated Cumans had

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[1] Commonly Derbent in the Republic of Dagestan, Russia is identified with the Iron Gates, see Marco Polo, *The Travels of Marco Polo*, trans. R. Latham (Harmondsworth, 1958), 49, 336. Here Sanudo means Samarkand, which was sacked by the Mongols in 1220, and also presumably *Alexandria Eschate* or *Alexandria Ultima* (mod. Khodzent) in the Jaxartes valley on the Silk Road east north-east of Samarkand.

[2] Lasha Giorgi or George IV (r.1213–23) received severe wounds from which he died the following year.

[3] The Mugan Steppe to the west of the Caspian Sea.

[4] Erzurum, see Peter Jackson, ed., *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck* (Hakluyt Society, volume 173, London, 1990), 187, 264.

[5] Ala-ad-Din Kai-Qubadh I (r.1219–37), Sultan of Rum (Iconium).

[6] Ghiyath-ad-Din Kay-Khusraw II, Sultan, 1237–46.

fled to Hungary, where many of them still live. Advancing from there the Tartars occupied the kingdom of Rus[s]ia, the land of Gazaria and the kingdom of Bulgaria but they were prevented from invading Hungary by a river. Afterwards, turning towards Germany, they reached the bank of a river that flowed through the duchy of Austria, but the Duke of Austria[1] had previously occupied the bridge and denied them passage. Then Batho, furious, ordered his men to swim across, but before he could reach the other side he was drowned with many others with tired horses. For this reason his army was thrown into confusion and withdrew to Russia and Cumania and never again advanced towards Germany. To this day, the successors of Batho rule there. Cagaday advanced to the parts of Lesser India, finding many deserts, mountains and arid and inhospitable lands and he lost a great number of men and pack animals. He marched west to his brother Jochi and reached him. He received land from him and remained with him. Their successors after them remained together, but the younger sons promised loyalty and obedience to the sons of Jochi. On the death of Octota his son Guyo[2] succeeded him as Chaam, but he lived only a short time and Mango,[3] his blood relative, succeeded him, a man of wisdom and keen on war. He subjected several provinces and when he crossed the sea of Catay to occupy a certain island, his ship was thrown under the sea by adverse winds and he was drowned with many others. His brother, Cobila Chaam,[4] succeeded him and ruled the Tartars for 42 years. He was a Christian and founded in Catay a city, greater than Rome, which was called Iong, where he is still remembered.

Chapter 6: How, through the sponsorship of the King of Armenia, Mango, Emperor of the Tartars was baptized and how he sent his brother Haloanis against the Saracens

In 1253, Hayton, King of Armenia,[5] observing that the Tartars had occupied the regions around him, as is said in the chapter above, sent his brother Ginibaldo to Mango, great Emperor of the Tartars, with magnificent gifts so that he might bend his mind to his will, see Part 12, Chapter 6. Returning after four years he made his official report that he had been well-received. He had gone swiftly to Mango. On his arrival the Emperor of the Tartars was very pleased, especially because when Cyngis Chaam had crossed Mount Belyam no great Prince had come to

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[1] Frederick II (1211–46) succeeded his father Leopold VI in 1230. He was the last of the Babenberg dukes and was killed fighting the Hungarians on the Leitha River.

[2] Guyuk Khan, (c.1206–48) ruled as Great Khan 1246–49. On the death of Ogedai in 1241 his widow Toregene Khatun had ruled as regent until her son Guyuk could be elected Khan.

[3] Mongke Khan (c.1208–59), ruled as the fourth Great Khan, 1251–9.

[4] Kublai Khan (1215–94), ruled as the fifth Great Khan, 1260–94.

[5] Hethoum I King of Cilician or Little Armenia (1226–70). He abdicated in 1270 and until his death in 1271 lived as a Franciscan.

meet him. He gave him one of his better houses, where they met and honoured him and he gave him gifts according to the imperial munificence. After the aforesaid King had stayed there for some days, he asked the Emperor that he might deign to listen to the business on which he had come. He replied openly that he would grant his requests. And so the King presented seven petitions. The first was that he and his people should set aside religious sects and adopt the faith of Christ and baptism. Second, that perpetual peace should be established between Christians and Tartars. Third, that in all places occupied by the Tartars or to be taken in the future Christian clerics both religious and lay should be free from all servitude and tribute. Fourth, that he should send help to the Christians to recover Jerusalem and the Holy Land and freely grant them possession. Fifth, that he should order the Tartars, who occupied Turkey that they should proceed to destroy Balduc and the Caliph, since these were the source and head of the error of the impious Mahumet. Sixth, that he should give him a privilege that all Tartars bordering the Kingdom of Armenia should be required by him and be held to give him help. Seventh, that whatever places belonging to the kingdom of Armenia which were occupied by Tartars should be returned to him and that whatever places belonging to the Saracens, which the King was able to occupy in the future, could be freely occupied without the opposition of the Tartars. Mango Chaam, having understood the King's petitions, after having had a discussion with his chiefs, summoned his council and said: 'Since the King of Armenia has come from remote parts to our Empire, unsummoned, unforced, but of his own good will **(p. 237)**, it behoves his Imperial Majesty to grant his requests in those things which are honest and lawful. To you and to the King of Armenia we reply as follows: that we accept your requests and we cause them all to be fulfilled with the blessing of God. First, that I, the Lord Emperor, will allow myself to be baptized and will adopt the faith of Christ and everyone from my house shall be baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and they will hold that faith which the Christians hold today, and I will advise the same to all within my Empire. However, I will not use force since faith does not require violence.' For the establishment of perpetual peace he required that on the Christian part the King of Armenia should be his vassal. He granted to all Christians living in his Empire to enjoy the privilege of freedom and that nothing more would be taken from them. To the request concerning the Land of Promise he said that he wished personally, freely on account of the honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, to go but if he was prevented by various business, he would send his brother Halao on his behalf, who would subdue the Holy Land to the religion and name of Christian. On the matter of the Caliph, he ordered Batho, the Captain of the Tartars in the kingdom of Turkey, and others on the borders of Tartaria to obey his brother Halao that they should advance against the Caliph as against a major enemy. He granted the petition or privilege concerning the help to be offered by neighbouring Tartars. And finally he ordered that not only those castles and places occupied by the Tartars be returned but also that other [places] which seemed to be useful to the security of that kingdom be included.

Chapter 7: How Halao conquered Persia and killed the Caliph of Baghdad and conquered part of Syria

Until the time of Diocletian,[1] after about 288 AD, the Roman princes had ruled Persia. Then the Persians ruled for about 319 years. After them the Saracens began to rule about 634 AD, and kept the rule for 418 years, occupying almost the whole of Asia. And they took from the Greeks the Kingdom of Syria and almost the whole region which is now called Turkey. But in 1051 the Turkmen began to rule in Asia. For, by defying the Saracens in turn, the sultans began to rebel against the Caliph of Baghdad. At that time Diogenes,[2] a bold man, was Emperor among the Greeks and he recovered many cities and castles from the hands of the Saracens including the land which is called Armenia Minor, Antioch and part of the kingdom of Mesopotamia. Then the Turkmen too first adopted a general lordship for themselves and by continual victories ruled in Asia. However, they venerated the Caliph as the successor of Mahumet. The first lord who set himself up as Emperor was called [..]alyoc. His son Degrisotorilsa succeeded him and he began to move against the Greeks. Then he sent a certain blood relative called Artoch who captured the city of Roays and then the whole of Mesopotamia. On the death of Degrisatorilsa [sic], his son Alpasal succeeded him, who sent his nephew Soliman and others, see above Part 4, Chapter 13. On the death of Alpasal his son Melchisi succeeded him. He sent a host of warriors against the pilgrims, when they took Antioch. When they returned to Persia they found him dead. His brother wished to succeed him, but due to certain opposition he was killed. From then the Turks could not reach any agreement about choosing a leader. Then the Georgians and the Armenians of Greater Armenia, on seeing the division of the Turks attacked them and drove them from the whole of Persia. Driven from there they moved to the Kingdom of Turkey and so the power of the Sultan of Turkey was greatly enhanced. After this the Corasmini, a people who always live in tents, are willing fighters and pastoralists and who move to wherever there is fighting, hurried thither for wages. They heard that the kingdom of the Persians was without a ruler and thought that they might easily take it over. They achieved what they had in mind, occupied the whole of Taurisia and chose Laladyn for their leader. Elated by victory, they thought to occupy the whole of Asia. But while they were invading the kingdom of Turkey their prince was killed along with many warriors. They were able to retreat to the plain of Roays [and] decided to occupy the Kingdom of Syria. Fighting on the Euphrates they were again defeated and withdrew towards the desert of Arabia. Then they crossed the Euphrates and without opposition came into Palestine **(p. 238)**, see above Part 12, Chapter 1. After them the Tartars occupied the kingdom of the Persians. For, after Mango and

[1] Diocletian (c.244–311), Roman Emperor 28 November 284–1 May 306.

[2] Romanos IV Diogenes (r.1068–71) mounted two major campaigns against the Turks in 1068 and 1069. He was captured at the Battle of Manzikert in 1071 and subsequently deposed.

his whole house along with many nobles had been baptized, he sent troops to his brother Halao[1] and set out. He himself with the King of Armenia reached the great river Physon and within the space of six months had reduced the whole kingdom of Persia to his will. He came as far as those parts where the Arsasida live. When they withdrew into an impregnable castle, Halao sent 10,000 Tartars to destroy them. Staying there for 27 years they finally carried out the orders, reducing the castle of the Assassins not by lack of food but by shortage of clothes. Meanwhile, the King of Armenia sought permission to return home from Halao who was staying on to ensure the safe-keeping of the kingdom of the Persians. On his departure Halao honoured him with great gifts and sent orders to Batho, who has been mentioned above, to ensure that the King of Armenia was conducted safely through parts of the kingdom of Turkey to the beginning of his own kingdom. There he was received with joy since he had returned after an absence of three-and-a-half years. Halao, after settling the safety of the kingdom of the Persians, moved to a province of the kingdom of Armenia called Salorc and rested there for the whole summer in peace and quiet. With the arrival of winter he summoned 30,000 Tartars from the kingdom of Turkey and set out to besiege Baldac and surrounded it all around. The Caliph of Baghdad finding himself surrounded, since he was of little valour and the people under him were soft and refined decided to send messengers to Halao to ask for peace. Halao pretended to receive them with fine words and said that he very much wanted to meet the Caliph. This was granted to him and he took a force of armed men into the city with him and occupied it in 1258. He ordered the throat of the captured Caliph to be filled with melted gold, condemning him for his avarice. Because, since he had immense wealth, he was delayed by cupidity and compromised his own safety to weigh it out. After the death of the Caliph, Halao occupied the whole region. He also had a Christian wife called Dotousaton, who was descended from the three kings who had come to worship Christ by following the star. She had requested her husband that the temples of the Saracens should be pulled down everywhere and that everyone should be forbidden to worship the filthy Mahumeth. The Saracens were placed under the strictest servitude. In the following year [1259] he occupied Great Caesarea, Iconium and the whole land of Turkey as far as the sea. Then the King of Armenia came to him in Edessa[2] with a great following; for he could then muster only 12,000 cavalry and 60,000 foot in arms and he was well received. Then Halao coming to Antioch was received with great respect by the Christians coming out of the city [to greet him]. He looked kindly on them and advancing on Aleppo, in 1260, he took it within 40 days and then Calamele, Hama and Damascus. And so when all things were ordered in these places he wished to go on to conquer the Kingdom of Jerusalem, but he received

[1] Hulagu Khan (c.1217–65), a grandson of Gengis Khan and rumoured to have been a Christian. In 1255 he was sent by his brother Mongke Khan against the Muslims. He captured Baghdad and was defeated at ‘Ain Jalut. He founded the Ilkhanate of Persia in 1256 and was the first Ilkhan.

[2] Rages in the text.

a message about the death of his brother Mango Chaam and that the Tartars were expecting his arrival so that they might put him in his brother's place as lord. Then leaving Guiboga with 12,000 Tartars to guard the kingdom of Syria, he returned to eastern parts. But on receiving news that another brother Gabila[1] had been made Chaam he returned to Taurisia. But while he was staying there messengers arrived to report that Bartha the son of Batho who had drowned in a river, was coming with a large army to expel him. Halao went out to meet him and having joined battle on a very icey river, the ice broke and up to 30,000 Tartars were drowned. In the meantime, the Sultan of Babylon led an army against Guiboga and killed him in battle and took over the kingdom of Syria.[2] Halao, hearing this, mustered the Georgians and Armenians. While he was planning to advance into Syria he died and his son Abaga succeeded him. And in 1264 this was confirmed by his uncle Cobila Chaam and he was called Abaga Chaam.[3]

Chapter 8: How the successors of Halao dealt with the Christians and the Saracens

Abaga was prudent and ruled well, however, he refused to be baptized and worshipped idols. The Egyptian Sultan sent messengers by sea to the Tartars of Cumania **(p. 239)** and entered an alliance with them and they both promised that if Abaga should attack one of them the other would invade his Kingdom. After this Ayto [sic] the King of Armenia passed his Kingdom to his son Lyuon, a wise man and became a monk and was called Macharius, changing his name according to the custom of the Armenians. He had ruled for 40 years. Lyuon struggled with great effort to destroy the Saracens by using the Tartars. For when Bendocdar with a large force had entered Turkey and had occupied the part of it, the Saracen general of the Tartars there being favourable to him. Abaga was informed by the messengers of Lyuon and covered in 25 days a journey of 40 days. When the Sultan of Egypt heard this he began to withdraw but he could not escape for the Tartars captured him before they reached Egypt, and they killed about 2,000 horsemen. On the death of Bendocdar, see above Part 12, Chapter 17, his son Melec Sayt succeeded him, but after a short space of time he was overthrown and a certain man called Elphy succeeded him.[4] Arriving at that time Abaga should

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1 Kublai Khan (r.1260–94).

2 The Battle of 'Ain Jalut, 3 September 1260.

3 Abaqa Khan (1234–82), was the second Ilkhan of Persia, 1265–82.

4 Baibars died on 1 July 1277. He was succeeded by his son Al-Said Baraka, in full as-Sa'id Nasr-ad-Din Baraka Khan (1277–79) and he by his seven-year old brother al-Malik al-Adil Badr al-Din Solamish (1279–80), for whom Kalawan served as regent and then displaced in 1280. His full name al-Mansur Sayf-ad-Din Qala'un al-Alfi explains Sanudo's usage here.

have moved against the Sultan of Egypt. He sent his brother Tangodomar[1] and then the Tartars raided and made a great slaughter of the Saracens; see above Part 12, Chapter 18. In the beautiful plain of Calamele where the Sultan had gathered a strong force battle was joined. In one part the King of Armenia attacked with the Christians and pursued for three leagues as far as Calamele. The Prince of the Tartar army prevailed in another part and followed for three days slaughtering as he went as far as the city of Tara. Tangodomar, however, was unaccustomed to the hazards and dangers of war and did not keep the field but withdrew from danger. Likewise, the Christians returned home, tired and disordered, they had endured many difficulties and many had been killed. They fled with their king and no more than 30 knights. The leader of the Tartar army expecting his lord to secure the victory in two days knew that he had withdrawn, and returned to him on the Euphrates, where they looked for eight days. Hearing of these things Abaga gathered an army against the Sultan of Babylon, but through the connivance of a Persian Saracen, they were bribed with the usual gifts and he was poisoned together with his brother Tangodomar. In 1282, Abaga succeeded his brother Tangodomar.[2] He had been baptized as a boy but had become a Saracen and wished to be called Mahumeth Chaam and those Tartars he could bring to a like mind he did so by threats and gifts. And so many of them, as is evident today, became Saracens. He persecuted the Christians and totally destroyed the churches. Joining with the Sultan of Babylon he promised that he would either force all the Christians to join his sect or else be killed. The evil deeds of this man were denounced by his brother and nephew, a son of Abaga called Argon[3] to the great Chaam Cobila. By whom it was rejected since he had resumed the old ways of his forefathers. Hearing of this Mahumeth flew into a rage and imprisoned his brother Argon in a castle. He ordered that he be murdered secretly and his head brought to him. But he was freed from danger by the help of a magnate to whom his father Abaga had shown favour. Following Mahumeth he captured him and ordered him to be killed in front of him. This was done for him in 1285. It was granted to him by the great Emperor of the Tartars that he be addressed as Chaam. He was very good-looking, very strong and wise in action. He repaired the churches of the Christians and the kings of Armenia and Georgia, who had withdrawn from Mahumeth, returned to his obedience. Having been asked for the freedom of the Holy Land, he replied that he wished to make peace treaties with all his neighbours, so that this would follow when his work was brought to perfection. But while all these things were being accomplished he died in the fourth year of his reign, 1289. His brother, Quegato,[4]

[1] Ahmed Tekuder Khan, a Nestorian Christian who converted to Islam. He succeeded his brother Abaqa as Ilkhan, 1282–84. He was displaced and executed by his nephew Arghun.

[2] This is an error; see note above.

[3] Arghun (c.1258–91) was the son of Abaqa Khan and a Christian woman, Haimash Khatun. He was the fourth Ilkhan of Persia, 1284–91.

[4] Gaykhatu was the fifth Ilkhan, 1291–5.

succeeded him, who lived for six years like a brute beast, given over to the gullet and to luxury. For this reason he was asphyxiated by his men. He was succeeded by his blood relative Baydo, a faithful Christian, who soon died.[1] He decreed that no Saracen might observe the law of Mahumet among the Tartars. And so the Saracens sent to Gazan,[2] [saying that] if he wished to abandon the faith of Christ and observe the law of Mahumet, they would confer lordship on him. He, eager for honour, promised all things and resorted to war against Bayto [sic]. Before battle could be joined all the Saracens united themselves to Gazan. Thus Bayto was captured and killed and Gazan, the son of Argon, reigned in his place. At the beginning of his reign he inflicted evil on the Christians and supported the Saracens in the destruction of the churches of the Christians. But when he became secure in his rule he brought many good things to the Christians and killed many nobles of the Saracens, for which they often taxed him by the law of Mahumet. Meeting with the Sultan of Egypt, Melec Nasir,[3] he escaped danger with his new name and finally was the victor **(p. 240)**. For the Saracens in armour on horses covered in leather, with great dispatch, in one day's journey from Hama, charged the Tartars with lances, and having killed many of them, they forced them to withdraw by launching four flights of arrows. Gazan, fearful that his men would flee, dismounted from his horse, and all the Tartars did likewise and they placed their horses before them like a wall and they began to fire a shower of arrows and to kill the enemy. The latter, suffering from many wounds to themselves and their horses, fell. Meanwhile, fresh new Tartars came up. Then Gazan ordered all his men to mount their horses and attack the enemy. So violent was the Tartar attack that they killed some whose men were fleeing as defeated men until nightfall. They killed in that battle more than 20,000 Saracens. That night Gazan held the field. The following day he ordered his captain to pursue the enemy with 40,000 Tartars as far as the desert of Egypt. Many Saracens having been killed the Sultan was led by Bedouin, fleeing on dromedaries and entering Babylon wretchedly, [but] he had saved himself by flight. After the victory, from all the stores of the Sultan and from the huge treasure, Gazan took nothing for himself except a sword, but gave the rest to his men, in 1300. After Gazan had rested for five days, he advanced against Damascus. The Damascenes, dreading the fall of the city, sent gifts and offered the lordship. When Gazan stayed for several days by the river of Damascus for the purpose of rest, a messenger came who reported officially the violence of his relative Caydo against the Kingdom of the Persians. Then Gazan sent Caycaph to

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[1] Baydu was the cousin of Gaykhatu, like him he had strong Christian sympathies. He reigned as sixth Ilkhan for five months and was executed by Ghazan in October 1295.

[2] Ghazan (1271–1304) was the seventh Ilkhan, 1295–1304. The son of Arghun, he was brought up a Christian but he converted to Islam in 1295 to gain power. He is the best-known of the Ilkhans. Western contemporaries referred to him as Casanus; not so Sanudo who used Gazanus.

[3] An-Nasir Nasir-ad-Din Muhammad, Sultan 1294–5, 1299–1309, 1309–40; presumably during his first reign.

Damascus. He was a Saracen and had been the Lord of Damascus but had fled to Gazan because of fear of the Sultan, who wished to imprison him because of certain excesses. He was well-received by Gazan, but was a better friend to his country than to his benefactor. When Gazan had marched against the Sultan, as described above, and before the attack on the Saracens he wanted his men and horses to rest in the meadows. The traitor sent Gazan's plan to the Sultan and suggested an attack on the unwary. After his departure Gazan made peace with the Sultan and all Syria with him; on account of which Malay, whom Gazan had sent to guard the kingdom of Syria with 20,000 men, was forced to withdraw into Mesopotamia. He reported this to Gazan. He, in order to endure the summer heat, kept moving about in castles along the banks of the Euphrates. He ordered the commander of his army, Codelosa,[1] to swim across with 30,000 Tartars and when he reached Antioch he sent for the King of Armenia and the Christians who were in Cyprus to come and meet him in Syria. News of the serious illness of Gazan arrived, on account of this the business was left uncompleted and all were forced to return [home] in 1301. In 1303, Gazan again returned to the Euphrates and found that all his stocks of grain had been burned by the Sultan and so he lacked fodder for his horses and could not cross into Syria, for so great was the size of his army that it stretched for three days along the banks of the Euphrates. Having taken advice he decided to wait until spring. However, he sent Gotholosa with 40,000 men, who took Hama with the King of Armenia and put everyone to the sword. Then they advanced towards Damascus and hearing that the arrival of the Sultan was due – he was two days away – they hurried towards him and came up in the evening. Then Gotholosa, against advice, attacked the army of the Sultan, but it was safely positioned between a lake and a mountain and Gotholosa could not draw the army of the Sultan out. Nor on the following day either, when they had endeavoured to do this until the ninth hour. When the Tartars could not bring the Saracens out on to the plain, they were worn out by effort and lack of water and returned to the plain of Damascus. The Damascenes broke up the water channels over the assembled Tartars so that they had to withdraw from the place not without the loss of people and possessions. Then without honour they returned to Mesopotamia. After this Gazan died and his brother Carpanda[2] succeeded him. He was the son of a Christian lady and had been baptized; but after the death of his mother he took up the religion of the wretched Mahumet. And so after the death of Gazan the Saracens frequently raided Armenia and brought many afflictions to that land. But at last in 1307, riding 7 miles beyond Tarsus near Aiacium, barely 300 could escape, [the rest] were killed or captured. From then on the Saracens did not dare to enter the kingdom of Armenia, but made a truce in turn.

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[1] Codelosa and, later Gotholosa, refer to Ghazan's general Kutlushah (d.1307). He was twice defeated in 1303 and banished.

[2] Oljaitu or Muhammad Khodabandeh (1260–1316), a son of Arghun, he was the eighth Ilkhan, 1304–16.

Chapter 9: The customs of the Tartars and their fighting ability ***(p. 241)***

The Tartars worship one God, the creator of all good things and the dispenser of punishment in this world. However, they do not worship him with hymns or praises or by any other way; but [there are] idols from which they have response. They have set this one God, omnipotent and eternal, before all gods. They do not threaten anyone unless by prefixing the name of God, by saying thus, 'God knows what I will do to you' and such like. They are very superstitious: for they think it a sin to stick a small knife in the fire or to touch with such a small knife, or to take meat from the cauldron with it or with safety put it next to the fire for they think that thus the head of the fire will be taken away. Again, if they let go the rein in their horse's mouth when it should be eating, they think that they have sinned seriously or even if they hit the horse with the rein. Again, to lean on a whip with which a horse has been struck, for they do not use spurs; or to touch arrows with a whip; to break bone with bone; to throw food or drink on the ground and especially any bits that have gone in the mouth for this is punishable by death. If anyone treads upon the threshold of anyone of the rank of duke he is killed. They take careful note of dreams and [have] many of them. To kill men, to invade the land of another and to steal goods is against the commands of God, [yet] nothing is considered a sin by them. They obey their own lords quickly rather than others, nor do they lie to them easily. Seldom do they quarrel: for which reason there are hardly any murders and woundings among them. There are no thieves or burglars of important things among them: and so the carts and wagons in which they keep their treasures are not secured with locks or coverings. They honour each other and take turns with their servants. They receive any passer-by at the meal while they are eating. They are abstinent (so that they will not eat for one or two days, however, they sing and play as if they had eaten well), enduring heat and cold in riding and when they reach a land where they think that the food is not good they carry their horses, cows and other animals with them and live from their milk. These sufferings have many returns, making them ideal for war. They are proficient in weaponry especially in the art of archery and always want an advantage in battle. They do not run away even if convenient since this is thought shameful among them. They pursue altogether in line of battle and if the enemy comes after them they fire their arrows behind them up into the air; so they stand arrayed in battle so that 1,000 look barely 500. When their captain falls in battle or elsewhere each knows what he should do and their lord can ask from them whatever he wishes and nothing is said against him and no one is expected to give them anything when they go to war. There are also Tartars who are very deformed between the lips and the cheeks, broader than others and the cheeks protrude from the jaws. They have eyes covered completely with eye-brows and the apertures in them are small. They have a broad, small nose. They are beardless, except on the upper lip and on the chin they have a few hairs like wings. They are slender at the waist and almost all are of medium height. They shave almost to the top of the head, which goes below the temple and from ear to ear and the scrapings sit upon

their head in the manner of a wild horse. They are shaved behind and have long hairs and tresses at the back near the ears. Generally they are light and agile and good at riding which they learn from boyhood by running after the army.[1] Hardly any of them travel on foot for they have small leg bones and take contrived steps. They speak loudly and from their throats and in a questioning way. By singing they bellow like oxen or they seem to cry like wolves. They delight in wrestling and archery. They are wonderful and well-organized hunters. They follow animals fleeing before them and finally close them in a circle among themselves and then kill them with arrows. They have many other peculiarities which would take too long to list.

Chapter 10: Certain deeds of the Cypriotes against the Saracens, the display of Gazan against them and his difficulty

In the year 1299, Guido, Count of Joppa and John the Antiochene went to Byblos, meeting with the King of Armenia who was with Gazan **(p. 242)** however on the departure of Gazan they all returned home. Then Henry, King of Cyprus, sent over a few knights, likewise doing nothing at first, without any harm they did not return. In the following year [1300] the King with the Hospitallers and the Templars armed seven galleys and five sichia and sailing to the river Rexit found five galleys of the Saracens, which fleeing through the Nile, escaped. Landing on an island they found one ruined village and landed before Alexandria. From there, going back, they found one Saracen ship and burned it having killed all the men. Then they raided the coastal region and returned having done little damage. Then a messenger came who told the King that he should prepare and cross to Syria because Gazan wished to march against the Saracens. The King raised an army as best he could. In the same year the Lord Almeric of Lusignan, Lord of Tyre, crossed to the island of Tortosa. He had with him 200 mounted men from the best there was in Cyprus and on the day that he arrived, there also arrived the Masters of the Hospital and of the Temple. A great emir of Gazan's called Codessa, entered the land of Aleppo, but when Gazan followed him a great sickness seized him so that he was forced to return. Learning of this Cosessa raided the district of Aleppo as far as Calamele and then returned to Gazan. The others who had come from Cyprus likewise went home. In 1302, the Master of the Temple built a house on the island of Tortosa and there he held most of his meetings so that he might harm the Turks as much as he could. In the same year the Sultan of Babylon sent as many as 20 galleys and sichias through the river Tampnis which met up with a great force of Saracens around Tripoli. They conveyed it to the island of Tortosa. They attacked the island from two sides and forced the Templars to retreat to their ships. Then when they had reduced the Templars to only one tower, they landed on the island at will. Having occupied the island they told the Templars that they might give up, saving themselves and go to any place they pleased. They, trusting

[1] The meaning of *post armenta* is not clear.

the infidels, were led captive to Babylon: 200 were killed and up to 50 imprisoned, and of the ordinary people as many as 300.

Chapter 11: The governance of the island of Cyprus, unduly passed to King Henry

On 26 April 1306, many vassals and knights of the King of Cyprus were gathered against their lord in the house of Hugh of Presterone. They decided to pass the administration of the Kingdom to Almeric, Lord of Tyre, the brother of the King, and going to the King they announced the proposal to him, asking that he would confirm what they had done. The King replied to the best among them that he would never grant a petition of this sort because it was done illegally without any discussion. Then they thought that the deed might be accomplished [after all] and they decided to assign an income to the King, the Queen and some of their family, and to confer the other regalian rights to a regent and so it was done. Therefore, at his will the regent caused his edicts to be proclaimed throughout the island and dealt with confidential matters without consulting the King. He forced everyone to pay homage to him. On 16 June the King sent to the aforesaid regent [to tell him] that he had usurped his office illegally [by doing] such for himself and that he alone, by the grace of God had the power to exercise the royal office and that for this reason he had held back from the beginning, because he had gone too far in such business. The latter asked advice of those who had made him regent and although he seemed eager to resign the post, having consulted he replied that if he resigned the regency the office should be conferred on another and this was done at a great meeting of knights. The King, hearing of this, ordered his small following to take up their arms and he himself was clad in royal arms and ordered the banner to be carried so that he might go out in public. But by the providence of God it turned out otherwise. While the regent called everyone together by the sound of the bell, a very few gathered at the King's banner. The entrance and exit of the court were quickly blocked and he remained besieged for four days and nights. Then with the priest and monks, who had gone under duress to the royal standard, withdrawing, they surrendered themselves to the regent so that they might not lose life and limb. They were not reduced to bread and water in prison **(p. 243).** Some, on their arrival, were given their freedom, others were imprisoned at the will of the regent. Some were sent to Armenia because they had never wished to agree to the lordship of the said regent. While they were carrying through these irregularities against the King on the island of Cyprus, in Armenia the unexpected surpassed even this overthrow. A great emir of the Tartars, called Balargon, had come to those parts in 1307 and had sent for the King [of Armenia]. The King hurried as quickly as he could to meet him. Finally when the King came he brought with him a small boy whom he had caused to be crowned King. He was the son of his dead brother Thoros by the sister of Henry, the former King of the island of Cyprus. The emir who [sat] raised up in the Tartar fashion ordered that they with their following all be strangled in his tent at night. Only one person escaped who reported this

cruel news. In the middle of March 1309 the Sultan of Babylon, Claudus,[1] went to Crach or Petra in the desert with his people and family. Bibarsimacher,[2] who is discussed above in Chapter 2, was seen to have taken the lordship of Cairo and Babylon for himself, on account of which new dissension broke out among the emirs. On 1 February in the same year the King of Cyprus was brought to Armenia to be imprisoned. In the following year [1310] the aforesaid regent of the kingdom of Cyprus was murdered by one of his former household knights while he was resting in his chamber. Then Almeric the brother of the King and the leader of the army was made regent. But the knights were displeased by such doings and met to oppose it. Having sworn to uphold the King great joy broke out in the kingdom. On 26 August the King returned a free man from Armenia to his own kingdom with great rejoicing. In April the same year Sultan Claudus returning to Cairo and Babylon destroyed all the powerful and eminent emirs and created new ones. For he killed Bibarsmacher, Naboyseler, Merezendal, Camelyn and even Sandomor who was a Georgian and had long exercised the lordship of Tripoli courageously. Carasancor too, who had been a Christian, was very rich and powerful and who had controlled the countryside of Antioch and of Semi, who had killed the brother of the Sultan, who had destroyed Acre and who had been forced by the aforesaid Claudus to cross the Euphrates and with his people, possessions and treasure to flee to the Tartars. In 1313 he persuaded Carpanda to move against two castles of the Sultan situated on the Euphrates, one was called Clarachebe and the other Elbire. They are in the territory of the Tartars, beyond the Euphrates; for he had promised Carasancor, having full trust in the castellans and the inhabitants of the castles that they would be quickly and easily handed over to the Tartars. But the castellans and others having been changed by the Sultan he could not fulfil his promise. Therefore, after a month's siege, on account of shortage of food and especially of grass, for they were said to have had in that army more than 1,000 cavalry horses and other animals, and because of a disease commonly called pedana he killed his horses. The Sultan came to Damascus with a great army. Having consulted, Carpanda crossed to the countryside around Baghdad to escape the summer [heat]. He sent to his mother's brother Herengi who was ruling in Turkey by [Carpanda's] authority and he came on his orders against the Sultan, as far as he might return. From all this it appears clearly that the power of the Egyptian Sultan is weakened and that it is a suitable time for all Christian people to take revenge against these nations and to challenge these evil peoples.

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[1] An-Nasr Nasir-ad-Din Muhammad, Sultan 1294–5, 1299–1309, and 1309–40. See footnote 4, page 371 above.

[2] Al-Muzaffar Rukn-ad-Din Baybars II al-Jashankir, Sultan 1309, subsequently killed.

Part 14

Part 14 contains the location of places, especially of the Holy Land, having 12 chapters.[1]

Chapter 1: The position of the provinces which adjoin the Holy Land

The Holy Land of Promise is in Syria, which covers the whole land from the Tigris down to Egypt; having on the east the Tigris; on the south the Arabian Gulf; on the west the Mediterranean Sea; on the north Armenia and Cappadocia. The whole of Syria is divided into several parts. For Syria Prima, which [lies] between the Tigris and **(p. 244)** the Euphrates, extends a long way north and south: that is from Mount Taurus to the Arabian Gulf and is called Mesopotamia of Syria; for which see above Part 6, Chapter 1. In it is Edessa, which is called Rages in Tobias, commonly known as Roasse; it lies 14 leagues beyond the Euphrates between Mount Taurus and the Caucasus Mountains; for which see above Part 5, Chapter 2, and they give the name of this northern part to the whole province and it is called, strictly speaking, Mesopotamia of Syria. Nineveh and Babylon are also in it. This Syria is also divided into provinces, Media, Caldaea and Persia as the figure shows. Syria Secunda is called Coele-Syria. [It extends] from the river Euphrates and Mount Taurus as far as the river Abana which enters the sea at Valania, below the castle of Margath.[2] In this Syria, Antioch is the chief city. Syria Tertia is called Syria Phoenice. It begins at the aforesaid river and extends southwards as far as Petra Incisa which is called Districtum, under Mount Carmel, now called Castrum Peregrinorum. To the east it extends as far as the entrance to Emath; and so it contains Capernaum, Margath, Anteradus and other cities.[3] Its chief city is Tyre. Syria Quarta is called Syria of Damascus because its chief city is Damascus. And [also] of Lebanon because the famous Mount Lebanon lies in it. It is often just called Syria because according to Isaias: ‘The head of Syria is Damascus.’[4] Also, the three [parts] of Palestine are called the Syrias, of which Syria Quinta

[1] This part is the only section of the *Secreta* to appear in English before; translated by Aubrey Stewart with geographical notes by Lieutenant-Colonel Conder, *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society* (London,1896), reprinted in *The Library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*,12 (AMS Press, New York, 1971). Where I have used Conder's notes this is marked by [Conder].

[2] Margat lies near the coast south of Latakia. Close by is Valania, Balania or Belinas now Banidas. The river Abana was near Damascus and did not flow into the sea as Sanudo thought [Conder].

[3] Pilgrims' Castle was built by the Templars at Athlit on the coast in 1192. Districtum is Khurbet Dustrey. Capernaum is Kefr Lam near Athlit. Antaradus is Tortosa opposite the island of Aradus or Ru'ad [Conder].

[4] Isaias 7:8.

is that Palestine which is properly called Philistym.[1] Its chief city is Caesarea, beginning from Castrum Peregrinorum and extending south along the shore of the Mediterranean as far as Gaza in the south. Syria Sexta is the second Palestine whose chief city is Jerusalem including the hill country as far as the Dead Sea and the desert of Cadesbarne. Strictly this country is called Judaea, the name of a part being given to the whole. Syria Septima is the third Palestine whose chief city is Bethsan located under Mount Gelboe near the Jordan and which [contains] Galilee and the great plain of Esdrelon. The three Arabias are also called the Syrias, from which there is a Syria Octava whose chief city is Bostron, now called Buzereth and formerly Bersa. The region of Trachonitis borders it as does Iturea on the west and Damascus very nearly to the north. On account of this proximity this Arabia is sometimes called Syria of Damascus. Thus Aretha is called King of Arabia who in truth was King of Damascus.[2] Syria Nona is that Arabia whose chief city is Petra, formerly called Nabath, Ar and Areopolis. It is located on the stream Arnon on the boundary of the Moabites and the Amorites. It also included the kingdom of Sihon of King Esebon and the kingdom of Og, King of Basan. [It contains] Mount Galaad and borders the first Arabia on the south. Decima Syria is that Arabia whose chief city is Mons-Regalis which is now called Crach.[3] Formerly it was called Petra in the desert. It lies beyond the Dead Sea and controls the land of Moab which properly is called Syria Sobal and contains the whole of Idumea that is Mount Seyr and all the land around the Dead Sea up to Cadesbarne and Syon Geber and the Waters of strife towards the Red Sea through the broad wilderness up to the Euphrates. This is Arabia the Great and First. It is called Arabia Edemon that is holy. The most evil Mahumeth is worshipped there in the city of Mecca.

Chapter 2: The coastal region of the whole of Syria

On going out of Lesser Armenia there is a narrow road between the mountains and the sea which is called Passus Portellae.[4] Thence half a day to the south Alexandretta is reached. And then the Montagna Nigra[5] is crossed and in another half day the two castles of Bagaras and Trapasa at the foot of the mountain are reached. From thence it is half a day's journey to Antioch. From Antioch it is ten miles to the sea and a port called Soldyn or the port of Saint Symeon, for which see Part 5, Chapter 4 and Part 7, Chapter 1. From the port of Saint Symeon to Pulzyn is 20 miles. From Pulzyn to Gloriata is 20 miles. From Gloriata to Liza is ten miles. From Liza to Lena is ten miles. From Lena to Valannia is five miles. Five miles beyond Valania, one league from the sea, is the heavily fortified castle of Margath,

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1 Philistym is Philistia [Conder].

2 For Aretus I and II see 2 Machabees 5:8 and 2 Corinthians 11:32 respectively [Conder].

3 Not Krak des Chevaliers but Montreal or modern Shabak.

4 The Syrian Gates or Jonah's Pillar [Conder].

5 *Mons Amanus* or *Giaour Dagh* north of the Orontes [Conder].

which once belonged to the Hospitallers. In the river which flows past Valania (see chapter above) the principality of Antioch ends and that of Tripoli begins. From Margath to Tortosa is 20 miles and [Tortosa] is called Anteradus because it stands before the rays of the sun. Aradium is an island **(p. 245)** standing well out to sea, half a league from the mainland.[1] On it there was a city that Aradius the son of Chanaan built and where the Blessed Peter found the mother of Saint Clement. There the Blessed Peter, going to Antioch, built a little church in honour of the Blessed Virgin. This is said to have been the first church built in her honour for which reason the most holy Mother of God performs many miracles there, so that she is held in reverence even by the infidels. From the side of Anteradus, half a league to the east, there are mountains where certain Saracens live and which is called the land of the Assassins, where the Old Man of the Mountains holds sway, who is discussed below. The castle of Arachas, which was built by Aracheus the son of Chanaan (see Part 5, Chapter 7) is eight leagues from Tortosa. Here the Lebanon and Antilebanon end. From the castle of Arachas it is half a league to the town of Sin, which Syneus the son of Chanaan built. Some call this castle Sinochim. From this castle and town there is a great, beautiful and fertile plain stretching to the castle of Crach which belonged to the Hospitallers. The plain also extends for ten leagues as far as Tortosa and has many villages and very fine groves of olives, figs and such like. It abounds with streams and very lush pastures. For this reason the Turkmen, Midianites and Bedouin live there in tents with their wives, children and animals. Mountains surround this plain on the East. [These mountains] which begin near Arachas and extend to Baracha are not very wide. Saracens live there, who are called Vavini, a fierce and evil people and enemies to the Christians. From Tortosa to Tripoli is 20 miles, on which see Part 6, Chapter 18. From Tripoli to Nephyn is five miles. From Nephyn it is five miles to Botrun commonly called Botron. It is eleven miles from Botron to Biblium which is commonly called Zibelet and in antiquity Evea which Eveus, son of Chanaan founded, for which see Part 6, Chapter 18. From Biblium it is five miles to Beritus, for which see Part 6, Chapter 6 and from thence three leagues toward Botron by the river [which is called Dog's River],[2] there is a place which is called the Pass of the Dog. This is the boundary between the Patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem. The place is impassable by land unless at the pleasure of the Saracens since a few could deny the pass to any number [for the track that leads between a sheer cliff and the sea is no more than one fathom wide and extends for a quarter of a league.][3] For all these things, see above Part 7, Chapter 18. From Beritus it is ten miles to Sidon, commonly called Sageta, for which see Part 6, Chapter 6. From Sidon it is two leagues to Sarepta, for which see above. It is two leagues from Sarepta to the river Elenterus, which has its source under Assor and first runs eastward and then westward, and flows past the castle of Belfort, near Hermon and

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1 Ru'ad island opposite Tortosa [Conder].

2 Bongars put this in square brackets.

3 Bongars puts this in square brackets.

which once belonged to the Knights of the Temple. It was as far as here that Joshua pursued the 24 Kings.[1] It was to this place too that Jonathan pursued Demetrius.[2] Finally, it enters the sea between Sarepta and Tyre. From the river Elenterus it is three leagues to Tyre where Origen is buried and where there are many relics of the saints. For there, at the time of Diocletian, many received the martyr's crown that it is known to God alone. For much concerning Tyre see Part 6, Chapters 11 and 12 and Part 7, Chapter 1. It is less than one league from Tyre to the famous well of living water, about a bowshot from the road leading to the following places, whose water comes down in a stream from Lebanon.[3] Although it is called a well in the singular, there are in fact four in the same shape, but of different size. For one of them, being square, has sides 40 cubits long, while the other 3 measure about 25. All of them are surrounded by walls [made] of huge stones and of indestructible construction, raised to the height of a lance and more. And so the water is collected in them that flows down from every part outside the walls. There are watercourses there as deep and as wide as a man's step, by which water is led to the plain of Tyre. These fountains are little more than a bowshot from the sea, yet in this little space they turn the wheels of six mills. To this source the saying of Ecclesiastics 14 rightly applies: 'I will water my best garden, and will water abundantly my garden bed: and, lo, my brook became a river and my river became a sea'; concerning this see above Part 6, Chapter 18. From the well it is little more than a league to the castle of Scandalium, for which see Part 6, Chapter 8. From Scandalium it is three leagues, having crossed Mount Sarona, to Casale Lambert at its foot next to the sea. It abounds in gardens, vineyards and running water. From Casale Lambert it is four leagues to Acre, which is called Ptolomyda and Abiron. The children of Israel never occupied this city: for which see above Part 6, Chapter 4. It is three leagues from Acre to Cayphas which stands **(p. 246)** under the north foot of Mount Carmel; Part 6, Chapter 4. One league from Cayphas is the road that leads to Castrum Peregrinorum. On Mount Carmel, about half a league further are Elijah's cave and the house of Elisha, and the well where the sons of the Prophets lived. Afterwards Carmelite brothers lived on Mount Carmel.

It is three leagues from Cayphas to the Pilgrims' Castle which is exceedingly strong, once belonged to the Templars and stands in deep sea. From the Pilgrims' Castle it is three leagues to Caesarea of Palestine. The compass makes this 20 miles: concerning this see Part 6, Chapter 4. From Caesarea it is two leagues to the fort at Assur or Dora: the compass makes this 15 miles. This used to belong to the Templars, who, even after its loss, used to pay annually 28,000 bezants to the Lord of Assur: concerning which see Part 3, Chapter 4. From Assur it is eight leagues to Joppa, which is located on the sea and commonly called Zapha, for which see Part 6, Chapter 3. From Joppa it is ten miles to Castrum Beroardi.[4] From Castrum

[1] Joshua 11.

[2] 1 Machabees 12.

[3] Cant[icles] 4:5.

[4] The ruins of Chateau Beroald are on the shore at Minet el Kul'ah [Conder].

Beroardi it is ten miles to Ascalon, for which see Part 6, Chapter 8. From Ascalon it is 15 miles to Gaza, for which see Part 6, Chapter 18. From Gaza it is 15 miles to Darum[1] for which see Part 6, Chapter 18, and there is the end of the Land of Promise. There is some note of the aforementioned [places] in Book 2, Part 4, Chapter 25.

Chapter 3: The situation of notable places in the Holy Land of Promise

The length of the Land of Promise extends from Dan at the foot of Mount Lebanon, on the north, to Bersabee, which is in the south near the desert of Egypt, a distance of 83 leagues. In breadth it extends from the Mediterranean Sea on the west, 28 leagues to the east. Let us imagine the Land of Promise to be divided by straight lines into 28 spaces which extend from Mount Lebanon to the desert which goes into Egypt and in 83 spaces by straight lines drawn transversely over the first [lines] from West to East so that many squares are produced each measuring one league or two miles.[2] In the first and last space which is towards the East, beginning at the north and going towards the south, in square 53 is Ar, now Areopolis or Petra. In square 76 is Petra of the desert or Mons Regalis, for which see above Part 7, Chapters 8 and 18. In the second space and twelfth square is Bosra, now Idumea. In the third space and fiftieth square is Esebon. In square 61 is Obonaym. In the fourth space, in the thirty-sixth square is Macheronta or Manym, now Haylon, where David hid and John the Baptist was imprisoned. In square 44 is Ayr or Anoth Seyr. In square 55 is Sethyn. In the fifth space [and] eighth square is Baalgad. In square 21 is Cedar, a fine walled city on Mount Sanyr. The road passes it that goes from Achon along the north shore of the Sea of Galilee through Cedar to Aram. In Isais 9 it is called 'the way of the sea' because it goes all along the Sea of Galilee crossing the valley [in the land of Asser][3] which now is called [the Valley] of Saint George, having on the left the city of Saphet. This area is called Galilee of the Gentiles. It is also called Beyond Jordan because it leads across the Jordan to the region called Aram. It was applied to Galilee of the gentiles, because Galilee itself ends at the Jordan. In the sixth space [and] square 13 is Sueta, from whence came Baldac the Suetan. Outside this city, towards Kedar, the Saracens from Aram, Mesopotamia, Haman, Syria Moab, Amon and all lands of the east are accustomed to meet together around the spring Fiale. There, because of the convenience of the place they hold a fair all through the summer and set up tents of various colours which provide a beautiful sight to anyone looking out from the city of Cedar. In the Canticles these are called the tents of Cedar.[4] In [square] 39 is Basan; in 52 Lazer. In the seventh space, square eleven is the tomb of Job and one league from there the ascent of Mount Sanyr begins. In [square] 24 is Gadera; in 33, Effrem; in 36,

1 Modern Deir el Belah south of Gaza [Conder].

2 In modern language 'space' is longitude and 'square', is latitude [Conder].

3 Material in square bracket inserted by Bongars.

4 Canticle of Canticles 1:4.

Phanuel; [in 38, Iabes];[1] 45, Eleale; in 50, Sartan; in 58, the church of John the Baptist, where Christ was baptized; in 62, Engalym, above the Dead Sea. In the eighth space [and] thirtieth square is Pella. In the forty-first [square] is Ernon; in the forty-eighth, Betesmuth; in the sixty-first, Betagla, where the children of Israel mourned Jacob their father when they brought him out of Egypt; it is one league from the Jordan. In the ninth space square 22 is Corazym at the beginning of the Sea of Galilee. In [square] 27 is Gerasa, from where the region of the Gerasenes takes its name; in [square] 38, Sochor; in 58, Jericho, for which see above Part 1, Chapter 3; in 82, Afasantomar. In space 10, square 38 is Salim. In [square] 41 the altar of amazing size was built**.** In [square] 49 is Dotum, having behind it to the north the land of Tampne **(p. 247)**. In Dotum Ptolomy the son of Abobus took Simon Machabees by treachery.[2] From Dotum there is a beautiful view to the east towards Fasga and to the south as far as Jericho. In [square] 56 is Galgala where the children of Israel were circumcised and where they stayed for a long time. Soon after Galgala comes the Valley of Achor, so-called because Achor was stoned there.[3] In space 11 Lebanon is divided from Mount Hermon, at the foot of which on the north side is Damascus, for which see Part 6, Chapter 19. In this part of the mountain is the road that leads to Emath. In square 20 is the mountain called the table, where the Lord fed 5,000 men. It was there that he preached the Sermon on the Mount and spent the whole night in prayer. From this mountain the whole area round about is visible for ten leagues or more. The mountain is two bow-shots long and a stone's throw wide. At its foot a spring begins near the Sea of Galilee, just 30 paces from it, which they call the vein of the Nile because it produces a fish, the corconus, that is found nowhere else except in the Nile. Twenty paces from this spring along the Sea of Galilee, is the place where Christ, after his resurrection, appeared to the seven disciples who were fishing, and ten paces further along is the place where the disciples, having disembarked from a ship, saw live coals and fish laid upon them. In [square] 21 is Casarnaum, near the northern shore of the Sea of Galilee, at two leagues extends as far as Beritus where Matthew was called by Christ. In [square] 51 is Fasaelis or Fasael, three leagues distant from the Jordan, in the plains where the torrent Carith comes down from the mountain, where Elijah stayed when the ravens brought him food.[4] In [square] 57 is Quarentena where Christ fasted but some say that he was tempted on another mountain, two leagues away in the direction of Bethel and Hay to the south. Under Quarentena, at two bow-shots distance, is the fountain of Elisha, which he purified. It flows around the south side of Galgala and there turns great mills and afterwards having split into many watercourses waters many gardens and then flows into the Jordan. In the twelfth space and twenty-second square is Bethsayda, the city of Peter, Andrew and Philip, next to the road that leads from Syria into Egypt where the sea begins

1 Square brackets inserted by Bongars.

2 Machabees 16:12.

3 John 7:24.

4 3 Kings 17.

to curve towards the south. In [square] 28 is Tiberias, from which the Sea of Tiberias is named. In antiquity it was called Cenereth. It extends far along the seashore and on the south side there are medicinal baths. At Tiberias the region of Decapolis ends. Its boundaries are the Sea of Galilee to the east and Sidon to the west and this is its width. In length it extends from Tiberias all along the north side of the Sea of Galilee as far as Damascus. It is called Decapolis from its ten principal cities which are Tiberias, Saphet, Cedesneptalim, Asor, Caesarea, Capharnaum, Ianapara, Bethsayda, Corozaym and Bethsan, which is also called Sicopolis.[1] This area has various other names, because it is called Decapolis, Iturea, Roob, Kabul and Galilee of the Gentiles. Although Iturea extends as far as Beritus which is about 20 leagues north of Sidon. In [square] 59 is the castle of Dumi, to the right of the road that goes from Jerusalem to Jericho. In [square] 72 is Herodium where Herod was buried; in 67, Massada, an impregnable fort built by Herod on the hill of Achillas. In the thirteenth space, twenty-fourth square is Madalum, the castle of Mary Magdalene. It has a great plain and pasture land to its west and north. In [square] 47 is Amon, sited in a beautiful spot and abounding in all good things. In [square] 56 is Hay, for which see Part 1, Chapter 3 above; in 69 is the town of Zyf, bordering the desert, which is also called Zif where David hid himself. Immediately to the south lies the desert of Mabon in which is Mount Carmel where Nabal used to live. In the fourteenth space [and] second square is Suba which in the Canticles is called 'the tower of Lebanon'.[2] In [square] fifteen is Cedes Neptalim from where came Barach the son of Achinoe who fought against Sysara on Mount Tabor. This was one of the cities of refuge and was very fertile.[3] In [square] 25, Bethulia; in 31, Belveir; in 34, Betsan which is also called Sycopolis, lying between Gelboe and the Jordan, on whose walls they hung the bodies of Saul and his sons.[4] In [square] 43 is Tersa where the Kings of Israel first reigned; in 54 is Baurim and the stone of Boem; in 63 is Tecua where Amos was from and there he was buried when Ocozia, King of Israel pierced him through the temples. The desert of Tecua is near this city. Between Tecua and Engadi is the Valley of Blessing where Josaphat defeated the Idumaeans and the sons of Ammon. In the fifteenth space, thirtieth square Barach fought against Sysara. In the thirty-third [square] was [the site] of Saul's last battle. In [square] 54 is the palm-tree of Debbora, for which see Judges 4; in 55 is Bethel or Luza where Jacob saw the ladder;[5] in 57, Effrem; in 59, Bethania; in 62, the tower of the flock or Ader; in 67, Bosra or Bethsur. In the sixteenth space, nineteenth square is Saphet **(p. 248)**; in 22, Nepthalim of Tobias; in 25,

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1 According to Conder Sanudo was in error over the names of the cities of the Decapolis except for Scythopolis. The other towns were not in the Decapolis which is east not west of the Jordan.

2 Canticle of Canticles 7:4.

3 Judith 4:6 and Joshua 26:7.

4 1 Kings 31:10.

5 Genesis 28:12.

Dotaym under Mount Betulia,[1] [a place] rich in trees and pasture. There on the plain they show the pit in which Joseph was put. It is near the road leading to Galiad, which at Bethsayda joins the road which goes from Syria to Egypt. It goes up from Dotaym near Mount Betulia and thence proceeds across the plain of Esdrelon under Mount Tabor on the left across the plain of Magedo, climbs Mount Effraym and leads into Egypt through Gaza. Dothan applies equally to the town and to the valley. It was in the valley of Dotaym that the Syrians surrounded Elisha,[2] and he led them to the centre of Samaria. In 37 is Bereth. In 45, Dan where there was the golden calf. In 56 is Rama; some think that this is the place mentioned by Jeremias: 'A voice was heard in Rama',[3] but there is another Rama near Tecua on the road that leads to Hebron; another in the tribe of Neptaalim not far from the castle at Saphet; another near Sephorie and yet another near Sylo.[4] All are situated on high hills and there is another near Lida, for which see Part 6, Chapter 4. In 59 is the Holy City of Jerusalem, for which see above Part 7, Chapter 2 and below Chapter 7. In 61 is Rachel's Tomb. In 70 is Ebron to the right of Mambre. Ancient Ebron is where David reigned for seven years. It is on a high mountain and is in ruins. Three bow shots to the south and slightly to the east is New Ebron, where the double cave was. Two good bow shots to the west from those caves is the field of Damascus for which see Part 7, Chapter 2. A bow shot south from where the ditch was dug is the place where Cain killed Abel. Two bow shots west from this same ditch, on a hill on the south side of Old Hebron, is a cave in the rock, 30 feet wide and the same in length, where Adam and Eve mourned the death of Abel, where their beds are shown and there a spring rises. In 73 is Dabir or Cariathseser. In space 17, square 6 is Lachia, which the children of Dan captured and called it Lesedan from the name of their father. It is also called simply Dan and Caesarea Philippi [and] now Belinas. Before the gate of this city the rivers Jor and Dan meet and form the Jordan. In [square] 13 is the tent of Eber Cinei. In 17 is Kabul. The Saracens call it Castrum Zabulon, which sounds different from 3 Kings 9. In 24 is Abelina; in 31 [the place where] Gedea fought Amalech. In 43 Sebaste or Samaria. The site of this city was very beautiful and had a broad view towards the sea from Mount Carmel to Jopa. In 45 is Sichem, now Neapolis; two bow shots from it is Jacob's Well for which see Joshua 4. Top right is Garizi which they think is the place that the Samaritan woman pointed out when she said: 'Our fathers worshipped on that mountain.'[5] To the left is the town which they think is ancient Sicen and they think that this second Sichen is the town of Thebes. They are two bow shots apart from one another. The land which Jacob gave to Joseph joins the said spring and is a long, fertile and very beautiful valley. In Sichem the bones of Joseph were

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1 The site of the castle of Saphet/Safed stands [Conder].

2 4 Kings 4.

3 Jeremias 31:15; Matthew 2:58.

4 In the twelfth century Shiloh was identified with Nebi Samwill as here [Conder]. See page 396 below.

5 John 4:20.

buried. In 54 is Megina, now Bira, the boundary of the tribe of Effraym and a fair sized town. In 55 is Gabia of Saul where the wife of the Levite was killed;[1] and where Saul was born.[2] In 57 is Astaroth; in 61, Bethsura; in 63 Bezet. In 66 is Betacare, a city on a high hill. In 67 is Rama, from its high hill the whole of Arabia can be seen as far as Mount Seyr, and the hiding-places of David, and all around the Dead Sea as far as Mount Abarim and to the west all the shoreline from Ramatha to Bersabee and the desert of Sur. In 69 is Mambre where Abraham lived and there is the oak tree that remained alive and continued to grow until the time of the Emperor Theodosius,[3] according to the witness of Jerome. From it grew that which is seen there and is held precious, which although dry is shown to be medicinal. For if a horsemen carries a piece of it with him his beast will not founder. In space 18, square 11 is Asor, a very strong city.[4] In [square] 21 is Naason, in a valley. In 30 is Endor. In 34 is Jezrael, on the west side of Mount Gelboe, on a somewhat high place, now called Caretha. The field of Nabaoth is still pointed out before its gates. Near the city a spring rises. A bow shot from Jezrael there is the most beautiful view of the whole of Galilee as far as the mountains of Pheniceae and mounts Tabor, Carmel and Effraym. In [square] 38 is Zamin or Zilim where Christ cleansed the ten lepers. In 46 is the temple on Mount Garizim, for which see above Part 1, Chapter 10 and there near it is Ebal where Joshua built an altar and offered burnt offerings to the Lord. He wrote Deuteronomy that is, according to some, the commandments concerning both.[5] He placed one part of the people with priests and levites in Ebal, and another part with priests and levites in Garizi and they shouted out blessings and curses for themselves in turn **(p. 249)**, just as Moses had commanded. In 49 is Lepna, a fine village and there is another Lepna in the tribe of Juda. In 58 is Bethoron the lesser. In 61, the house of Zacharia, where Mary greeted Elizabeth. In space 19, square 26 is Rama, where Jonas was buried and whence he was moved to Ravenna. In 28 is Tabor; in 30 Naym where Christ revived the widow's son.[6] In 33 is where Achab fought against the Syrians. In 35 [Pharoah] Necho killed Josiah. In 56 is Sylo on a hill which place is called Saint Samuel. It is more than a league from Gabaa of Saul and the same from Rama. The Ark and the covenant that Moses made were there for a long time. In 57 is Gabeon, from where the Gabeonnites came who falsely made an agreement with Joshua (Chapter 22). It is situated at the foot of a hill. In 58 is Nobe where Saul ordered the priests to be killed.[7] In 68 is Neelescol, from where the two men took the bunch of grapes.[8] In space twenty square 31 is Suna, on the side of Hermon, to the left of

1 Judges.

2 Judges 19:4; 1 Kings 10:29.

3 Theodosius I the Great (347–95) was Roman Emperor, 379–95.

4 Josue 11:13.

5 Luke 17:11; Josue 8:30.

6 Luke 7:11.

7 1 Kings 12.

8 Josue 9:3; Numbers 13:23.

the road that leads to Jezrael. Elisha used to visit this place going from Carmel to Galgala.[1] From there he passed through Betsan to the plains of the Jordan, because the road is flatter. Abisag the Sunamite, who served David, was from Suna.[2] In 46 is Tampnatsare where Joshua was buried; in 58, Socoth; in 60, Emaus now Sycopolis, near there is Bethsame of Juda [so called] to distinguish it from the other which is in Effraym. In 66, is Sycelech. In space 21, square 19 is Saint George's from where the Saint is thought to come. It is a village in the hills, in a rich beautiful valley which extends as far as the Sea of Galilee in the tribe of Aser of which it is said in Gen[esis] 'Out of Aser his bread shall be fat.'[3] In 27 is Nazareth; in 30, Mesraa; in 31, Castrum Fabae[4] and Aset Rumae, beyond the road that leads to Jezrael in the great plain of Esdrelon or plain of Megedo, or plain of Faba or of lower Galilee or plain of Galilee. The plain goes from Tiberias through Bethsan to Magedo and Mount Effraym and returns by Mount Tabor and Bethulia to Tiberias. In 53 is Aretha; in 57, Cariathiarim; in 61 [the place where] the eunuch was baptized. In space 22, square 14 is Thoronum, a very strong castle, which the Lord of Tiberias built against Tyre, see Part 6, Chapter 5. In 22 is Cana of Galilee; in 25 Sephora for which see below Chapter 7; in 55, Maceda; in 77, Alba Specula,[5] for which see Part 7, Chapter 18. In space 23, square 28 is Castrum Regium, a house of the Teutonic Order.[6] It abounds with fruits and all good things and round about few fruits are to be found. In 35 is Magedo or Sububa; in 57, Lachis; in 62, the Tomb of the Machabees,[7] which can be seen from the sea because the place is high up; in 72, Tampna. In space 24, square 18 is Montfort. In [square] is Judyn a castle belonging to the Teutonic house on Mount Saron.[8] In [square] 29 is Kaymont where Lamech killed Cain with an arrow.[9] In 36 is Cacouelanathat;[10] in 50, Sarona on Mount Saron; in 59, Bethsames; in 66, Saraa; in 69, Staol; in 81, Bersabee or Ziblin, for which see Part 6, Chapters 15 and 18. In space 25, square 51 is Lida or Diaspolis. In space 26, square 15 is Ramathaym Sophym which is now Ramala, for which see Part 6, Chapter 4. In space 27, square 7 is Sarepta of the Sidonians. Before the southern gate the chapel is shown in the place where Elijah the Prophet came to the woman of Sarepta, where he stayed and revived her son. There also is shown the little chamber where he rested. In [square] 15 is Scandalium, for which

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1 4 Kings 4.

2 3 Kings 1.

3 Genesis 49:26.

4 Modern Fuleh (the bean) [Conder].

5 *Blanche Garde* is now Tell es Safi near Beit Jibrin [Conder].

6 Castle Royal is now M'alia in the hills east of Acre [Conder].

7 Identified in the twelfth century as Latrun [Conder].

8 Montfort (Kul'at el Kurein) and Judyn (Jeddin) were castles built in the thirteenth century east of Acre [Conder].

9 Gen[esis].

10 Caco or Kakun is in the Plain of Sharon [Conder].

see above Part 7, Chapter 8.[1] In 26 is the place where Elijah killed the prophets of Baal; in 61, Acheron; in 65, Azotum, for which see above Part 7, Chapter 18. In space 27 square 6 is Sydon, a great [city]. It was arranged lengthwise on the plain stretching from south to north under Mount Anti-Lebanon. From its ruins another strong but small city has been built, which on one side stands in the sea and on the other has two well-fortified castles: one on the north standing on a rock in the sea which the German pilgrims built, the other standing on a hill to the south. The Knights of the Temple held the castle with the town. The land there is very fertile and the air very healthy. In [square] 13 is Tyre; in 18, Acre; in 27, Caypha, for which see Part 7, Chapter 3; in 30, Castrum Peregrinorum; in 40, Caesarea; in 47, Arsur or Dora or Antipatris; in 52, Joen; in 55, Portus Iueae[2] near Iannia; in 57, Castrum Beroardi; in 70, Ascalon [and] in 77, Gaza. For all these places see the preceding chapter above.

Chapter 4: The position of the area of mountains beyond the Jordan to the east ***(p. 250)***

Beyond the road that goes to Emath, which is discussed in the chapter above, Mount Hermon extends towards the east. Note that Libanus, Hermon, Seyr, Sanir, Galaad and the hills that are above the torrent of Arnon, and those which are between Amon, Moab and the Amorites are all one continuous mountain. According to the different summits it is given different names. Mount Galaad is higher than the others, so it seems that the saying of Jeremias is literally to be understood: 'Thou art Galaad unto me and the head of Lebanon.'[3] The aforesaid Mount Hermon extends for about ten leagues, then the yoke of the mountains bends south. The first of these mountains is called Seyr or Sanir. It ends under Mount Galaad in a place opposite the city of Bethsan and Mount Gilboe. The last which is also called Seyr ends near the desert at the southern end of the Land of Promise. About which Gen[esis] 14 says that Codor Lomor and the other kings with him smote the Coreos [Horites] who lived on Mount Seir; but then it was not called Seyr because Esau who called the mountain Seyr was not born. So it is believed that it was so called in anticipation and in Deut[eronomy] 3 it says 'Ye are to pass through the coast of your brethren, the children of Esau, which dwell in Seyr'. This was said in Cadesbarne as they were about to come to this Mount Seyr which was nearer to them. For we do not read that at that time the children of Israel had come to that Mount Seyr which is near Damascus. Esau lived there when Jacob returned from Mesopotamia, for so it reads in Gen[esis] 31 that Laban caught up with the fleeing Jacob on Mount Galaad and when he went on his way (in the following chapter) he met the Angels of the Lord and said: 'This is God's

[1] 3 Kings 17:9; 18:40.

[2] Jews' Harbour or Minet Rubin [Conder].

[3] Jeremias 22:6.

camp'.[1] And called the name of that place Manaym, that is, camp. This place is on that same mountain. From there he sent messengers to Esau, who returning again said that Esau was coming to meet him with 400 men. Then staying in the camp that is Manaym he sent gifts to his brother. And when he had rose up early with his wives and children, he crossed the ford Jaboc about three leagues from Manaym. And in Chapter 33 he saw Esau coming etc. It follows: 'So Esau returned that day on his way unto Seyr'. This cannot be understood to be about that Seyr which borders the desert to the south, because it is more than 100 miles away. The sons of Esau could have lived in various mountains called Seyr, because of the various wives he had married. For in Gen[esis] 36 he had one wife called Colibama, the daughter of Aries, the daughter of Esebon of the Esuci who lived in Sycopolis or Betsan, near the Sea of Galilee, near Mount Seyr. He had another [wife], Betsemat, the daughter of Ismael, the sister of Nabaioth and the sons of Hus lived on another Mount Seyr near the desert of Pharan, near the dwelling of Ismael their maternal grandfather, of whom it is said in Gen[esis] 31 that 'he became an archer and lived in the desert of Pharan.' There is yet a third Mount Seyr on the borders of Azot and Ascalon, in the distribution by lot of Juda and the inhabitants of that land are called Idumaeans. Thus Antipater and his son Herod, who were from Ascalon, were called Idumaeans. We can divide the whole land beyond Jordan as follows. The first region from the north is Traconitidis, so called because it lacks rain water. They collect rain water in cisterns and bring it from one place to another by pipes.[2] In Joshua 11 it is called the plain of Lebanon and extends as far as Cedar and the Sea of Galilee. In the first part of this [region] is the land of Hus; in the next part to the south is the half tribe of Manasse, then follows the tribe of Gad under Mount Galaad, then follows the tribe of Ruben and takes in the kingdom of Seon of King Esebon. Afterwards, comes the plain of Moab under Mount Abarim in Setym where the children of Israel stayed for a long time against Jericho. And the land of Moab extends for almost 20 leagues as far as Petra of the desert. Last, comes part of the land of Amon which reaches all the length of the Dead Sea and its south side circles round to Mount Seyr which joins the desert of Pharan near Cadesbarne, having on its side the desert of Sinai and the Red Sea. However, the land of Moab and Amon are not part of the Land of Promise.

Chapter 5: The site of the principal mountains this side of Jordan

After Hermon Lebanon begins, see above Chapter 3, and Anti-Lebanon, where Asor is on the river Elentherus: Part 6, Chapter 6 and they extend for five days' [journey] five leagues beyond Tripoli **(p. 251).** Beyond these to the south comes Mount Saron, see above Chapter 2. A great league from Abelina is Mount Bethulia, where Judith killed Holofernes. This mountain is visible from almost the whole of Galilee. It is beautiful and fortified. It extends westwards as far as Chana of

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1 Genesis 32:2.

2 *Per tracones*.

Galilee and near it to the south is the valley in the plain of Dothan where Judith washed herself and which she circled by returning to Bethulia.[1] There is also under this same mountain to the south, a fertile and pleasant plain from Chana of Galilee as far as Sephorus. After this to the south is another mountain, which extends from Nazareth on the west some eight leagues to the east where is Dothaym. Two leagues from Nazareth is Mount Tabor, for which see below Chapter 7, and beyond Mount Tabor to the east is the valley of Faba which is the valley of the king. One league from Mount Tabor is Mount Hermon, of moderate height, from which descends Hermonium, a small hill rather than a mountain and it joins Mount Tabor and the village of Endor is on it where the woman was who had a phyton, at the end of 1 Kings. Hermon, on whose north side is Naym, extends for almost four leagues toward the end of the Sea of Galilee. Below the mountains of Nazareth, Tabor and Hermon, by the sea, is Mount Carmel, at the very end of which to the south-east [Lamech killed Cain with an arrow.[2] Concerning Carmel, see above. Beyond hermon to the south] are the mountains of Gelboe and they extend eastwards from Bethsan to Jezrael for three leagues, and nearby, at one bow shot the stream Jezrael rises, where the Philistines made camp when Saul was on Gelboe. Between this source and Bethsan another stream flows from Mount Hermon and these united flow together through the middle of a valley to the Jordan. This valley is two leagues wide and in it was the battle of Gedeon against Madian,[3] and of Achab against the Syrians.[4] In this plain too on the side towards Jordan begins the Vallis Illustris that goes down to the Dead Sea. After Gelboe to the south is Bereth, where the mountains of Samaria begin. Between them and the Jordan are about six leagues and in that area is the land of Tampne, which has very high mountains and extends to the plains of Jordan. The mountain on which Bereth stands splits into two [mountains], two leagues to the south. On the high mountain, which is to the west, Jereboam placed one of the golden calves and he put the other half a league away on a higher mountain to the east. Although some think that it was in Dan which is called Lachis. And in the valley between these mountains Sichem is sited which is now called Neapolis. It is a very pleasant place but it cannot be fortified, because it has mountains from both sides from which stones can be thrown by hand into the town: for a discussion of this see above Chapter 3. Afterwards, to the south come the hills of Judaea and Jerusalem. Concerning Jerusalem and Syon and the surrounding area see above Chapters 6 and 7 and for Quarentena, see Chapter 3 above. After Quarentena the very high mountain of Engadi extends towards the south, next to the western shore of the Dead Sea. It has an amazing shape with precipitous rocks and valleys. Balsam plants used to grow in Engadi but at the time of Herod of Ascalon, Queen Cleopatra, by the favour showed to her by Antony, took them away to Egypt, where they can be grown only by Christians.

[1] Judith 12:8.

[2] Gen[esis].

[3] Judges 7.

[4] 3 Kings 9.

At the end of Engadi is Mount Carmel, where Nabal lived and beyond is Amalech, and still further beyond, towards the Red Sea, is Cadesbarne from where Moses sent out the spies. The children of Israel stayed here for a long time and were ordered to journey around Mount Seyr, which is in Idumaea joining the desert of Maon between the east and the south and from there they came back by way of the Red Sea. The desert of Maon has been discussed above in Chapter 3. For Mount Bethlehem see below Chapter 10 and for Mount Rama see above Chapter 3. And let this suffice regarding the mountains.

Chapter 6: The course of the waters and rivers of the Holy Land

The Jordan rises at the foot of Lebanon: see above Chapter 3. They say concerning the fountain which is called Fiala and which is always full and never overflows, and which lies in space 6, square 18, that it is the source of the fountain of Dan because straws placed in the former turn up in Dan and so that it is the true source of the Jordan. For this reason the Saracens call the fountain Medan which means the waters of Dan. Mark calls it Dalmanuca [and] Matthew, Mageda.[1] Therefore, having such a beginning the stream of Jordan divides Iturea from the region of Traconitides. At first it flows east then south. Halfway between its source and the Sea of Galilee it enters a valley **(p. 252)**, where it collects in a pool when the snow melts on Mount Lebanon. This is called the waters of Maron, where Joshua fought with Jabyn, King of Asor and 24 other kings.[2] This water nearly all dries up in the summer and bushes spring up there in which lions, bears and such like animals lurk, and there is hunting fit for kings. Then the Jordan flowing between Capharnaum and Corozaim enters the Sea of Galilee, which is so-called from the adjoining province of Galilee. It is also called the Sea of Tiberias from the nearby city and the Sea of Genezrath, because, according to Bede, it creates wind from its curling waves or from the discreet region of Genezara through which it flows. According to Bede it measures 140 stadia in length and 40 in breadth. Then the Jordan flows south and enters the Dead Sea which divides Arabia from Judaea. It extends south for about 35 leagues, more or less, that is to Cadesbarne and the desert of Pharan and some think that it is a continuation of the Red Sea. Five days [journey] are reckoned between the two seas and they think that from these seas come the waters in between that were called the waters of Marath in Exod[us] 15. Also, some say that the waters of Jordan do not enter the Dead Sea, but when they approach it they are absorbed by the ground, but those who know say that they both enter and leave it and that finally the waters of the Jordan are absorbed by the earth a little further on; and so the sea rises when the Jordan rises as the snow melts on Lebanon and the other mountains and after much rain. The sea always smokes and is as dark as the chimney of hell. The stream Jaboch flows into the Jordan from the east, rising in space 2 square 45, flowing now west and now north. It enters the

1 Mark 8:10; Matthew 15:39.
2 Joshua 11:5.

Jordan three leagues from the Sea of Galilee. Another stream, the Arnon, begins on Mount Phagor and enters the Jordan below Iazer. Likewise, two other [streams] enter the Dead Sea, one at the beginning, the other beyond it nine leagues to the south. From the west a stream enters the Sea of Galilee which Josephus calls 'the Little Jordan'. It begins near Castle Royal and other water coming from near Kabul is joined to it and it enters the Sea of Galilee near Bethsayda. Near the same place just to the south other water enters, coming from two springs from the sides of Dotaym and near Magdala other water enters [the Sea of Galilee] coming from Mount Betulia. There also rises at the eastern foot of Mount Tabor the torrent Cyson, where Baruch fought against Sysara.[1] This torrent Cyson is formed from rain water from Mounts Tabor, Hermon and Hermonym. One part runs down to the end of the Sea of Galilee; the other part flows into the Mediterranean Sea one mile from Cayphas and three from Acre. It enters the sea near the place where Elijah killed the prophets [of Baal].[2] Much water joins this part of the torrent, Mount Effraym, and from the places of Samaria and from the whole great plain of Esdrelon, Caymmonte and Magedo. Water flowing from the north side of Hermon joins that which flows from the spring of Jezrael and under Bethsan enters the Jordan. The spring Jaboch, mentioned above in Chapter 3, enters the Jordan area from the area of Elale. The torrent Carith flows down from the mountain where Elijah was fed by the ravens and crosses east near Phasael. The well of Elisha is discussed in Chapter 3 above. The waters around Jerusalem join with themselves the water from Mount Engadi and enter the Dead Sea at its beginning under [where] the Jordan [joins it]. Into the Mediterranean Sea flow first from the north the river Elentherus for which see Chapter 2. Then going south is 'the well of living waters' for which see above Part 6, Chapter 18. Then water from near Castrum Regium flowing between Montfort and Iudyn it enters the sea near the village of Lampert. Then near Acre a river enters the sea that comes from nearly five miles away. Then the torrent Cyson for which see immediately above. Then water flowing from near Nycelet enters the sea between the Caesarea and Assur. Then a river from a place between the house of Zacharias and Emmaus flows through the valley of Raphaym, passes near Ramatha and enters the sea near Iopen. After this water flows down from near Bethsura first flowing west, then south, then it is joined by a spring from the mouth of the praying[3] coming from the north and there where the Eunuch was baptized and it flows down beyond Staol near Ascalon, westward into the sea. Last of all the torrent Bosoch flows down from Mount Carmel beyond Bersabeae [sic], turns toward Gaza and enters the sea.

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1 Judges 4:6.

2 3 Kings 18.

3 Meaning unclear.

Chapter 7: A pilgrimage from Acre through Nazareth to Jerusalem ***(p. 253)***

Someone wishing to visit the holy places of the chosen Land of Promise should begin from Nazareth where our [own] salvation had its beginning. This place is seven leagues distant from Acre. On the road to Saphir there is a castle where they say that James and John, the sons of Zebedei, were born.[1] In Nazareth the place is shown where the Angel Gabriel, the messenger of God, announced to the blessed Virgin that the plan designed from the beginning for the redemption of the world was about to be fulfilled, for this see above Part 7, Chapter 2, and in the chapel built there are three altars. This chapel was cut in stone from rock, just as the place of the nativity and of the resurrection. In antiquity a great part of the city was cut from rock which is visible today. There also the synagogue is shown, but it is now converted to a church where Christ, having received Isaya, read to himself, 'The spirit of the Lord is upon me etc'.[2] Four bow shots to the south of the city is the place called saltus Domini, where the Jews wished to throw him down a steep place but he escaped from their hands, and the place in the mountain opposite is shown where he was suddenly seen and in that place the remains of the imprint of his body in rock may be seen. From that mountain, Mount Tabor, Hermon the Lesser and Hermonym, the villages of Endor, Naym, Jezrael and almost the whole length of the great plain of Esdrelon are visible. From Nazareth two leagues away is Sephora, from where the blessed Anna came. The town has a very fine castle above it. Joachim is said to have been born there and it is in the tribe of Aser next to the valley of Carmeleon. From Sephora it is two-and-a-half leagues to Chana of Galilee, whence came Simon the Caananite and Nathaniel. There is shown the place where the six water jars stood in which Christ changed the water into wine and the dining room[3] in which were the tables. These places, like others where Christ performed miracles are underground and they go down to them by many steps as into a crypt, just like the place of the annunciation and of the nativity and many others. The reason for this seems to be that because of the frequent destruction of churches the ruins have risen above the ground and having been levelled other buildings were constructed. And so that the faithful might build they made stairs to the original places and visit them as in crypts. Near this city to the south is a high, round mountain, on the sloping side of which the city is situated. Under it to the south it has a beautiful, fertile and pleasant plain, which goes as far as Sephora. The local arrangement is to go five leagues east from Acre to Chana of Galilee and then south through Sephora to Nazareth. Two leagues from Nazareth is Mount Tabor where the Lord was transfigured.[4] There is shown the ruins of three tabernacles which were built according to Peter's wish. There are also the ruins of many other buildings, in which lions and wild beasts now live and as a result

1 Saphir is Sepphoris. The castle is Shefa'Amur [Conder].

2 Luke 4:17, in fact, verse 18; Isaias 61:1.

3 *Triclinium*.

4 Matthew 17:2.

there is hunting there fit for a king. The ascent of the mountain is difficult as it is very high and suitable for fortification. At its southern foot on the road which leads from Syria to Egypt is the place where Melchisedech met Abraham returning from the slaughter of the four kings in the neighbourhood of Damascus.[1] At its western foot opposite Nazareth is the chapel where Christ said to his apostles: 'Tell no-one what you have seen etc',[2] and the torrent Cyzon flows down from its eastern foot. Two leagues east and south of Mount Tabor is Naym where Christ revived the widow's son. Then at 15 leagues is Samaria, then the road to Jerusalem is 103 [furlongs].

Chapter 8: A pilgrimage of the Holy City of Jerusalem and of Mount Syon

When you visit these most holy places for which an entire day is scarcely sufficient you should enter through the gate of Benjamin that is, of Saint Stephen. Then first of all you should visit the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which of all the sanctuaries in the world is the most important. This church is round and measures in diameter 73 feet between the columns, leaving aside the apses which are 30 feet round. Above the Tomb of the Lord, which is in the middle of the same church, is a round opening, so that the whole interior is open to the sky. The Church of Golgotha adjoins this church and is oblong in shape, in place of a choir [of the church] of the Holy Sepulchre **(p. 254)**, with a lower ceiling but they are both under one roof. Before the Christians had lordship there a church the size of a chapel was built where Christ was crucified and where the cross was found, but after the faithful gained control of the places, the place seemed small and mean to them and so they built a new work, costly, beautiful and strong including all the sanctuaries within it. The entrance of the tomb is very low and small. The shape of the tomb is described above in Part 7, Chapter 2. It is a cave shut off all around, nor can light enter by any opening, but nine lamps provide constant light. There is another cave before this cave of the Holy Sepulchre, of the same length, width and shape and, on going in, these two appear to be one. The women entered this outer cave when they said 'who shall roll away the stone from the mouth of the tomb?'.[3] For the stone was rolled up to the mouth of the inner cave and a great part of it lies there still before the said entrance. The other part of it has been taken to Mount Syon where it provides support to an altar. There is a column next to the cell of the tomb on which is an image of the blessed Panteleon; when a Saracen damaged the eyes [of this image] his own eyes immediately fell to the ground. Mount Calvary on which the Lord was crucified is 108 feet from the tomb and the place where the cross was set up is 29 feet above the pavement of the church. The cut in the rock in which the cross was placed is of such a size that it can take the head of a man. It goes down lengthwise from the place where the cross was fixed 29 feet to the

[1] Genesis 14:18.
[2] Matthew 17:9.
[3] Matthew 16:3.

pavement of the church. The colour of the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ appears today in that section of rock. This cutting was under his left hand. A very fitting and beautiful altar has been built from marble at the same spot where his left hand [was]. The pavement of this chapel is also laid with marble and the walls are lined with marble and decorated with mosaic work. The place where the cross had been set up is a hole two palms deep and so large that a man' head fits [in it]. Ten feet east of Calvary is an altar under which is part 'of the column at which the Lord was scourged'; for it was taken there from the house of Pilate and is covered under the stone of the altar so that it can be touched, seen and kissed by the faithful. It [is made from] dark, porphyry stone, having certain natural red marks which the common man says are the spots of the blood of Christ. Another part of the column is said to have been taken to Constantinople. There is another place on the left side of the church where there is a small slender pillar at which they say Jesus was bound and scourged. Twelve feet east of the altar at this column there is a descent of 48 steps to the place where Helena found the Cross. There is a chapel there and two altars underground. This place where the cross was found is thought to have been one of the ditches of the ancient city where the crosses were put after the bodies were taken down. The place where the blessed Virgin stood with the other women next to the cross was not under the northern arm of the cross as many think but before the face of her son almost to the west and that place is shown at the base of the aforesaid rock. Near there is shown the place where Joseph of Arimathia and Nicodemus washed Jesus when they had taken him down from the cross and which they say the Lord Jesus by pointing had said there is the centre of the world and it is in the middle of the choir and on the left side of the choir is the prison of Christ. Near that place is the place where our Lord, rising from the dead, appeared to the Magdalene, when she thought that he was the gardener saying: 'Sir if thou hast taken him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him and I will take him away.'[1] In this place in front of the cell of the Tomb an altar has been set up in memory of this appearance. Then one goes to the west gate where Mary of Egypt was converted because she could not enter it with the other Christians. Many well-built and well-decorated altars are in this church. After this the pilgrim should go to Mount Syon. In going on the way opposite the tower of David the place will be found where the blessed James, the brother of John, was killed by Herod Agrippa with a sword. They do not speak well who say that his head was brought there from Joppen by angels and buried there. On Mount Syon one first finds the church of Saint Saviour which was formerly the house of Cayphas, where Christ was till morning after his capture. For there the Chief Priest and all the council sought false witness against Jesus so that they could put him to death. There the Chief Priest standing up said to him: 'I adjure thee by the living God that thou tell us if thou be the Christ, the Son of God':[2] and Jesus replied: 'Hereafter you shall see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of the power of God and coming in the clouds of heaven'**(p.**

1 John 20:15.

2 Matthew 26:63.

255). Then the Chief Priest tore his clothes. However, the seamless tunic of Christ could not be cut, a metaphor for the ruin of the synagogue and of the strength of the Church. Then they judged him guilty of death and spat in his face and hit him with buffets. Others mocked him, hitting him and they blindfolded him and hit him in the face saying, 'Prophesy unto us O Christ who is he that struck thee?'[1] And many other blasphemies they said against him. There it was usual to show part of the column to which he was bound until the morning and scourged. In the same place the prison is shown where after the recess of the sacrilegious council it is said that Christ was kept until morning, hearing countless taunts and bearing insults from unworthy slaves. There also is the great stone on the altar, which is said to have been the stone placed on the tomb of the Lord Jesus. Near this place, a stone's throw to the south is the place where the glorious Virgin lived after the ascension of her son to heaven and the chamber where she left this life. Also, there is the church of the Blessed John the Evangelist, which was, so they say, the first church of all. In which that Apostle used to give the sacrament to that most blessed Queen as long as he lived. In the same place there used to be shown a red stone which was there as an altar, which they say was brought from Mount Sinai by the hands of angels at the prayer of the blessed Thomas who was returning from India. Near the aforesaid place is a great paved building in which Christ feasted with his disciples [and] washed their feet. He gave them his body and blood and appeared there several times after the resurrection, where [since] a chapel has been built beneath it. Matthew was chosen as an apostle here; the Holy Spirit was also sent down to the apostles; the seven deacons were chosen and James the Less was consecrated Bishop of Jerusalem. All these places are shown separately. There too is shown the basin in which Christ put the water to wash the feet of his disciples. Near there is the tomb of David and of Soloman and of the other kings of Juda, partly inside the church of Mount Syon and partly outside on the north. There too not far away is the tomb of the blessed Stephen, the first martyr, in which he was laid after the finding of his body.

Chapter 9: A pilgrimage to the places around Jerusalem

Going down from Mount Syon there is the place where, while the apostles were carrying the glorious Virgin to her tomb in the valley of Josaphat, the Chief Priest wished to seize her corpse, but his hand withered. There is also there a church, commonly called Cock-crow, in which there is a deep pit, where Peter wept bitterly. Then to the south one comes to the field that was bought for the 30 pieces of silver for which Christ was sold by Judas. Afterwards one comes to the fountain of Siloe under Mount Syon opposite Soloman's palace. From it water flows down to a lower pool and to the bathing-pool of Siloe. It does not flow constantly but intermittently. Water comes to both pools from the lower spring of Gyon, which rises under the field of the fuller where Rapsaces cursed the Lord in the hearing of

[1] Matthew 26:68.

the people on the wall.[1] Near these pools to the east the torrent of Cedron flows down, having collected together all the waters which it attracts from the higher parts namely Rama and Anatoth, from the tomb of the queen of the Iabenorii. Far under the tomb of the Virgin the sound of this water flowing underground is heard and so all these waters flow down to the valley of Gehennon which is also called the place of Tophet. In this valley is also the stone of Zoeleth and the fountain Rogel where Adinias prepared a feast when he wished to be king. There is shown under the oak of Rogel the tomb of the Prophet Isaias.[2] These are pleasant and lovely places and there gardens and orchards are watered by waters from the torrent Cedron. On proceeding from the fountain of Siloe through the valley of Josaphat there is shown opposite the temple at the foot of the Mount of Olives the tomb of Josaphat, King of Juda, having above it a pyramid of great beauty. From the aforesaid tomb to the place of the prayer of Christ is north. It is more than a stone's throw. Further on, a stone's throw to the north is the said church of Gethsemane, where there is a garden which Jesus entered with his disciples, on the side of the Mount of Olives, clinging to a hollow rock hanging from the mountain. Beneath this rock the disciples sat when Jesus said to them, 'Sit here and pray that ye enter not into temptation'.[3] The place of their sitting down is still shown. In the same place the place is shown where he was seized by the crowds when Judas betrayed him with a kiss. The *impressio calvariae* may be seen in the rock going down and traces of his head and hair. And on the other side the impression of his fingers appear as if they had been made in dough **(p. 256)**, which impression they say he made by clinging to the rock when he was taken by the crowds. It is marvellous because experienced men report that even they cannot remove any part of this rock either with iron tools or any other; and cannot even scrape any dust from it. Likewise, in the place of prayer, where being in agony he prayed for a long time and his sweat was turned to drops of blood running down to the ground, likewise, 'the impression of his knees and hands'[4] was made in the rock from which in the same way nothing can be broken off. Between this place and Gethsemane, the road that goes up the Mount of Olives crosses before the church of the blessed Virgin. From the entrance of the said church of Gethsemane to the entrance of the chapel in which is 'the tomb of the glorious Virgin' is 50 paces west; not in the depth of the valley but at the foot of the Mount of Olives. Before the destruction of Jerusalem it was somewhat above the ground now it is far underground, because the Romans, as Josephus says, attacking from that part of the city, having cut down the olive trees and other trees filled up [the valley] with ramparts made from them. Then the city having been taken Hadrian ordered the ruins of the courts and the temple to be thrown into the torrent Cedron. After Mount Moria was levelled, lest it be fortified again, he ordered the city to be sown

1 4 Kings 18:17.

2 3 Kings 1:9.

3 Matthew 26:36, 41.

4 Luke 22:44.

with salt. These things being filled up, the Church, although it was very tall and vaulted was completely hidden and above it the valley is level and there is a public road there. However, in the same place above the ground there is a building like a chapel, which you enter and then go down about 60 steps under the ground to that same church and the tomb of the glorious Virgin. The tomb is in the middle of the choir opposite the altar. [It is] of marble and magnificently decorated. However, the church is very damp, for the torrent Cedron is underneath it full of water from the aforesaid places. It keeps its ancient course yet when it rains a lot the aforesaid torrent bursting out fills the church to such an extent that the water goes out of the entrance of the chapel placed above, covering all the steps. The church is lit by eastern windows where from the position of the place light can enter from the Mount of Olives. Next to the tomb of the Virgin is 'the tomb of the blessed James the Less', for he was buried there by the Christians, when he had been thrown down from the temple by the Jews. The Tomb of Queen Helena is discussed above. This Helena was not the mother of Constantine but the Queen of the Abigeni, who fed her brothers in Jerusalem, when there was famine in the fourth and eleventh years of Claudius. After these visits the pilgrim should go along the road which we say is next to the tomb of the Virgin and follow Christ entering Jerusalem on an ass on Palm Sunday and let him shout with the crowd of faithful: 'Hosanna to the son of David; blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord; Hosanna in the highest.'[1] Christ entered Jerusalem through the golden gate. About a crossbow shot from there was the temple of the Lord on Mount Moria. It was in this temple that Jesus was presented in the temple as a boy 40 days old to whom Simeon sang: 'Now thou dost dismiss thy servant, O Lord according to thy word in peace, etc' [2] and the Prophetess Anna, coming up spoke about him to all those who were waiting for the redemption of Israel. There, as a boy of 12 years in the midst of the doctors he taught rather [than learned] through his prudent questioning. Finally, of adult years, he threw out of the temple those who bought and sold and overturned the tables of the money-changers and the seats of those who sold doves saying: 'Do not make my father's house etc.'[3] There he forgave the woman taken in adultery both her punishment and her sin. There the Jews wished to stone him when he said, 'I and My father are one.'[4] There he preferred the two mites of the widow to the great offerings of others: justifying the humble publican and condemning the proud pharisee; and he did many other things pertinent to our salvation. The temple enclosure is square and enclosed by a wall, measuring in length and breadth more than a bow shot. On the west there are two gates. One is called 'beautiful', for which see above Part 1, Chapter 6, where Peter healed the lame man.[5] The other [gate] has no name. There is one gate to the north and another to the east which is

1 Matthew 21:9.
2 Luke 2:29.
3 Matthew 21:12.
4 John 2:14.
5 Acts 3.

called the golden gate and above both of the gates is a high tower which the priests of the Saracens are accustomed to ascend and proclaim the law of Mahumet. Within the enclosure of this place no one dares enter unless they have cleaned their feet and to this purpose guardians or gatekeepers are appointed. In the middle of this great enclosure is another enclosure higher and square, to which they go up by steps on the west and south sides. The temple is built in the middle of this, where David bought the threshing-floor from Aureuma the Jebusite so that he could build an altar to the Lord, so that he might end a plague that afflicted the people, at the end of 2 Kings. The temple has eight angles and eight sides. Its walls are encased in marble and decorated with mosaic work. Its roof is of lead well-decorated and each of the enclosures is paved with white stone **(p. 257)**. They say that near the temple of the Lord is the temple of Soloman in which there are two temples. No Christian is allowed to enter there lest his prayer shall be heard according to the rules of Soloman. If the pilgrim may not enter through the gate by which Christ entered the temple, let him enter by the valley gate which is about a stone's throw away from the great temple enclosure on the south. Before he enters the gate, on the right-hand side he will see the place where the blessed Stephen was tied up when he was stoned; where also on bended knee he prayed for those stoning him, saying, 'Lord lay not this sin to their charge etc.'[1]

Chapter 10: A pilgrimage of places missed in the city of Jerusalem

When you enter the gate of the aforesaid valley first on the right there is the church of Saint Anna where the crypt is shown where the Virgin Mary was born, where the house of Iaoachim and the blessed Anna was. Near by is a great pool which is called the inner pool, which Ezekias made in this way: he blocked the upper spring of the waters of Gyon and diverted its waters straight down west of the tower of David, digging the rock with iron, as it says in Ecclesiast[ics] 48, and leading the waters through the middle of the city to that pool so that the people had water to drink during a siege and the Assyrians could not prevent it. He led the spring of the waters of Gyon to the upper pool, which is above the bathing-pool of Siloe. For Achaz began this work but did not finish it. This pool, spring and site are mentioned in Isaias 7: 'Go forth now to the end of the conduit of the upper pool in the highway of the fuller's field.' This is called the upper pool in relation to the bathing pool of Siloe, for which see Chapter 8. There is a fourth pool in the city to the left of the gate of the valley just as Saint Anna is to the right which is called the sheeps' pool near the altar of the temple in which Natanei used to wash the victims and present them to the priests for offering in the temple. This is still shown with its five porticoes in which the sick lay waiting for the movement of water, for who first went in after the movement of water was cured.[2] Here also Christ healed the man who had been sick for 38 years. Some say that the first pool near Saint

[1] Acts 7:60, in fact, this is verse 59.

[2] John 5.

Anna's is the sheeps' pool but this I do not believe. In Jerusalem and around no more pools are recorded. After you have seen these things on the right and on the left, go straight forward along the road before you which is called the gate of judgement, where you will find the house of Pilate, where the innocent Lamb of God was flogged and mocked by the soldiers, spat upon, ill-used, crowned with the crown of thorns, and at last condemned to death. And there is the road which leads to the temple along which the Jews coming from the temple shouted 'crucify him, crucify him'. Near the house of Pilate is the house of Anna to which Christ was first brought after he had been captured by the crowds on Gethsamane [and] where as if a teacher of heresy he was examined about his teaching and struck by the hand of a wicked slave. From there he was bound and taken to Cayphas on Mount Syon, for which house see above Chapter 8. Near the house of Anna is the church of Saint Mary de Pamason where the blessed Virgin fainted with grief when she saw her innocent son carrying his cross and distressed under its weight. There are two large white stones built into the high arch on which our Lord rested when he was carrying the cross. By proceeding beyond along the said road there is on the right the road that leads to the gate of Saint Stephen, through which the Jews who were leading Jesus found Symon the Cyrenian coming from his village and they forced him to carry the cross which he carried to Mount Calvary where they crucified him, concerning which place is discussed above in Chapter 8. Near the church of Saint Mary de Pamason is said to have been the palace of King Herod from which the house of Judas the traitor is shown not far away, where he lived with his wife and sons.

Chapter 11: A pilgrimage to Bethlehem and Ebron

After the pilgrimages to Jerusalem, Mount Syon and the places round about you must go out of the gate of David towards Bethlehem, two leagues away to the south, on the left hand side of the road to Ebron, just one bow shot from the road. In the middle of this pilgrimage there is also a certain church in a place where Elijah performed some penance. One mile from Bethlehem is the tomb of Rachel **(p. 258)**, to the right, next to the road. A beautiful pyramid stands on it which Jacob built placing under it on the mound 12 huge stones representing the number [of tribes] of the children of Israel, which are still there today. Near the tomb of Rachel is the field of stone peas. They say that the Lord Jesus passing through asked a man who was sowing peas what he was sowing? On his replying 'stones' the Lord said: 'And let them be stones': and so the peas were tuned into stones and to this day the stone peas are found there which the pilgrims like to collect. Then one reaches Bethlehem, which stands on a fairly high and narrow mountain, which extends from east to west. The entrance is on the west where there is a cistern by the gate where David wished to drink when he was in difficulty.[1] To the east is the cave in the rock next to the city wall which seems after the manner of that country to

[1] 1 Kings 23.

have been a place for a stable, with a manger cut in the rock, as is there the way of making mangers. What praise should I offer this cave?, where Christ was born of the Virgin, the sun from the star, where truth was born from the earth and our earth gave its fruits. With what voice can I describe the glory of that manger?, in which wrapped in swaddling clothes the infant wept, who had made the stars and at this stupendous miracle the angels cried out, the shepherds ran [to see], the star shone above, Herod was terrified, Jerusalem disturbed. O Bethlehem, city of David! Glorified by the birth of the true David, with a strong hand and pleasing appearance, the city was small but has been magnified by the Lord. He magnified it who in her was made small from greatness. Which city, if it should hear, would not envy that precious stable and that glorious manger? Everywhere glorious things are said about you, O city of God. Everywhere it is sung, 'It shall be reported that this man was born in her and the Highest himself hath founded her.'[1] And note that next to the said rock where in which Christ was born is another more roomy only four feet from the first under which was the crib in which the sweetest boy, recently born and wrapped in swaddling clothes rested next to an ox and an ass. It seems to have been all one cave which the single entrance made in it and the stair by which one ascends from the chapel to the choir divides [into two]. 'The hay from the manger' was taken to Rome by Queen Helena and decently housed in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore. Jerome was buried close to the manger. To the place of the most-sweet nativity, one goes down from the church to the chapel by ten steps. The whole of the chapel interior is made from mosaic work and marble paving very sumptuously done. Above the place where the blessed Virgin gave birth mass can be celebrated under a marble table which is there. From the bare stone some part where Christ was born can be seen and also some part of the crib where he lay is left uncovered. These places are visited with the greatest devotion and respect. There could scarcely be found in the whole world a more beautiful church or one of equal sanctity for there is in it the noblest columns of marble set in four rows, not only for their number but also for their stupendous size. Especially the nave of the church above the columns, decorated up to the beams with the most beautiful and most noble mosaic work. And there is depicted the whole history of the world from the creation to the coming of Christ to judge it. The whole pavement of the church is made of marble of various colours and decorated with a wonderful variety of pictures. In the church of Saint Mary of Bethlehem on the wall to the left is the place where the umbilical cord and the foreskin of the Lord was placed and on the right in the southern part of the choir is the place where the Holy Innocents were buried and an altar has been built there. The greater part of them was buried three miles to the south. One of the Sultans ordered the precious tables and columns to be taken from this venerable church to Babylon to build a palace for himself. When the workmen came to the Sultan's presence with their tools to carry out his orders, from a sound and whole wall from which no needle could be pulled a serpent of marvellous size came out. It bit the first slab from which it had come

[1] Psalms 86:5.

out and the table immediately split across. Approaching the second it did likewise and to the others in order up to 40. All were struck with amazement and the Sultan abandoning his plan, the serpent went away. After this the church remained and remains to this day as it was at first. The Saracens respect all churches dedicated to the blessed glorious Virgin, but this one in particular. The track of the sliding serpent may still be seen on each tablet as if they had been burned by fire. And among other wonders is how the serpent could have moved along them since the wall is as smooth and as polished as glass. In the exit of this church on the north is the cloister of the monks to which one goes up some steps. In the crypt they show the cell where the blessed Jerome did penance and worked a great deal on the translation and commentary of Holy Scripture **(p. 259)**. Also his bed is shown and the workroom of the cloister over which he presided. From the aforesaid church about a stone's throw away to the east is the church of Saint Paula and her daughter Eustochius, where they did penance. There are also shown their tombs. Beneath the aforesaid church there is a large crypt where there is a chapel in which so it is said, the Virgin sometimes sat with her son, so that she might make the time to look at him entirely alone. On whom the angels wished to behold, God of God, sitting upon the Cherubyn in his majesty, sitting upon a high and lofty throne, in form equal to that of the Father, in the splendours of the saints, born before the morning star. There also she is said to have squeezed her full breasts over the ground, so that the earth there is white and looks like curdled milk. It is said, too, that if a woman has lost her milk and puts some of that earth in a bowl with water and drinks it, the milk will immediately come back. The Evangelist says that a mile from Bethlehem 'were shepherds watching and keeping the night watches over their flocks.'[1] 'Oh that other shepherds had watched over the flock committed to them in the same region' and, perhaps 'a lion from the forest' Jer[emias 5], that is the power of Saladin, would not have attacked them: see above Part 8. Nor 'a wolf in the evening' that is Bendocdar, laid waste the remainder that the lion had left: see above Part 11. Nor the leopard, that is Melecmessor, swift and skilled at doing evil like a leopard after blood, have watched over their cities which were left alone; see the end of the same part. From Bethlehem it is eight leagues south to Ebron, for which see above Chapter 3 and for the state of the place see above Part 7, Chapter 2. However, for the position and condition of the other places of the Holy Land you can see above Chapters 2 and 4.

Chapter 12: The position of the Kingdom of Egypt

After enough has been said about Syria and the Land of Promise I should turn my pen to Egypt. We place the boundary of the Holy Land of Promise at Darum: see above Chapter 2. We have made mention of the same by going along the coast of Egypt, partly in Book 1, Part 2, Chapter 6 and more fully in Book 2, Part 4, Chapter 25. We say that from Darum to Caput Beroadi is 30 miles and from there to the

[1] Luke 2:8.

bottom of the marsh or Gulf of Rixa is 30 miles, and from there to the other headland of the same gulf is 30 miles and from there to Rasacasarom is 50 miles and from there to Pharamia is 30 miles. This city was once well-walled and fortified, but afterwards it was completely taken over by snakes. From Pharamia to the river Tampnis is 25 miles; however, the city of Tampnis is almost 15 miles beyond the river, on the lake. Concerning it in the Psalm: 'wonderful things did he do in the field of Tanis.'[1] Where Moses, Aaron and the children of Israel were remembered. It is in the land of Iessen, of which Joseph said to his brothers, Gen[esis] 46 and father: 'Ye shall say unto Pharoah, Thy servants are shepherds, both we and also our fathers. Say this that ye may dwell in the land of Iessen.' For this see Part 7, Chapter 18. Tampnis was an ancient city, very well-fortified and built on firm ground, but today it is totally destroyed and a few Beduini live in the ruins for its pasture and the fruitfulness of the land. In addition it abounds in fish and birds, for this see Part 6, Chapter 18. From the river Tampnis to Damietta is 40 miles by sea. This was formerly called Memphis; see above Part 6, Chapter 22. Two leagues away by the sea the Saracens have built a long village but unfortified, for attracting ships and for gathering merchandise. It abounds in fruit, in corn and in other good things just like Tampnis. One of the branches of the Nile flows between this [city] and Old Damietta goes towards Tampnis and from there through a channel which is called Bayra to Pharamia and goes into the sea. This is the first port of Egypt in the direction of the Land of Promise. From Damietta to Brullium is 70 miles and from there to the mouth of the Sturio, which is 5 miles wide, is 30 miles and it is 30 miles in circumference. From the mouth of the Sturio to the mouth of the Rossetus is 40 miles. From the mouth of the Rossetus to the tower of Bolcherius is 25 miles and from there to Alexandria is 18 miles. From what has been said above it appears that from Pharamia to Alexandria is 268 miles; this is the breadth of Egypt along the sea. But the rule of the Egyptians extends beyond this to the Portus Soldani which harbour is 270 miles west of Alexandria, as above in Book 2, Part 4, Chapter 25. From Alexandria to Babylon is reckoned 230 miles by going down the river Nile. From Pharamia to Babylon via Tampnis and Damietta is only 200 miles, likewise by river. From Babylon to the city of Sienen, which is the furthest part of Egypt to the south and Ethiopia is 140 miles **(p. 260)**. From the aforesaid city of Syrrenen [sic] by sailing up the Nile to the place called Chus, where ships are loaded with goods brought from Haden, is reckoned about 240 miles. The above-mentioned Ethiopia is properly called Nubia. It is completely inhabited by Christians and was converted to Christ by the blessed Matthew. Going up the Nile from Damietta first is found Abdela and then Mansora, where the Nile divides and the smaller branch goes to Pharamia. But the place where the Nile makes its principal division and makes the main part of Egypt an island is called Delta. For the island, like the letter Delta, is triangular. From Delta to Eliopolis is three miles. From there a branch of the Nile goes north to the city of Belbeis, which was formerly called Pelusium: see Part 6, Chapter 18. From there it flows

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[1] Psalms 77:15, in fact it is verse 12.

through the desert towards the Holy Land and enters the sea near the city of Laris, which is one day's journey from Gaza and Bersabee. This is properly called in scripture, 'the river of Egypt' and was the boundary of the tribe of Juda, of Numbers,[1] but it cannot be navigated. Eliopolis is a very fine town but it is not fortified, just like any other town in the whole of Egypt except Alexandria and Cayro. In Eliopolis and Babylon places are shown in which the glorious Virgin stayed with her son when she fled into Egypt from the face of Herod. Since she had no other place she entered a temple in which there were 365 idols showing honour to each day of the year. On the entry of Christ and the Virgin Mary all the idols bowed down and so Isais 19 was fulfilled: 'Behold the Lord rideth upon a swift cloud and shall come into Egypt and the idols of Egypt shall be moved at his presence.' When news of this was brought to Afrodosius he came to the temple with all his army, approaching he worshipped the infant and said to his army: 'had not this been the God of our gods, they had not bowed themselves before him; wherefore we, unless we be careful to do that which we see our gods do, shall come into peril even as Pharoah did.' Thus the Holy Lord, who in his anger thought of mercy, sending his Son into Egypt, gave a great sign of reconciliation and cured the ten plagues with one medicine. From Eliopolis it is seven leagues to Babylonia, a very great and well-fortified [place] located on the north bank of the Nile. A considerable branch of the same river runs through its centre and through the city of Kayrus, which is joined to Babylon, for which see Part 6, Chapter 22, and returns to the [main] river at Kayrus. Near Kayrus is the oldest palm tree which bowed down to the Blessed Virgin Mary, so that she might gather dates and then righted itself again. When the pagans saw this they cut it down but on the following night it joined itself together and stood upright again. The cuts are still visible. Around this city there are many excellent orchards. One mile away is the garden of balsam, half a mansus in size. The bushes there are the size of three-year old vines. The leaf is [the shape] of a small trefoil or rue, but whiter. At the time of ripening, about the month of May, the barl of the wood bursts and the liquor is collected in glass vessels, and placed in doves' dung and dried and so is true balsam made. They say that there is another way of collecting it: they pluck a leaf from the side facing the sun. For the leaf joins the stem and it has only one stem, although many stand together in one plot, immediately a very clear and sweet-scented drop flows out. This garden can be watered by only one fountain, in which the blessed Virgin is said to have washed the swaddling clothes of the boy Jesus. At this fountain both Christians and Saracens gather at Epiphany and wash themselves in it as [an act of] devotion. There is another wonder there: namely the oxen bringing the aforesaid water would not carry the water from noon on the Sabbath to the same hour on the Sunday, even if they were flayed alive. In Babylon too there is a miracle worthy of record. In a monastery there built in honour of the blessed John the Baptist there is a chest with his relics and that place is visited on his feast day by many people, as many Christians as Saracens. Every year they carry the

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[1] 3 Kings 8:65; 4 Kings 4:7.

aforesaid chest down the Nile for five leagues to another church of monks, likewise built in his honour. After the celebration of mass they put the chest in the river, wishing to discover where the Saint wishes his relics to remain, that is in this place or in the other. But soon in the eyes of all the chest is carried very strongly against the current of the river, so fast that anyone who gallops on the fastest horses cannot overtake it **(p. 261)**. Five leagues from Babylon there are some triangular pyramids, very high, which are said to have been the granaries of Joseph and two leagues from them are the ruins of the city of Thebes, from where came the Theban legion. It adjoins the desert of Thebaydos, where there was a multitude of monks in former times. Above Babylon the Nile, as one river, flows down from the said place Syenen for 240 miles and from there to the city of Meroen is 260 miles. Syenen is sited beneath the summer Tropic and so no shadow is cast there in the first stage of Cancer and then Meroe casts a shadow to the south. And it should be noted that from Babylon to Syenen and from there to Meroen is a great length, there is scarcely no breadth, because the road follows along the Nile which has high mountains on both sides and the land is all destroyed except for that along the river. The source of the Nile cannot be known, except as far as the mountains of Nubia, which are on the left and from which it flows down. Beyond this is an impassable place. The land of Egypt is almost inaccessible apart from the sea. On the west it has a boundary with the Province of Barbary, which is called Barca. There is a desert between them of 15 days [journey]. On the south is the desert of Ethiopia for 12 days and more to Nubia. On the east is the desert of Thebaydos which reaches the Red Sea in three days at a place which is called Beronice and this is the port of Egypt on the shore of the Red Sea. For those wishing to sail to India, there is a great desert to the south-west and the north as far as the Holy Land in which the children of Israel stayed for 40 years. This desert can be crossed to Syria in no fewer than eight days. Therefore, on every side except that which adjoins the sea, the kingdom of Egypt is surrounded by sand and desert. The air is good, the food plentiful and the land is more temperate than Syria or Palestine, yet from its position it seems that the opposite ought to be found. The land of Egypt is irrigated by the Nile alone. For it begins to rise on the nativity of the blessed John and rises to the exaltation of the Holy Cross. From then it goes down until the Epiphany and when dry land appears the sower sows his seed and harvests it in March. A marble column stands on a small island in the middle of the river opposite the ancient city of Meser, which is near Cayrus. On this column they make marks, according to which they know whether the following harvest will be good or bad. From the feast of the blessed Martin until March vegetables and fresh fruits are gathered. Ewes and she-goats have young twice in a year. The road from the Land of Promise to Kayrus may be described as follows. From Gaza to Darum is three leagues. It is a good road with water and grass. From there to Raphat is two leagues; a good road with water in abundance. From there to Zasque is four leagues, partly along the shore, with good grass and plenty of good water. From there to Heus is four leagues, a coastal road with fairly good waters. From there to Laris is four leagues, all sand and fairly good water and buying and selling in the square.[From

there to Burclavi is four leagues, all sand and good water in plenty.] From there to Bouser is four leagues and there the road divides into an upper and a lower [one]. The lower one is more commonly used and passes through Sabaquet Baridoil where King Baldwin died. From Bouser to Tarade is two leagues. It has enough sand, grass and good water and there is a market square there. From thence to Viteleb is five leagues, much sand, poor grass and very bad water but in plenty. From there to Naberlersibia is four leagues, much sand and good water. From there to Catte is … [sic] leagues. This is a good village with plenty of good water. There the road divides into upper and lower [roads]. Both lead to Habesse, an excellent village. The lower road is the usual one. The upper road from Chatie to Habras is five leagues, plenty of sand and water but [the latter] bad. From there to Bonuruch is four leagues, plenty of sand, but the water is very bad, bitter and salt. From there to Hucar is four short leagues, much sand and bad water. From there to Asebbi is four leagues, [much sand, grass and good water and a market-square there. From there to Hesiuone is four leagues], much sand and good water from a river. Thence to Masinach is three leagues, plenty of sand and good water from a river. From Shesbie cultivated land begins and from there to Vacaria, a good village with plenty of water from a river is two long leagues. From there to Habesse is three leagues. The road is good, the land fertile and the village abounds in all good things. From there to Belbeis is three leagues, the land is arable and the village large and fertile. From there to Abirelcara is three leagues, fruitful land and good water in abundance. From there to Hus is four leagues, fruitful land, good water and in abundance **(p. 262)**. From there to Quiriacos is three leagues, the land fruit-bearing and fertile. From there to Kayrus is three leagues on a good road. The lower road from Chatie to Aguorabi is four leagues, plenty of sand but little water and that salt. From there to Chauseyr is five leagues, plenty of sand and water but very bitter. Thence to Birchisce is four leagues, little sand, plenty of water but salt. Thence to Salchie, a good village is four leagues and an abundance of good water. From there to Habesse is six leagues; a good road with much good water from a river. From there to Kayrus is as above. And so the desert reaches for about 70 leagues and the arable land for about twenty and more, between Zaza and Kayrus.

Part 15

Part 15 contains opportune remedies for keeping the Holy Land, avoiding the many defects and mistakes discussed above, having 25 chapters.

Chapter 1: What is necessary to maintain the study of military discipline and the continuous exercise of arms.

In the preceding [parts] there are various explanations of the failure in the practice of life as well as in the discipline of warfare by which the Christian people endured

severe losses in the Land of Promise and every Catholic was expelled from thence. But because 'vexation alone shall make you understand what you hear',[1] and if past evils are to be avoided, they give due warning and we have our hands full choosing from [past] failures: security from dangers and the rule of life and discipline from errors. And first we find that quite often the faithful have acted ineffectively in military matters. For the crusaders, especially now and then, stirred up unnecessarily the Saracens who were at peace. But, at times these, coming in great numbers, destroyed villages, castles and towns. They did not know how to avoid approaching danger or to send out peace missions, not heading the warnings of Christ in Luke 14: 'Or what King about to make war against another King, doth not first sit down, and think whether he be able, with ten thousand, to meet him that, with twenty thousand, cometh against him? Or else, whilst the other is yet afar off, sending an embassy, he desireth conditions of peace',[2] especially when he sees that the enemy is better supplied with money, more experienced, crueller in savagery, stronger in arms or men. For it is the will of God that he be humbled because of his sins. Then it is silly to be proud and not to seek a beneficial peace; one example is Joachim and Sedechis, discussed in Part 1, Chapter 6 and another [example] is the second Latin King, see Part 6, Chapter 4. Few choose to fight against many savage [foes], Part 12, Chapter 1. Indeed, when cities are captured they don't know how to escape. When Antioch fell, Bendocdar is said to have said to some Christians: 'O Christians you are silly and very unwise because you neither fight, nor keep the peace nor know when to flee at the proper time.' Once the Holy Land of Promise is recovered, it seems essential that it should be protected at once, and so the study of military discipline and continuous practice should be instituted and it should be established that in suitable places, *Vegetius de re militari*[3] and [the works of] similar instructors should be read in schools. Just as the Romans did in antiquity, so the knights and those who should be interested in war, should exercise constantly in weaponry so that in an emergency they may be found to be wary [in the face] of danger and cautious: because in every battle, as Vegetius says, 'it is not so much weight of numbers as skill and practice that produce victory.' So Amutius Rufus, leading a small force, when hard pressed by many Dacians, so that since they seemed so few in line of battle, they showed themselves suddenly in the face of the enemy by sounding their horns from the

[1] Isaias 28:19.

[2] Luke 14:31–32. In this citation, Sanudo gives 12,000 rather than the 10,000 of the Vulgate.

[3] The *Epitoma Rei Militaris,* written sometime between 383 and 455, remained a fundamental text for medieval and renaissance commanders. The text has been translated into English by N.P. Milner, *Vegetius:Epitome of Military Science* (Liverpool, 1993). This is not a direct quote but comes from Book III, Chapter 1 (Milner, p. 63).Virtually nothing is known of Vegetius himself except what he tells us in his text.

mountains; and so the hope of the multitude being dashed they ran away.[1] It should be laid down under pain of certain punishment, that all the inhabitants of the Holy Land as well as of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, should practice together at least once a week in using catapults and shooting arrows either in the towns or the villages where they live. David had ordered this in the Second Book of Kings that they should teach the sons of Juda archery because he had heard that King Saul and his son Jonathan had been wounded by arrows; and Jacob, the great Patriarch said, 'a portion which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and bow.'[2] And Scipio Africanus thought that he could only win if he placed chosen archers in all battlelines, who terrorized the enemy by shooting from afar **(p. 263)**. If indeed it is appropriate that some are exercised in long lances, together and the same time apart from the exercise, [this is in order] because their employment is frequently found useful in wars. So, for the defence of the chosen Land of Promise, the Christian people should be returned as inhabitants and at the same time they should avoid languid ease, the path of all vices. For Ezechiel cried to Juda: 'This was the iniquity of Sodom thy sister, fullness of bread and idleness.'[3] By such exercise of arms the Romans conquered the world, according to Vegetius. For the strength of the Romans had been small in the face of the multitude of Gauls and Spaniards, the stratagems of Africans, the prudence of the Greeks. For exercise in whatever undertaking produces confidence. It is the trained few that are apt for victory, the crude multitude for flight. Nor is it unlawful for anyone who thinks that for justice and the defence of the country [it is appropriate] to avoid military service, saying as Jerome to Boniface: 'Do not extol the name of any who fight with weapons of war, since this cannot please God.' In these things David was holy at a time when many were just; in the things he replied to those who asked the blessed John the Baptist what they should do, saying: 'Do violence to no man; neither calumniate any man; and be content with your pay.'[4] Besides it is not forbidden for them to serve under arms, provided they are satisfied with the pay they receive.

Chapter 2: What may be useful in keeping secret plans for advancing against the enemy

As one of the poets says: 'You have achieved the downfall of your enemy, if he [thinks that he] knows you.' Thus, the cautious generals of armies, with the greatest respect to their enemies, conceal their plans, so that they might think over

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[1] The source for this story can only be Frontinus himself and not Frontinus as filtered through Vincent of Beauvais or John of Salisbury, since neither of them repeat this tale in their works. Amutius here is Minucius in Frontinus, see C.E. Bennett, *Frontinus Stratagems and Aqueducts* (Loeb Classics, 174, London, 1926), 125.

[2] Genesis 48:22.

[3] Ezechiel 16:49.

[4] Luke 3:14.

what was to be done on the following day. Metellus Pius replied, 'if my tunic could speak I would burn it.' And Porcius Cato, having subdued the cities of Spain, thinking that they would revolt sooner or later, by trusting in their walls, wrote to each one threatening war if they did not dismantle their fortifications immediately. On the same day he ordered the letters to all [the cities] to be brought back; he believed that by hiding his plan each of the cities would be ordered by him in person and it followed that they could not conspire against his order by turns. And G. Lelius, having sent ambassadors chosen from the tribunes and centurions to Syphax under the guise of surrender, took scouts with him, one of whom was recognized because he was known to the enemy. For the sake of concealing his plan he had him punished with the vine staff as if he was a slave and so furthered his stratagem. Mithridates too, having been surrounded by Pompey, planned to escape on the next day and to conceal his plan and avert suspicion he decided to graze [his animals] openly and within sight of the enemy, to hold meetings with several people and he ordered many fires to be lit throughout the camp, then on the second watch he passed through the enemy lines. Lucius Furius, having led his force into a poor position, hid his concern so that the others would not be alarmed and appearing to change his mind as if he wished to approach the enemy by a more circuitous route, he reversed his battleline and led his army to safety without any knowing what he had done. Clearly we can learn from these examples how the enemy may be most effectively damaged and how the plan of a field commander should be concealed and kept to himself. The Tartars especially follow this advice: of which they say that no one can enter or leave without the consent of the leaders of their army lest they reveal the plan to their adversaries. The Christians did not do this when they captured Damietta, but having revealed their plan, they were wounded and captured and were forced to return Damietta: Part 11, Chapter 9. And the people of Ptolomais, because they did not know, when placing their ambush to keep their plan secret, were slaughtered: Part 12, Chapter 8.

Chapter 3: How they ought to be concerned with the plans of their enemies by taking pains

The Saracens are particularly careful to discover the intentions of their enemies and in particular they try to discover the doings of the Christians not just in neighbouring areas, but even further afield. M. Cato in Spain not being strong enough to discover the plans of the enemy by any other means sent 300 men to mount an attack on the enemy position to [capture someone] who being tortured might reveal all the secrets of his men, the rest he brought forward in safety. For it is worth knowing the plans of the enemy in order to avoid setbacks. Because, as Saint Gregory says, 'fore-warned is fore-armed.'[1] For this reason the

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[1] '*minus feriunt et tolerabilius mala suscipimus, si contra haec per providential clipeum munimur.*' A common Latin proverb used by Gregory the Great (540–604) in homily 34 of his *Homiliae in Evangelia.* Latin text see Raymond Étaix, ed., *Gregorius*

Carthaginians sent Amilcar, a brave man, to Alexandria who crossed there to his friends pretending to be in exile **(p. 264)**, so that by this means they might find out any plan and so avoid dangers and be prepared against any necessities. The consul Aemilius, noticing at a distance that a flock of birds had flown up from a wood suspected that an ambush was coming on and having explained his thinking he avoided the danger. For it is good to strike the enemy especially when their weaknesses have been revealed. Thus Scipio Africanus when he sent his tribune Lelius with the chosen tribunes and centurions to Syphax in the guise of slaves so that they might carefully assess the royal strength: after they had noted the position of the strong-points freely and the number of scattered horses, they were followed as they escaped going round the greater part of the fortifications. On their return they reported everything, and understanding how he might attack the enemy he gave battle. Finally, it can also reassure. Thus during the war against the Cimbri, the Consul G. Marius uncertain as to the loyalty of the Gauls and the Ligurians, sent letters to them, the beginning of which commanded that they should not see the contents, which were sealed, before the appointed day. In the meantime, he fetched back the letters again and because they had been opened he realized that a revolt was in preparation and received reassurance from a position of doubt. How much the Christians would have lacked from studying the secrets of the Saracens, we can perceive from the history narrated above, in one place as we read how a certain Saracen showed a ford to the Christians (see above Part 12, Chapter 2). Indeed, among the Christians there are not only spies but traitors who deserve to suffer, because they offer support to infidels and schismatics alike.

Chapter 4: Several precautionary examples to avoid many dangers which often befall an army on the march

Although all those things which might be done against the enemy are carried on in secret, see above Chapter 2 it is said, among other things, that the army ought to be led out in secret. Thus, Alexander the Great occupied Greece because he was heard to have gone away before he was thought to come and in like manner the Tartars have occupied many areas, especially the Iron Gates; see above Part 13, Chapter 5. To avoid dangers and ambushes the army should be moved in secret, for if they followed the wisdom of the general completely many things could be avoided. Questorius in Spain, the enemy approaching from the rear, he had to cross a river. He threw up a wall on the bank in the shape of a crescent moon and set fire to it covered with wood and thus he crossed unhindered hidden from the enemy. Cressus not wishing to cross a ford or to build a bridge, having dug a ditch around his camp diverted a channel of the river into it from behind. Herculeus, the legate of Sertorius in Spain, when he made a long march between the mountains, gained full information to avoid a large band of the enemy. He placed a cross-ditch

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Magnus Homiliae in Evangelia (Turnhout, 1999), English translation David Hurst, *Forty Gospel Homilies* (Kalamazoo, 1990).

between the mountains and burned the wood that had formed the rampart and so he escaped having shut off the enemy. Pericles the Athenian, chased from all places had only two ways out. On one side he had dug a ditch of great height as if he wished to exclude the enemy, on the other side he positioned himself as if he would break through the enemy. While all gathered at the abandoned ditch, he put bridges across it and led his troops out. Darius, in order to deceive the Scythians, left mules and dogs in his camp on his departure, whose braying and barking convinced the Scythians that Darius was still in camp. Some likewise tie oxen to trees, who by frequent bellowing give the appearance of [the army] remaining. Hanno, surrounded by the enemy but in a place very suitable for a break-out, gathered and fired brushwood. This alerted the enemy to guard the other exits. He led his army through the flames, advising his men to cover their mouths with their shields and their shins with clothing. Hannibal, placed in a very dangerous position by the advance of Fabius tied brands to the horns of cattle, lit them and stampeded [the herd]. On all sides the mountain was lit up by flames by the herd. Then the Roman, fearing an ambush, concentrated his soldiers and so the Moor went free. The Consul Aemilius Paulus, when he had led his army by a narrow route along the shore, sheltered the flank of his army with goats, whose look hindered the enemy missiles. Alexander of Macedon, contesting with Poro the crossing of the river Idaspen, ordered his men to run against the current and followed them so that when Poro was keeping an eye only on him, he sent across the greater part of his army. Thus, by various measures, distinguished generals have averted dangers and led their armies safely. On the contrary, Baldwin the first King of Jerusalem showing himself to 30,000 Turks between Lida and Rama, exposed himself and his men with the greatest discrimination **(p. 265)**: Part 6, Chapters 4 and 8. He did the same near Mount Tabor.

Chapter 5: The means of siting camps

Camps, especially near the enemy, should always be constructed in a safe place, where supplies of wood, grazing and water abound. For the Roman Emperor with the Kings of France and Jerusalem were deceived by traitors into substituting an arid spot for a suitable location and were undone near Damascus: Part 6, Chapter 19. Guy of Lusignan was captured by Saladin: Part 9, Chapter 4. And for a longer stay, it should not be forgotten that a site with healthy air should be chosen. Also, beware lest there is a mountain in the vicinity or a higher place which the enemy can capture and hold. Or a field liable to torrents: thus the Damascenes repulsed the Tartars, Part 13, Chapter 8. And [beware] lest a greater army is squeezed into a small space or a smaller one forced to be over-extended. Given the quality of the place, a square, a triangle or a semi-circle are suitable [forms] for camps. A quadrangle, however oblong, is more suitable for defence, a circle, however, is of greater area. And if no special need presents itself, it may be surrounded by turf from the earth and this can be built like a wall, three feet high above the ground and in front of it a ditch nine feet wide and eight feet deep. But where the enemy

are within view, the ditch may be 12 feet wide and 9 feet deep, above which may be placed stakes of the strongest wood which the soldiers should carry with them, and the bank of packed earth may rise to four feet. If the enemy stand in front of this as an obstacle, all the horses and foot soldiers should be placed in the middle of the battleline, the remainder follow after them. Thus Caesar leading his forces against Afranius in the civil war, since he had no means of retreating without loss it is written that he dug a 15-foot ditch behind the first and second lines, into which the soldiers withdrew at sunset. Special care should be taken lest they have enemies on two fronts, because the greater danger is always at hand and the anvil of greater fear. The most careful should be appointed to guard the camp and to clean the furthest places. They should have their weapons ready by their side, lest by chance the enemy should suddenly break in. The Saracens pitch their tents with much order. For in the middle the tent of the Sultan is placed and around him, the nobles and the most important men, around 2,000, and this is called the 'Circle of the Sultan'. Then many others create a second circle and so all are conveniently placed and every Saracen knows in which circle he is and in which part of the circle he ought to be and to pitch his tent.

Chapter 6: Information and examples to show that battle is not joined at a time convenient to the enemy

In war this point is always right, that when the enemy approaches you it is to harm you. Therefore, never go along with any decision of your opponent, lest it is contrary to your own interest. Thus Roger, Prince of Antioch, the Turks being roused and meeting with an unexpectedly large reinforcement was killed by an enemy sword along with virtually the whole Christian army: Part 7, Chapter 10. Therefore, in committing to battle you should observe a time convenient to you not the will of your opponent. For Scipio in Spain, having learned that the army of Hasdrubal was hungry having stood in battleline all morning, kept his men together and ordered that they rest and eat since he understood that the enemy was hungry and thirsty and exhausted from a long time under arms. Suddenly leading out his men he was the victor. So Metellus in Spain rested his men while Hercules kept his men at the rampart in the rising sun during the hottest time of day and at the ninth hour, attacking the exhausted enemy, he was the victor. The Consul Postumus in Sicily, as the Penni came nearer and nearer at three miles each day, with a small force he strongly defended his fortifications in minor skirmishes. While the Penni scorned their approach, having made ready all the rest of his forces in the fortress he put the enemy, afflicted by work and hunger, to flight with the help of his new troops. Iphicrates the Athenian, having learned that his adversary always ate at the same time, fed his men earlier and attacking the hungry foe delayed them, so that he did not give them the chance of coming together or going out: and as the day wore on he withdrew his men but kept them in arms and then attacked the enemy as they ate and lay unorganized **(p. 266)**. Fulk, King of Jerusalem, knowing that the Turks on their way to attack Antioch were resting between Antioch and

Aleppo, came up to them by night and attacked them secure in their pavilions and tents: Part 7, Chapter 15. And Saladin unfairly advanced on the Christian people camped in a dry place before they came to water and he had the victory over the King and the Christian people: Part 9, Chapter 4.

Chapter 7: The suitability of a place for fighting

Just as caution should be exercised in siting camps lest higher ground remains to the enemy, see above Chapter 5, so when battle is joined, the higher ground should always be chosen. Thus, in Cappadocia, Cneus Pompeius chose high ground for his camps, since from there the sloping ground helped the command of his soldiers and he easily defeated the enemy by going down. Also, campaigning against Farnaces, the son of Mithridates, Caesar drew up his battleline on a clear hill, which brought him the victory, for javelins thrown from high ground against the barbarians coming up, immediately turned them aside. Hannibal, who would only fight against Marcellus, when he had hollow and broken tracks on his flank and in a place suitable for fortification, defeated that distinguished general. The same when he was at Cannae, he noticed that high winds blew in the morning, stirring up sand and dust in the stream of the Volturna, so he placed his battleline so that the whole force of the dust and wind was behind his men and in the mouths and eyes of the Romans; by which difficulties he gained a memorable victory. Cleomenes the Spartan [fighting] against Hyspia the Athenian, who was strong in cavalry, made the plain on which they would fight, impassable for the cavalry by felling trees. The Yberi in Africa confronted by a huge force of the enemy, although they excelled in courage feared that they would be surrounded. With a river behind them, by attacking the nearest vigorously they ended up slaughtering the whole army. Xantipius the Spartan, despairing of the Africans who excelled in cavalry and elephants, noticed some isolated hills. The plain was held by the Romans who were strong in infantry. He changed his fortune only by changing his position; leading the Penni onto the plain and disrupting the Roman lines with elephants. Epaminondas, the general of the Thebans, in the face of the Spartans, stirred up a dust cloud by ordering his cavalry to ride about and with his infantry stationed around suddenly he attacked the backs of his unfortunate opponent. On account of these things the commander of a military force should see that he should choose suitable places and so place the enemy in danger by taking careful note of location. And even when the army is in less danger as when on a ship or at sea he should study the example of sailors and have maps written or drawn, where the road junctions and possible dangers are depicted. In the pages of Pedotas we read that Alexander considered loyal, those by whose treachery he was deceived in India, and of the Emperor of the Romans, above Part 7, Chapter 19 and of Fulk, King of Jerusalem, Part 7, Chapter 16. And Baldwin his successor might have perished in a difficult place if he had not been freed by a Divine miracle, Part 6, Chapter 19. Guy of Lusignan, [following] the bad advice of the count of Tripoli, was placed in a difficult position and was defeated by Saladin, Part 9, Chapter 4.

Chapter 8: Advice about advancing battlelines

From the preceding chapter we can well note that it is better not to wage war than to expose oneself to chance without due care. When it comes to drawing up battlelines on all account order must be maintained, because when a multitude is without order, there, is confusion. The order of a battleline strikes terror into opponents. 'Terrible', says Scripture, 'as an army set in array'.[1] Thus the Tartars (above Part 12, Chapter 4) are ordered by tens, hundreds, etc and they have gained the lordship of the Indians. Each battleline should be assigned its own standard so that any soldier wandering off may easily return to his own formation. By the same reasoning it is convenient that groups of tens and hundreds should be recognized by their own sign on a galley or elsewhere. Christian knights should have many crossbowmen and archers mixed in with them, who may fire at the Saracens from ambush and who, in light armour, wait to lead their horses. For the Saracens are not good foot soldiers: let them beware lest they shoot the arrows in vain. If there are many foot soldiers, so that not all of them may be associated with the cavalry **(p. 267)**; the infantry should have men in a circle with long lances and these should be tightly packed among them, so that none of them can enter an encampment. Next to the lancers may be those who protect them with shields from the missiles of the Saracens and cover them. These ought to be like a wall. On the inside they should make some space lest they are squashed by turn and where the archers may be covered, for these especially shoot at the attacks of the Saracens. They carry with them lances, swords, arrows and various missiles in abundance, and they must especially be aware that they are not separated from the battleline, since they can easily be passed over by the enemy or in ambushes: see Part 12, Chapter 8. They should learn from the example of the Saracens how to rejoin [their units] should any off them become separated and to marshal the battleline at a given signal. Thus they will not only avoid danger but will be very formidable to the Saracens. And if they want to focus on defence, there is the round and dense battleline to prevent it being broken and it is better to station armed men in front to sustain the shock. If they wish to attack there is the pyramid battleline which is not easily broken. If few of the enemy might be there, it will be useful to surround them, open in front and closed in behind like scissors. The square battleline is useful in all situations. The field commander should pay attention to the conditions of the time and the place, according to the two preceding chapters: who has more cavalry or foot soldiers, he or his opponent. For cavalry defend themselves better on plains and foot soldiers in hills and woody places. Where has the enemy positioned the bold, the slack, the strong and the weak? G. Scipio, opposed to Anonnes in Africa, when he had noticed that the Spaniards were in the right wing, quite strong but their minds wandered. The Africans were on the left weaker but with firmer resolve. Having drawn up a wing with the strongest soldiers and reducing the other, he sent an oblique battleline against the Africans and having routed them he easily

[1] Canticle of Canticles 6:3.

forced the Spaniards to surrender. Philip, King of the Macedonians noticed that the van of the enemy pressed on his best soldiers and ordered the weaker flanks to be attacked and so broke the battleline. Parmenes the Theban engaged against the strongest battleline of the Persians ordered his weakest men to flee at the first clash and to reform in woods and in areas of broken ground, while he, with his best men, advanced against the lesser part. Thus the superiority of the Persians was frustrated and he went round and escaped the enemy battleline. Scipio Africanus fighting against Hasdrubal in Spain led his army in battle order for days on end, so that the strongest men were placed in the middle of the formation. When the enemy imitated this Scipio changed the order and gathered the strongest on the wings and put light armed troops in the middle but somewhat withdrawn; so on the wings where he was strongest he easily overcame the weaker part of the enemy with the crescent-shaped formation. Metellus, also in Spain, noticed that Hercleus had placed his strongest cohorts in the middle of the battleline. He withdrew his own centre lest it should engage with the enemy before the other part before he had surrounded the centre with his flanks. When Castronius the Spartan had come to help the Egyptians against the Persians, he knew that the Greeks were feared by the Persians so he changed their weapons around and placed the Greeks in the first battleline and promoted the Egyptians to be the main force. When the Greeks, whom the Persians thought were Egyptians, had put up a stout resistance, the Persians were cast down and surrendered when a horde of Egyptians came up as if they were the Greeks. Silla dispersed a chariot attack sent to break up his battleline by planting stakes and Caesar likewise forestalled the scythed chariots of the Gauls. [Astiages the King of the Medes, while his men were fighting against the Persians placed a part of his army in the rear and said to them that if they did not prevail he did not want to find less brave men in the rear than at the front. Thus he repulsed the enemy].[1]

Chapter 9: Some examples and advice on breaking the battlelines of the enemy

Papirius Cursor, the son of the Consul, fighting against tough Sannite opposition, ordered some disaffected men with mules to ride about the land making a great din by dragging halters. When he viewed this he shouted that a joint victory was at hand so that they might seize the glory of battle in the present circumstances, by which means the Romans restored loyalty and forced a terrified enemy to retreat. The Consul Fabius led out his spearmen in ranks and ordered them to occupy a hill from which he could rush down on the backs of the enemy and the Samnites surrendered. Amitius Rufus, when he was hard pressed by many Dacians, ordered a few men, when they saw the battle spread out, to show themselves suddenly to the enemy making a noise as he crept up the hills and so with the hope of the many dissipated the enemy fled **(p. 268)**. Sulpicius did likewise against the Gauls. Jugurtha, fighting against G. Marius in Numidia, charging against the first

1 Bongars has inserted the square brackets here.

battleline of the Romans shouted that he had killed Marius and distracted many of the Romans. And Valerius Levinus likewise drove back the enemy, declaring that he had killed Pyrrhus and holding a bloody sword. Mironides the Athenian, in a hung battle against the Thebans, suddenly threw forward his right wing, shouting that he had already gained the victory on the left; this inspired his own men and depressed his enemies and he was the victor. Cressa opposed an enemy that outnumbered him in cavalry with a herd of camels, whose novelty and appearance frightened the horses, which not only threw their riders but also dispersed the ranks of the infantry. Pyrrhus as King of the Egyptians and the Penni used elephants frequently. The Spaniards opposed to Hamilcar threw his battleline into confusion by driving carts drawn by oxen and filled with tow, tar and sulphur. At a given signal they set fire to the carts and drove the beasts against the enemy. The supporters of Tarquin with many of them disguised as priests carrying frenzied snakes before them broke up the battleline of the Romans.

Chapter 10: Certain examples and advice on reforming a battleline when it waivers

When a battleline waivers it can be withdrawn and men snatched from the jaws of death and in that case force of character must especially be exerted. Fear of death forces men to run from the battleline: so the light firing of arrows on the fugitives whenever the Saracens put the Christians to flight: Part 11, Chapter 15. But the just cause of war and the reward after toil should drive out fear from the faithful man. For what is more just than to repulse the dishonour of Christ and of the Christian people; it is especially scandalous for the Christian people that there the law of the Gospels should be silent, where only the law of the most evil of seducers resounds, where Christ our Lord was conceived and born of the Virgin, where he suffered and was buried and brought salvation to the midst of the earth. Thus, so that we can say as 1 Machab[ees] 1, 'Jerusalem became a stranger to her own seed and her children forsook her: her dishonour was increased according to her glory.'[1] Oh that some Judas Machabeus would arise and all his brothers with him and they would join the battle of the Lord with joy. Let the new Judas be as a giant; may he be as a lion that fears the approach of no-one. The Apostle in his letter to the Hebrews 11 praises those fighting for justice and the law of God in the Holy Land. 'Gedeon', he says, 'Barac, Samson, Jephthe, David and Samuel by faith conquered Kingdoms, became valiant in battle, put to flight the armies of foreigners.'[2] What could be more useful and safe in such a death, when having gained forgiveness of all our sins, our bodies did not perish on dying but were changed into something better? 'Fear none of those things',[3] 'which thou shalt suffer. Be thou faithful

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1 A composite citation from 1 Machabees 1:40 and 42.

2 Another composite citation from To the Hebrews 11:32–4.

3 Apocalypse 2.

until death: and I will give thee the crown of life.'[1] Thus when Bendocdar took Saphet, Part 12, Chapter 18, although he swore to the faithful that if he received the surrender of the castle he would arrange for all to be taken safely to Acre, when he occupied the castle he treated the Christians treacherously first he invited them to prayers and sentenced them to death on the following day. But two Franciscans chose the crown of the martyrs, all night they comforted [the others] with sacred readings, for then no fewer than 50 were said to have been crowned as martyrs. After them he ordered the aforesaid brothers, one of whom was called brother James of Podio and the other brother Jeremias of Ianua, together with the Prior of the Templars to be tortured, then cruelly flogged and finally taken to the place where the others had been martyred, where, when their heads were struck off, they fulfilled their martyrdom. The King, cruel and evil though he was, placed the holy bodies in a stone enclosure, where at night-time a great light was often noticed by the Saracens to shine out. Therefore, Christians should not fear war, especially if the commander puts aside human stupidity and follows the example of good generals. The young Servius Tullus in a battle which Tarquin was fighting against the Sabines, having fought zealously with the standard bearers sent the captured standard back to the enemy, for the sake of its recovery the Romans fought harder and recovered both the standard and the victory. Scipio when he saw his army turn about announced that his enemy would be whoever entered the camp. In similar fashion Q. Furtius said that no one should return to camp unless victorious, thus he reformed his battleline and gained the victory. Fulvius Priscus ordered that a standard bearer, who hesitated at his command to attack the enemy, should be killed; the others were scared by this deed into advancing against the enemy **(p. 269)**. Cosus Cornelius, the master of the horse did likewise. The consul Q. Attilius, when his soldiers withdrew into camp, drew up his battleline and led them all in formation against the enemy. L. Silla, having lost legions to the army of Mithridates, rushed against the front rank with drawn sword and calling his soldiers said: 'if any should ask where they had abandoned the Emperor they should reply, fighting in Boeotia': at which shame all followed him. Philip, fearing that his men would not resist the onslaught of the Scythians, stationed his most loyal cavalry in the rear and ordered that they let none of their fellow-soldiers leave the battleline and that they should kill without exception anyone leaving. Then preferring to be killed by the enemy rather than by their own men they gained the victory. The same is said of Astiages, see above Chapter 8.

Chapter 11: Certain examples and advice on laying ambushes

Just how useful ambushes are to warriors when it suits them is known from the direct command of God to Joshua: for the handing over of the city of Hay God ordered: 'lay an ambush behind the city.'[2] And when Joshua pretended to flee with

[1] Apocalypse 2:10.

[2] Joshua 8:2.

his men, the citizens followed him so that not one man remained behind. Those who lay in ambush rose up and burned the city to the ground. Scipio Africanus when he faced two hostile camps that of Syphax and that of the Carthaginians, first where there was much inflammable material he set it on fire and in an ambush he slaughtered those running to help their allies in what they thought was an accidental fire. Pompeius in Spain, first having ordered his men, who advanced in secret, pretending fear he led the enemy into a dangerous place where he stopped and demanded their surrender and [attacking them] in front and on the flank he slaughtered them to a man. Queen Tamarisk, having learned of the death of her son and seeking the consolation of revenge, surrounded the enemy using the deceit of ambush. [Then] withdrawing in supposed panic she drew Cyrus into the narrows and slaughtered him and up to 20,000 Persians with him. She placed the King's head in a bag full of blood, with this bloody pronouncement: 'have your fill of blood, for which you were always insatiable.' Pompeius, [fighting] against Mithridates placed 3,000 soldiers in a wood lying between two camps, and with light-armed troops feigned fear and drew the enemy beyond the place of ambush and turning round to face them slaughtered them from both sides. Melantus, general of the Athenians, challenged to a fight by his bodyguard, when he came up heard this from his opponent: 'It is unfair to come with a companion against someone on their own' and turning round to see who was with him he was felled with one blow by his adversary. Hippocrates [sic] the Athenian disembarked a strong force of soldiers from his ships, preparing an ambush then he ordered all the ships to set sail openly as if loaded with troops, thus he attacked the Spartans on the march who felt safe and suspected nothing. Hannibal at Cannae ordered 600 Numidian cavalry to desert and to show faith they should surrender their swords and shields to the Romans. They were placed in the rear rank as [the battleline] first began to come together. With smaller swords, which they had concealed, and picking up the shields of the fallen, they massacred the battleline of the Romans. The same, when he had surveyed the camp of the Roman general Fulvius which was hurriedly fortified, knew that he might risk much, and at first light when the darker shadows make it difficult to see he exposed a few of his cavalry to the Romans guarding the fortifications. At this Fulvius unexpectedly moved his army. Then Hannibal occupied the opposite side of his camp and attacked the Roman rear and slaughtered 8,000 of the bravest soldiers along with their general. Veriatus a former brigand and leader of the Celtiberians pretended to give himself up to Roman cavalry and led them to a precipitous spot. When he eluded them by lonely ways known only to himself, he killed those Romans stranded in that muddy place. For when G. Fulvius set up his camp on the Roman frontier the army of the Fulsci was far larger than his own. He [ordered] his men to fire certain buildings far from his camp, so that the Fulsci, thinking that his men had done it, dispersed for the sake of plunder. Hannibal sent from Carthage against the Africans, knowing that these men were addicted to wine broke off from a skirmish. Then during a stormy night he pretended to flee and left in his camp certain baggage and a plentiful supply of wine mixed with mandragora which is strong midway between a poison

and a sap. The barbarians elated with joy, occupied the camp and drunk heavily of this doctored wine. While they lay as if dead, he returned and captured or killed them. The Saracens, while the Christians were besieging Acre and were starving, craftily pretended to withdraw **(p. 270)** and enticed them to seize food and other things and when they were returning heavily laden they attacked them fiercely: Part 10, Chapter 3. The same, noticing the shortage of wood in a desert area left several herds of horses in a valley. When the Romans had gorged themselves on raw meat, they mauled them severely with their army that had returned by night; those who were fighting against the Eritreans seized one of their scouts on a hill and killed him. They dressed one of their own men in his clothes and by the same means at a given signal he lured the Eritreans into an ambush.

Chapter 12: Examples and advice in case escape is denied to the enemy

The Greeks, in order to hinder the retreat of Xerxes, King of the Persians, decided to break down a bridge but Themistocles fearing that if the enemy were trapped they might change their despair into valour sent a slave to Xerxes so that he might complete his retreat by occupying the bridge. Caesar, having trapped the Germans who were fighting more bravely out of desperation, ordered them to be let out and attacked them while they fled. T. Marius, the Scipios having been killed and the army handed over to him, since the Peni fought more fiercely lest they remained unavenged, relaxed his grip on the handful [of survivors] and gave them room to escape and run off and so he had killed without danger to his own men. The Consul Manlius when he returned from the battleline found that the Roman camp had been captured by a sortie. Surrounding all the gates and shutting up the enemy he provoked anger in them so that he fell in battle. His legates noticing this provided a way out for the raiders by one remote outpost in another part [of the camp] and pressed the escapers while the other consul was coming up. So also the children of Israel, heavily engaged against the sons of Benjamin,[1] provided them with a means of escape so that they walked into an ambush. Pyrus, [sic] King of the Epirotes when he had captured a certain city and noticed that the citizens fought bravely out of desperation because the gates were closed, ordered the place to be opened for their flight. Likewise, one of the imperial precepts remembered to this day is not to hinder an enemy in flight unduly: not only lest they resist out of desperation, but surrender more easily but also because it is easier afterwards for the victors to establish themselves without resorting to annihilation.

Chapter 13: Various advice and examples for concealing adversity

By how much someone is feared in the opinion of many of the enemy by so much is he lacking in bravery; then all necessities are controlled by the enemy. Tullius Hostilius, King of the Romans, had joined battle against the Vegentes when the

[1] Judges 20.

Albans deserted the Romans and occupied the nearby hills. He clearly declared that they had done this on his orders so that he might surround the enemy. This settled the troubled spirits of the Romans and brought dismay to the hearts of the enemy. Silla, the auxiliaries sent by him being surrounded, lest the whole army be disheartened, said that it was part of his plan because they had planned to defect and so he had avoided a disaster and soothed the minds of the soldiers. Three thousand chariot drivers left Hannibal busy in Italy, but he gave out that they had been dismissed by him. He sent away the few who remained to back up this story. Lucullus, when he noticed that the Macedonian cavalry which he had in reserve, had by sudden agreement deserted to the enemy, ordered the trumpets to be blown and put in position the squadrons which followed them. The enemy thinking that battle was joined fired darts at the deserters who out of necessity returned to the Romans and attacked the enemy. The Consul T. Quintus Capitolinus, while the Romans were giving way, was stationed on another wing where the enemy had fled and giving heart to his men he regained the victory. So G. Manlius, his colleague Fabius being wounded, while he was on the left wing fighting against a sally, came up to those giving way with a squadron of soldiers shouting that his colleague was alive and that he was victorious on the right wing; by which quick-thinking he restored the spirits of his men and was victorious.

Chapter 14: Some observations after a battle, if it had gone well, and advice to those fleeing

The Theotoni being defeated in battle, G. Marius surrounding the remainder, because night was setting in, kept them on their guard with a few of his men and deprived the enemy of sleep: it follows from this that he would destroy the tired survivors more easily on the following day **(p. 271)**. In contrary fashion Baldwin IV, King of Jerusalem, Norandinus having withdrawn, dismissed some of his barons, and when the Turks returned the slaughter of the Chistians was such that he scarcely maintained his liberty through flight, Part 6, Chapter 20. At the same time and for a similar reason barons coming from France suffered at the castle of Harenc (in the same chapter). Cl. Nero, the Penni being defeated, threw the head of Hasdrubal into Hannibal's camp so that he might be afflicted by grief for his brother and the army by despair for the arrival of help. And likewise, Joscelin sent the head of Balac to the Christians besieging Tyre, by which deed he harmed the Turks greatly, Part 6, Chapter 8. L. Silla displayed to those, who were attacking the Penestrae, the heads of their generals killed in battle on spears and so broke their unyielding spirit. Ermocartes the Syracusan, having defeated the Carthaginians in battle, feared that the prisoners of whom he had a great many in his power were less well guarded, because the victors through elation and insolence in their cups could easily enforce security; he formed the idea that on the following night the enemy cavalry would come. The result of this expectation was that the guards behaved more attentively. Victors too should not go immediately in search of plunder. So the Germans after victory dispersed to plunder when they were attacked while

they were split up by Charles, King of Sicily and were easily defeated. Judas Machabeus did not behave in such a way when he defeated a part of the army of Gorgias, 1, Machabees 4. But he said to the people: ‘be not greedy of the spoils: for there is war before us’:[1] and a certain part appeared with Gorgias looking down from the mountain and seeing what had been done, and Judas, drawn up for battle on the plain, fled terrified. Only then did Judas return to the spoils of the camp. These precautions are especially necessary when dealing with Saracens because they know how to flee and to give way, to reform and to return. For they are from remote areas and they discover what the Christians might do and if they seem dispersed and concerned with plundering they will turn and conquer; see above Part…, Chapter…[2] and Part 13, Chapter 2. In this matter the Gauls were praised, seeing that on going to fight Atalus they handed over all their gold and silver to reliable custodians in case they had to flee from the battle the enemy would concentrate on the treasure and leave the fugitives alone. Tryphon, King of Syria, in flight, for the whole of the journey threw money around and he reached Antioch while the soldiers concentrated on collecting [the money]. Q. Sertorius pushed back in battle by Quintus Metellus Pius judged that even flight was not safe, he ordered his soldiers to go away in dispersed groups, advising them that he wished to meet up in a certain place. The Christians did not behave thus when they were captured along with King Louis near a village called Sarmosac, Part 12, Chapter 3. We do not read of other similar tactics to have been done.

Chapter 15: Various examples and advice about the siege

The greatest harm to the besieged is from lack of water and so it is wise to search for the channels [and the source]. Thus Olofernes besieging Bethulia, seized the aquaduct to be cut, which he found going about, [and] with due care traced it to the sources; from where after the fifth day the priest decided to give up the city. Likewise, and again for the besieger [it is important] from where supplies are brought and before that where grain is gathered. So Fabius Maximus having devastated the fields of the Campanians so that they lost their corn moved on, then devastated [the area] again. Of the many cares of the besieged we find the procurement of grain. For Dionysius having seized many cities, when he advanced against the Regini who had plenty of grain he feigned peace and asked for supplies to be brought for his army and having used up the supplies of the townsmen he attacked the city. Alexander about to attack Leucas which had supplies in abundance first took the castles in its territory and allowed [the garrisons] to flee to the city so that the cereals would be used up more quickly. Fallaris the Agrigentine pretended a truce with certain peoples and asked them to place the grain-stores in their territory, so that they used up their own unwisely and coming again he conquered them

[1] 1 Machabees 4:17.

[2] Left blank; while the reference to Chapter 2 is given for the first time as an Arabic numeral rather than the usual Roman number.

through starvation. There are other methods of deceiving the besieged. Hannibal in Italy captured many towns by adopting the dress and language of the Romans, which his men had learned during the long war. Thus the Turks [took] the towns of the Christians by pretending victory, Part 4, Chapter 14. The general of the Athenians burned the temple of Diana outside the walls and when the citizens rushed out to bring assistance he took the city empty of defenders. Alcibiades the Athenian general, while besieging the city of Agrigentum, with its famed fortifications, sought the advice of the city so that he might deliver necessary things to the community **(p. 272)** and while he delayed in the appearance of a council, the Athenians whom he had prepared took the unguarded city. Antiochus in Cappadocia, bringing corn on pack animals to a besieged castle, took it and sent up his soldiers in the guise of their duty and clothes. Just so did the Armenians enter a castle with concealed weapons: Part…, Chapter…[1] And the Saracens likewise deliberately deceived many Christians near Acre: Part 12, Chapter 8. P. Cornelius Scipio appreciated the difficulty of attacking Delivinum because it was defended by a gathering of [citizens from the neighbouring towns], so he began to attack the other towns and men were recalled to defend their own town and he took Delivinum now stripped of assistance. The Consul Cornelius Rufinus, when he was unable to take Croton, pretended to go away and after he had sent aid he took it undefended. Mango, a Carthaginian general, having defeated Gn. Piso imprisoned him in a tower, suspecting that help would come to him he sent [someone] to inform those approaching that the captured Piso had already escaped, and these being deceived he completed the remainder of the victory. Theleopidas the Theban about to attack two towns at the same time, perceived that from other castles four garlanded knights would come with notable speed. At their appearance he ensured that the woods that were in the middle were burned so that they looked like a burning city and ordered some captives in their dress to be lead out. Fabius Maximus wishing to capture Arpos that was under the protection of Hannibal sent 600 soldiers during the night to climb the wall of a less frequented part of the town with ladders. They were helped by the noise of falling water and at a given signal he took Arpos from the other side. Cato ordered an approach to the somewhat weak walls of a city, while the victors were at the siege the fleeing enemy were pursued more keenly by the reserved legions; he took the town empty of warriors. So Scipio in Sardinia pretending flight and being pursued by the citizens, passing those whom he had stationed nearby he took the city. And Hannibal took Gemera in like fashion. And the children of Israel[2] skilfully pretending flight, took council how they might seize the sons of Benjamin from a city; so they took Gabaa and struck down 25,000 warriors from them. Almeric, King of Jerusalem did not act thus around Damietta with the army of the Emperor of Constantinople; but after a long delay he withdrew forced by indolence and cold: Part 6, Chapter 22. And

[1] Left blank in the text.

[2] Judges 20.

King Hugh going with the Lord Edward to destroy Caco, they failed miserably on account of finding plunder at the siege: Part 12, Chapter 11.

Chapter 16: Timely advice and clear rules of fighting

It is useful that generals should learn not just from examples but also from the clear rules of war. In battles and campaigns the condition is such that what is of benefit to you weakens your enemy and what harms you helps him. Nothing should be overlooked or done at the will of the enemy, but only what seems appropriate in your judgement should be chosen. You begin to harm yourself if you copy what your enemy does too closely. In war he, who will have watched in adversity and will have concentrated more on exercising the army, will suffer less danger. A soldier should never be assigned a difficult task unless proven. Fasting in emergencies such as from fear and ambushes is more useful to mastering an enemy than in battle, where good luck is often more important than courage. No counsels are more important to carrying through a plan than to ignore those which seek to make difficulties. The juster cause rather than skills in fighting usually prevails in wars. In stirring up and taking in the enemy if he comes in good faith is a great trust; because deserters more often break their opponent than be annihilated. After a battle it is better to keep more guard posts than to scatter soldiers widely before it. He is difficult to defeat who can exact vengeance from his own men and from the forces of his adversary. A small army is prepared for victory; a crude multitude is found together in flight. Often the place or the time outstrips the skill of war. Nature brings forth only a few brave men, discipline produces many. A battleline will never advance unless it has a hope of winning. Nothing is more useful than order in marching, because it is seldom noticed except to move quickly and this must be learned. A disordered and divided army is always at danger from the enemy. Great precautions must be taken, lest when necessity comes it springs from commands. The enemy is defeated not by costly weapons but by skill and fear. In other things the mistake can be amended after the event, but the fault of war is irreparable and the penalty takes effect immediately **(p. 273)**. The skill of the army and the discipline of the camp conquered the world of the armies of armed men for the Senate and the Roman people. Military discipline increases the boldness of attack and lessens the fear of death in battle and the love of life. Ordering the fortifications of the camp does not make it safer, when day and night they behave as if they are safe unless they comport themselves as if they are in their own town: and it may be that if they fall into dangers at the blow of necessity, they should take refuge lest they fall by the sword like animals. He is conquered without iron who does not prepare grain and other serviceable things. What should he do, occupied with many things; the eyes of the leaders are aware; what he would do with a few men or rather himself with you. Good generals never quarrel in public, except on occasion or in extreme necessity. The skills required in a soldier are speed, strength and discipline in arms. Smiths, carpenters, butchers and hunters are to be found in the company of soldiers. It is the rule of the legion not to flee willingly

or to follow. Honesty makes a good soldier and being ashamed of running away makes a victorious soldier. Courage grows from desperation in the surrounded. Nothing should be omitted where safety is concerned. No matter the number when the spirit is terrified both to avoid the missiles of the enemy and a wound. It is enough to remember military discipline. However, what they lack in rules and examples should be provided in schools.

Chapter 17: How one king should be installed in the recovered Land of Promise

After the conquest of the Land of Promise, a king should be set up who will control all things, govern his subjects prudently and justly, drive out the enemy [and] call to mind the sacred Scriptures, Deuteronomy 17, ‘When thou art come into the land, which the Lord thy God will give thee and possessed it (and thou shalt have there), thou shalt set up a King whom the Lord thy God shall choose.’[1] He said that there should be only one king and not many: just as we have said that there should be only one captain chosen, so that peace and unity may more fully flourish, see above Book 2, Part 1, Chapter 1. Especially distrust should be avoided, which can easily happen among the faithful when victory is achieved on account of the diversity of languages, regional differences, and outlook and customs. Once the Sultan of Babylon compared himself to a serpent having many tails but one head and he pulled all the tails after him at his will. He compared the Christians to a serpent having one tail but many heads and the tail could not follow the various whims of the heads, as Christ testified: ‘No man can serve two masters.’[2] So one man should be chosen, not as it turns out or indifferently, but whom your Lord God will choose; who will hate the false, abound in virtue, choose the appropriate, hate evil deeds so that he may be a second David whom all in agreement and together anointed in Gyon.[3] Who took the rein of tribute from the hands of the Philistines; and defeated the Moabites and Moab was made subject to him under tribute. He made a name for himself when he returned to the valley of the salt pans, having taken Syria. He placed guards in Idumaea and the whole of Idumaea was made subject to David. Another was Soloman whose will longed for the whole land, who gained fame by his courage: for he himself took over the whole area across the river[4] together with all the kings of that region and he had a part of every part round about and he held Juda and Israel together without fear and everyone under his own vine and fig tree.[5] So too Ezechias who fortified the city, brought in water, dug the rock with iron and constructed a well.[6] Then there was Josias who was divinely directed to punish the people and remove all abominations and in his

1 Deuteronomy 17:14–15.

2 Matthew 6:24.

3 2 Kings 5.

4 2 Kings 4.

5 3 Kings 4:25.

6 2 Paralipomenon 30 and Ecclesiasticus 48.

days secured pious observance.[1] The King of Jerusalem should be such that the Christian people there shall increase in goodness and numbers. For as Anticlaudius puts it so well: ‘The world shapes itself after its ruler’s pattern, nor can edicts sway men’s minds so much as their monarch’s life.’[2] By this means the chosen Godfrey was chosen by God: Part 6, Chapter 1. His successors too had the sultans of Egypt and Damascus as tributaries, the same Part, Chapter 21 **(p. 274)**.

Chapter 18: The king should abstain from whatever is excessive or vain

Just as discipline is important in military life, as has been dealt with under certain headings, so is moral life, about which it is convenient to say something below. For the faithful have been deficient in these two aspects as we often notice if we read the foregoing closely. In short we insist that the people are shaped by the person of the kin, because ‘what manner of man the ruler of a city is, such also are they that dwell therein’.[3] And we cite above: ‘the world shapes itself after its ruler’s pattern’. Lest the king in office should think that he is absolved from the laws (see the citation from Deuteronomy above) let him hear the heavenly mandate given to him. ‘And when he is made King, he shall not multiply horses to himself.’[4] Essential horses are not banned nor those for the safety of the kingdom; but only an extravagant increase such as Soloman had.[5] He is said to have had 40,000 teams of horses for chariots, and 12,000 for riding and (chapter*)[6] and 20,000 cavalry. This extravagance is forbidden, lest it is burdensome to the subjects and they become rebellious. Under the guise of horses the law-giver should understand the family and all personal interest relating to him. Soloman exceeded in other things: his food for each day was 30 kor[7] of fine wheaten flour and 40 kor of meal; 10 fat oxen, and 20 out of the pastures and 100 rams, besides venison of deer, roes, buffalo and fattened birds.[8] He also made 200 shields of pure gold and 300 small shields to display his royal status, which the King’s guard used before the houses of his enemies. With these, young knights with golden locks went in front when the King went to the inspection of the horses, adding the colour of gold as their hair was struck by the sun and they shone more fully. However, from

[1] 2 Paralipomenon 35 and Ecclesiasticus 49.

[2] Claudius Claudianus (fl.395–404), *Panegyricus de Quarto Consulatu Honorii Augusti*, lines 299–301, trans Maurice Platnauer, *Claudian*, I (Loeb Classics, London,1922), 309.

[3] Ecclesiasticus 10:2.

[4] Deuteronomy 17:16.

[5] 4 Kings 4.

[6] This reference marked only by an asterisk in Bongars is incomplete. The previous reference is perhaps an error for 3 Kings 4:26.

[7] Chorus is the kor an ancient Hebrew measure of volume equivalent to ten gallons (liquid) or a bushel (dry goods).

[8] This list comes from 3 Kings 4:22–23.

such things Soloman became a burden to his subjects, as scripture reveals.[1] When the people shouted at his son Reboam; ‘Thy father laid a grievous yoke upon us; now therefore do thou take off a little of the grievous service of thy father, and of his most heavy yoke which he put upon us, and we will serve thee.’[2] But when he replied to his opponents he threatened worse things, he lost then tribes and controlled half the kingdom (above Part 1, Chapter 5). What arms and men remained for the King? Plato when he had seen Dionysius tyrant of Sicily, with seven body-guards, said: ‘What have you done that is so bad that you need to be guarded by so many?’ Seneca said to Nero concerning mercy, ‘The love of the people is an indestructible monument.’ Princes and barons should be aware of this; if the king should not increase his horses and cavalry on feast days, it is less permissible for them to increase dogs, hunting birds, monkeys and various woodland creatues, as if natural portents. But in these matters they should perhaps choose more wisely, if they cling more familiarly to jokes than the statements of truth. ‘The actors of nobility’, they say, ‘exercise themselves in hunting for the sake of amusement; to hunt birds in the sky, to pick up dice quickly, to shake them and to play games with them.’ Who is not aware that these pleasures induce an attitude of levity? Themistocles, the philosopher, said ‘magistrates should avoid games and whatever is of a lighter nature, lest the state is seen to be at play.’

Chapter 19: How much danger the kingdom is in, when the king has a reputation for bad behaviour

If the king of Jerusalem is ordered to abstain from vain and light activities as if fomenters of sins, from this should he not consider with what care he should avoid the greater sins, which can not only bring about his own downfall but that of the whole kingdom and misfortune and danger to the whole people? From which it follows on in his rules: ‘nor lead back the people into Egypt, being lifted up with the number of his horsemen.’[3] For it is haughty and vain of a king to incline to sin: the sin of a king easily leads the people to Egypt, that is to the shadow of sins; ‘because’, as Ambrose said to the Romans 1, ‘the lower sort quickly do what he sees to proceed from the more powerful.’ And Jerome said to the bishop of Heliodorus; ‘the doings of your household is like a mirror, governing public behaviour; everyone thinks that anything that is done there may be done by himself.' So Jeroboam, as if in Egypt, led ten tribes into idolatry: Part 1, Chapter 5, on account of which his kingdom was destroyed by the Assyrians. Ioas, too, as the King of Jerusalem ruined his nobles by his example of moving from the laws of God, see the following chapter. On account of this he was banned from the Dabyr or the Ephod and then from the sanctuary **(p. 275)**. For David’s sin in numbering

[1] 3 Kings 12.
[2] 3 Kings 12:4.
[3] Deuteronomy 17:16.

the people many thousand were killed.[1] So it is true what is said in Ecclesiasticus 10, 'As the judge of the people is himself, so also are his ministers; and what manner of man the ruler of a city is, such also are they that dwell therein.'[2] And the pagan cited above, 'the common people always change in step with their ruler.' And because the people are often associated with the king in following evil ways, rightly do they suffer the same punishment together; concerning which, Ezechiel 7, God says: 'The King shall mourn, and the princes shall be clothed with sorrow, and the hands of the people of the land shall be troubled. I will do to them according to their way.'[3] So he may think himself rightly the king of all things which he will have led into Egypt by his disgraceful example. Accordingly, the king of Jerusalem should abound in virtues, so that he may set a praiseworthy example to his subjects, like the head of a body: lest what Elias said to Achab may be applied to him: 'Art thou he that troublest Israel and thy father's house':[4] Lest the people may groan together, Tre 3: 'he hath led me, and brought me into darkness and not into light', and in a following chapter, 'We were dragged by the necks, we were weary and no rest was given us. We have given our hand to Egypt, and to the Assyrians, that we might be satisfied with bread.'[5]

Chapter 20: How the king, through temperance, should restrain lust under the command of reason and how much [should be left] to desire

Just as in a well-governed city all are subject to the rule of one prince, so with lust everywhere whoever wishes to live morally must place himself under the rule of reason; 'and go not after thy lusts',[6] but restrain himself from those desires that we share with brute beasts.[7] For it follows that through intemperate actions he is not fit to rule others, but rather to be subject to the judgement of reason: accordingly God said to Noah and his sons in Genesis 9, 'And let the fear and dread of you be upon all the beasts of the earth':[8] over the animals he said, not over men; so that not reason but brutality should fear the power of man. The power of lust is intemperance which is compared to a boy in *Ethics* 3, but 'Woe to thee, O land, when thy King is a child, and when the princes eat in the morning'.[9] So, some compulsion is necessary, by reason for the king, just as from the teacher for the boy. Who does not know how to control his own household (Titus 3), so I say, cannot control himself and how will he be able to have control of the

1 2 Kings 34.

2 Ecclesiasticus 10:2.

3 Ezechiel 7:27.

4 3 Kings 18:17–18, here taken slightly out of context.

5 *Threni* or Lamentations 3:2 and 5:5–6.

6 Ecclesiasticus 18:30.

7 *Ethics* 3.

8 Genesis 9:2

9 Ecclesiasticus 10:16.

Church of God? Therefore, the king learns for himself from the rule of the chosen Land of Promise to rule all his subjects rightly, as the pagan Claudian says, 'if thou fearest, hast evil desires, art swayed by anger, thou wilt bear the yoke of slavery; within thyself thou wilt be a slave to tyrannical rule. When thou canst be King over thyself then shalt thou hold rightful rule over the world.'[1] Plutarch too in the upbringing of Trajan, 'you will behave rightly if you have not departed from yourself, if at first you have strived for virtue everything else proceeds from that.' And because among the sensory delights lust is the most powerful, it is specifically banned in the rule-book of kings: 'he shall not have many wives that may allure his mind'.[2] Therefore, to commit adultery is even less permissible or to be guilty of unchastity. What if an objection is raised concerning David and his son Soloman, who had many wives, it will be answered that because David was subject of a prophetic parable he replied that he was the cause of his son's death.[3] And concerning Soloman, Ecclesiasticus 48, after great tales it is said, 'he bowed his thighs to women and stained thy glory.'[4] Herod taking Herodias, contrary to the law, ordered the beheading of John.[5] Baldwin I of the Latin kings of Jerusalem, laying aside this chapter from his rule-book and freeing himself from the chains of matrimony by which one had been joined to the other from the beginning, put the Queen into a convent which is called Saint Anne's next to the sheep pool and near the gate which is called Josaphat, bringing over the Countess of Sicily who was wealthy, the widow of Roger, the bother of Robert Guiscard, and worn out by age and dying in the end, he left a cause for disagreement and hatred for some time to the King of the Sicilians and the Apulians and the kingdom of Jerusalem. Isabella too succeeding her dead sister Queen Sybilla, having set aside Enfrandus[6] was married (see above Part 10, Chapter 3) by Conrad or rather stained by adultery: because by the testimony of truth 'Everyone that putteth away his wife and marrieth another commits adultery' **(p. 276)**, as regards the first; and for the second 'he that marrieth her that is put away from her husband, committeth adultery'.[7] It is a foul thing and a subject devoid of honour, suspected of almost Muhhamedan error, to separate those joined in matrimony or to marry illegitimate persons or to join many to one against the Divine law and the sanctions of the Church. Under the rules, and so by reason, the king should keep himself from pleasures and lusts, lest his soul incline to sin, lest the royal honour is besmirched by the filth of sin, lest, by his example, he harms the people who are striving after virtue, he should hold the

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[1] Claudius Claudianus (fl.395–404), *Panegyricus De Quarto Consulatu Honorii Augusti,* lines 259–62,trans Maurice Platnauer, *Claudian*, I (Loeb Classics, London,1922), 305.

[2] Deuteronomy 17:17.

[3] 3 Kings 12.

[4] After Ecclesiasticus 47:21-2.

[5] Matthew 14 and Mark 7.

[6] Humphrey of Toron.

[7] Luke 16:18.

neighbouring unbelievers under the yoke of tribute. 'For to what free man will this person possibly issue commands, (says Tullius in the *Book of Paradoxes*), who cannot command his own desires? First let him curb his lusts, despise pleasures, restrain his angry temper, control his avarice, repulse all the other defilements of his mind; let him start commanding others when he has himself left off obeying those most unprincipled masters, unseemliness and turpitude.'[1]

Chapter 21: How he should rein in lust [and] to what extent he should follow pleasures or excess of treasure

Just as in a suitable trunk all trees are easily brought forth so all evils in greed; as the Apostle says in 1 Timothy 5, 'For the desire of money is the root of all evils; which some coveting have erred from the faith, and have entangled themselves in many sorrows.'[2] So the rule comes forth from the root of the snake.[3] So the Apostle in the verse above [says], 'For they that will become rich, fall into temptation, and into the snare of the devil, and into many unprofitable and hurtful desires, which drown men into destruction and perdition.'[4] From this 'nothing is more wicked than the covetous man'.[5] The trunk in which all evils are prepared is not only greed of riches but also the riches are nurturers of sensual and carnal pleasures, from which the king (see the preceding chapter) should abstain. 'Extravagant love is fed by riches' says the pagan as a remedy for love. Therefore, for removing the blot of all evils and the furtherance of carnal sins it is added to the rules of kings: 'He shall not have immense sums of silver and gold'.[6] Lest he should base the royal glory on the downfall of many, by removing all essentials from his subjects, with which he might seek to increase his own goods. For the powerful do better than others, they acquired honour so that they were called kings, see *The Politics*. With which title he will finally amass riches, which did he not already possess by another name? Therefore, he should not have private means which are taken from the public [purse]. But because benefits are to be gained not flung away, they should be balanced with the greatest care, so they may be seen to be used for the preservation of the kingdom, once the Holy Land has been regained; or all the revenue of that land should come to the royal treasury, to pay for fighting men according to the king's needs for the time being. This is how the Sultan of Babylon acts at the moment. Or, once the land is conquered to pay the barons, knights and warriors who serve in the ranks of fighting men as required for the king and the kingdom, retaining more revenue with the king so that he may give

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1 Cicero, *Paradoxa Stoicorum*, Section 33,Paradox 5, trans H.Rackham (Loeb Classics 349, London, 1942), 285.

2 1 Timothy 6:10.

3 Isaias 14.

4 1 Timothy 6:9.

5 Ecclesiasticus 10:9.

6 Deuteronomy 17:17.

freely to the clergy, both religious and secular, especially to the poor and needy, who have toiled in the conquest of the Holy Land or have served at the Curia; also for building churches, constructing monasteries and at least one hospital in a certain city in which the sick may be gathered and tended, and temporal help given to the destitute. What if it will seem more convenient to share the cities and castles among many, for the sake of the Holy Land, it might seem useful to the more powerful communities on this side of the sea if the towns were given to them to hold as fiefs with their villages, that they might exercise their jurisdiction there and give due justice to everyone and serve the king and the kingdom with shipping, or some troops or both. For everyone is better at protecting what is his own and it has already happened; we see today that some parts of Romania are protected by the Venetians. And because castles must be built, fortifications erected, not only in the Land of Promise but also in parts of Arabia and Egypt, not only for the safety of the kingdom, but also for great profit and scouring good properties; fortifications will be widely permitted on the coast of Egypt and Syria by such means. And whatever way is chosen from these premises regarding the administration of the kingdom, the king will always observe this rule for himself, that 'he will not have huge sums of silver and gold', that is his soul will not aim at amassing riches; or if they come by Divine will, 'his heart may not serve them'. Maurice lost the Empire by meanness, for when he was in enemy territory, he refused wages to his soldiers. Focas, being asked, assumed the imperial purple and chasing Maurice with his wife and five daughters he ordered them to be killed on some island **(p. 277)**.[1] And Saul was expelled from the kingdom through love of precious objects which he had brought in disobedience from [the city of] Amelech.[2] And Achab, having committed murder because Naboth desired his vineyard, heard from the Lord through Elias, 'Thou hast slain, moreover also thou hast taken possession: in this place wherein the dogs have licked the blood of Naboth, they shall lick thy blood also.'[3] Contrariwise the blessed rich man[4] who has not gone after gold nor put his trust in money or treasures: who is he and we will praise him? For just as a royal reputation for greed demeans, so does generosity make especially famous. Policratis, King of the Cephallenians, who was well-known for his very great wealth and good health, travelled as far as India because he wished for profit wherever he could find it. Therefore the king of Jerusalem and the Holy Land of Promise should aim to make liberal distribution where he should or where it is opportune so that he avoids the hatred of his subjects and their families, that he diverts danger from himself and his kingdom, that he attracts the fallen peoples to

[1] In 602 the Balkan army ordered to winter north of the Danube rebelled against the Emperor Maurice (582-602) and acclaimed Phocas the emperor (602-610). Maurice and his six sons were executed on 27 November 602 His wife, Constantia, and their three daughters were sent to a convent.

[2] 1 Kings 15.

[3] 3 Kings 21: 19.

[4] Ecclesiasticus 31.

himself through his good name and that he terrifies the enemies of Christ and of the Christian people.

Chapter 22: The diligent study of Divine law by the king and the observance of its commandments

'The wise King is the firm foundation of the people'.[1]And Ecclesiasticus 10, 'An unwise King shall be the ruin of his people; and cities shall be inhabited through the prudence of the rulers.'[2] The same Boethius has said well to philosophy in *primo de consolatione*: 'Thou didst decree that sentence by the mouth of Plato: that commonwealths should be happy, if either the students of wisdom did govern them or those which were appointed to govern them would give themselves to the study of wisdom.'[3] And wisdom declares Proverbs 4, 'By me Kings reign, and lawgivers decree just things.'[4] Theodosius, Justinian and Leo,[5] gave a new form as if to a shapeless world, since with laws they had made the world after a fashion into a temple of justice. But because the futility and emptiness of all laws is condemned unless it is made in the likeness of sacred law, so it closely follows on in the rules of Kings. 'After he is raised to the throne of his Kingdom, he shall copy out to himself the Deuteronomy of this law.'[6] Then 'And now O ye Kings understand; receive instruction ye that judge the earth',[7] 'because the law of the Lord is unspotted, converting souls; the testimony of the Lord is faithful, giving wisdom to little ones'.[8] For imperial or human law may not remove all sin but rather tolerates certain crime. It stays the human hand but not the soul. But the law of the Lord addresses souls. And because of the diversity of human deeds, it does not suffice to distinguish from all things. But 'the testimony of the Lord is faithful giving wisdom', that is perfect knowledge, 'to little ones'. Philadelphus, paying attention to the purity and integrity of this law saw that it was transferred to him from the worshippers of God, by which he understood more justly from God and governed his people better. If, however, the king is a minor or because he does not yet know his letters exercises kingship through a parent, Nathan the prophet and Sadoch the priest may assist him. Whence it follows in the rules for Kings, 'he

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1 Wisdom 6.

2 Ecclesiasticus 10:3.

3 Boethius, *Philisophiae Consolationis Liber* I, iv, lines 19-21 trans H.F.Stewart (Loeb Classics, London, 1918), 144-5.

4 In fact Proverbs 8:15.

5 Three Byzantine Emperors who codified Roman law since the beginning of the Christian empire in 312.Theodosius II (408–50) issued the *Codex Theodosiana* in 438; Justinian I (527–65) published the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* between 529 and 534; Leo III (717–41) issued the *Ecloga* in 734.

6 Deuteronomy 17:18.

7 Psalms 2:10.

8 Psalms 18:8.

should take the copy from the priest of the Levitical tribe'.[1] So Ioas, while Ioiada helped him at court, lived justly, but on his removal he sinned. See above Part 1, Chapter 4. Gentile kings, too, used to have philosophers as teachers: Alexander [had] Aristotle, Nero had Seneca [and] Trajan had Plutarch. Aristotle wrote the *Secrets of Philosophy* for the sublime genius Alexander. Seneca wrote a book on mercy for the damaged soul of Nero. For Trajan, who gained the principate without any ambition [for it], Plutarch wrote a most beautiful book of political instruction, which is called the *Traiani institutio*.[2] So [it appears that] praiseworthy teachers know how to change dialogues according to the place, time and person. The king of Jerusalem should aim to have such faithful doctors as teachers for himself and his family, who invoke the gods against sins and shout continuously against vices, as Zacharias to the son of Ioiada, whom he covered in the spirit of the Lord, who stood before the people and said: 'Why transgress you the commandment of the Lord which will not be for your good?' [3] Why that is do we transgress out of need when there are easier ways to be found?: 'The commandment that I command thee this day is not above thee.'[4] Our enemy overthrows no-one unless they wish it. Why? That is through greed when might they not be happy by observance?: 'If thou will enter into life, keep the commandments',[5] the debtor, the money-lender on time and the earth being sown returns a crop, some pay 30-fold, some 60-fold, some a 100-fold and the truth which he promised. He said 'you shall receive a hundred-fold, and shall possess life everlasting'.[6] Why so? That is, with what rashness when they might sin without punishment **(p. 278)?** 'They are cursed', says the Psalmist, 'who decline from thy commandments'.[7] 'Go accursed one', says the angry judge, 'into the eternal fire which has been prepared by the Devil and his angels'[8]. They make their way in fire, making as great a supplication as the prize they have lost. And rightly it is for eternity: because it is not accidental, but a fair burning-up: not only does it follow the convicted man but also the guilt. He is ordered to examine the fault because he is not able to take away the essence.[9] It follows that eternal sin is consumed by fire without end: and while they can perceive no hope for themselves even after an immense time, they grieve in the

1 Deuteronomy 17:18.

2 Prior to 1372 no genuine Plutarch text was known in the west, only a pseudo-Plutarchian *De instutuione principum* or *Institutio Traiani*, only extensively quoted, and possibly invented, by John of Salisbury in his *Policraticus*, see B. Liebeschutz , 'John of Salisbury and Pseudo-Plutarch', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 6 (1943), 33–9.

3 2 Paralipomenon 24:20.

4 Deuteronomy 30:11.

5 Matthew 19:17.

6 Matthew 19:29.

7 Psalms 118:21.

8 Matthew 25.

9 The meaning of these two sentences is not clear.

present and in the following generations. Let transgressors consider in their heart so that for those moments of pleasure when they broke the commandment of the Lord, they come to so hard, so long, so unspeakable torture. It seems useful to follow these things logically and closely beyond the sermons or accustomed preachings and services by religious in the schools of theology, explaining the text of sacred scripture in the common tongue: because, just as in Venice where this particular practice is followed, unerring experience teaches that of whatever sort they may be, they come together at masses and divine offices with the greatest devotion; and very carefully after Divine office, they are well rehearsed for a convenient hour regarding the beliefs, morals and precepts, which they can recall to mind every day. This is more suitable for explaining questions concerning those things which are the core of the faith, for chasing out doubts and for promoting useful and meritorious behaviour. So it follows well in the rules of kings, 'he shall read it all the days of his life, that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, and keep his words and ceremonies, that are commanded in the Law.' These are higher and subtler and are spread by the written sermon.

Chapter 23: The pious gentleness and mercy for his subjects [suitable] for royal excellence

From the beginning of the human condition, man was not set above man: but 'we have made man (said God, Genesis 1) to rule over the fishes of the sea, the fowls of the air and all living creatures that move upon the earth.'[1] We do not read of slavery before the wicked Chain, changed to a beast against reason, in drink he laughed at his naked father. Therefore, kings of peoples and their lords should learn from these things that they rule less by force than by virtues. Nor should anyone be enslaved who obeys the law and remains in stable reason. Whence it rightly follows in the rules for kings: 'And that his heart be not lifted up with pride over his brethren.'[2] Indeed, the brother is he who does not know how to change his nature, who remains in the clear likeness of God, who is counted in the profession of Christianity, who is endowed with the same inheritance and not cut off from the assembly of the faithful by sin. So Christ in Matthew 23 says, 'You are all brothers for one is your father who is in heaven.'[3] Indeed, all the faithful are called the brothers of Christ. 'For both he that sanctifieth, and they who are sanctified are all one. For which cause he is not ashamed to call them brethren', saying, 'I will declare thy name to my brethren.'[4]Accordingly the king should pay attention to advice in Ecclesiasticus 32, 'Have they made thee ruler? Be not lifted up: be

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1 Genesis 1:28.
2 Deuteronomy 17:20.
3 Based around Matthew 23:9.
4 Hebrews 2:11-12.

among them as one of them. Have care of them.'[1] It is the precaution of tyrants not kings to wish to be held in fear and in terror, so that they may remain safe, to protect their safety with weapons rather than with kindness. So Seneca to Nero concerning mercy: 'yet of all men none is better governed by mercy than a king. Moreover, the peculiar marks of a lofty spirit are mildness and composure, and the lofty disregard of injustice and wrongs. Bees are most easily provoked and where they wound they leave their stings; but the king himself has no sting, for [nature] removed his weapon and left his anger unarmed. Great kings will find herein a mighty precedent.'[2] And Claudian says, 'Yet mercy alone makes us equal with the gods'.[3] Theodosius has well shown this mercy to others, saying in the *Codex*, 'If anyone believed that our reputation may be harmed by lies, we do not wish to punish him; because if it proceeded from levity, it should be condemned; if from infamy, it is worthy of pity; if from injury it should be redressed.' For this reason the king who has been harmed, 'should keep control of his mind', says Seneca in the reference above, 'and punish if he can do so safely if not he should temporise', and this may be far more effective against his own injuries than those of others. For he is not really of great spirit who is generous with the property of others, but rather he who gives what he has kept for himself to another. So I call him merciful not if he is easy with another's sorrow but he who is not eager easily to use his own incentives. The frailty of human nature and the innate propensity to sin cry out for mercy before the king. For it is equitable that he should be indulgent to men. The similarity of nature together with the vagaries of fortune should convince him of this. For the son of Cressus, King of the Lydians **(p. 279)**, his father having been crucified, since he had remained silent up until then shouted to Cyrus: 'Spare my father, O Cyrus as you are a man or learn what is your own fate.'

Chapter 24: The rightness of royal justice and the impartiality of judgement

Because with justice removed kingdoms become great robberies, it is essential that the king of Jerusalem sets up the laws by mature and impartial advice, appropriate to the land, the times and the people, so that by their observance he brings security to the kingdom, reverence to the king, obedience for his subjects and peace to all. Just as the Holy City[4] was inhabited with all peace, and the laws as yet were very well kept, because of the godliness of Onias, the high priest.[5] And since carnal sin is detestable to God, the ruins of that Holy Land of Promise is recorded more

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[1] Ecclesiasticus 32:1-2.

[2] Three extracts taken from various parts of L.Annaeus S*eneca, ad Neronem Caesarem, De Clementia* I, chapters 3, 5, and 19; trans John Basore, *Seneca Moral Essays* I (Loeb Classics 214, London, 1928), 365, 373, 411.

[3] Claudian, *De Quarto Consulatu Honorii Augusti*, line 277, trans Maurice Plattnauer, Claudian I (Loeb Classics 135, London, 1922), 307.

[4] 2 Machabees 3:1.

[5] Following 2 Machabees 3:2.

often to have been through the care taken for desires of which the most powerful incentive seems to be drunkenness and frequent repeated intoxication, especially in taverns; where with musical instruments, minstrels and suggestive gestures, female singers, according to the custom of the land, entice to sin. These must be completely removed by royal edict, and removed at last to lodgings, just as is done in Venice to gather up foreigners and travellers who have no homes of their own. Also, trumpeters and professional mourners attend the burials of the nobility, to produce weeping for worldly glory. Christ did not wish[1] to raise the dead woman in their presence because it may be said that death was denied the devout prayer suitable to them. The Saviour ordered in Luke 23, 'weep not over me; but weep for yourselves and for your children'.[2] They help me who, wracked with pain, are not instigated by sins of that kind, but through the Divine office and at each sacrifice at the holy altar, by the alms which are placed in the lap of the poor man and other acts of piety. In that place, women especially practice prophesying and various evil deeds. For they consort with certain schismatics, heretics and unbelievers and learn all their works, which often bring them to scandal and ruin. These and many other failings were the cause of the desolation and loss of the Holy Land of Promise, as has been extensively shown above in Part 8, all of which are to be thoroughly amended by health-giving decrees. The king should cause all the established laws to be diligently and communally observed by all, just as the last clause of the rule of kings states, 'he shall not swerve to the right nor to the left'.[3] It is understood that on the right he is stronger and native; on the left powerless or foreign, just as is written in Deuteronomy 1, 'Judge that which is just whether he be one of your country or a stranger'[4] There will be no distinction of persons so you will listen to the small as well as the great. Either the impulsive act by your right hand or the excessive rigour of your left can be understood. The king should hold to the mean course in his judgements which is nothing other than justice tempered with sweet mercy. So Christ in taking care of the Samaritan mixed oil, as the gentleness of piety with bitter wine: also rods of strength in a circle of witness, tied with the manna of sweetness. 'For discipline or pity will be much forsaken if one is held without the other'; so says Gregory in Book 20 of the *Moralia*; and discipline is placed on day 45. But around the subjects he should begin with rulers, rightly taking note of pity and being cross with pious discipline.

Chapter 25: A short summary of the things said for keeping the Holy Land

First just as the displeasure of the creator expelled the Jebusite, Jewish and Christian settler from thence, so in the whole first, eighth and ninth Parts of Book 3 it is said that by his reverence and by his careful following of his orders he will

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[1] Matthew 9.

[2] Luke 23:28.

[3] This is the sense but not the text of Deuteronomy 17:19.

[4] Deuteronomy 1:16.

completely conquer [the land] and keep it in the Christian tradition and name; without that nothing at all can be safely achieved or seriously enjoyed, just as the whole series of books makes clear. For the declaration of which, a discussion of the evidence and narration of the history has been carried out both in serious and extensive narration. After the land has been securely gained and usefully disposed: just as is treated in Chapter 16 above. And suitable places for the building of castles and strong-points to contain the unforeseen and sudden assaults of the infidels: especially on the frontiers of Egypt, Arabia, Coelesyria and Damascus, just as before we read that they had been constructed against Ascalon or Egyptian Zibelim where once stood Beersheba, see above Part 6, Chapter 15; and the White Mirror **(p. 280)**, Gaza and Ibelin or Gath see Chapter 18; against Syrian Sobal and the Amonites, Mons Regalis or Crach called in antiquity Petra of the desert see Chapter 8; and against Tripoli and Thoron, see Chapter 5. Saphet too, between the Sea of Galilee and Acre and Belveir not far from Mount Tabor, see Chapter 18. And at all times as many arms and supplies as possible should be taken from the Saracens in due measure. The faithful should be exercised and instructed all the time in the use of the bow and the cross-bow and the various precautions of war, as is said in the beginning of this Part. Also, they should do works of charity and of piety, in respect of which the whole army is seen as moderate: 'Exercise thyself unto Godliness.'[1] For this reason they should build a hospital in each city, as is said above. At the beginning of a meal they should help the poor and send a part to the needy so that there may be one heart and one soul among the faithful. The princes and barons, having shunned soft living should gain strength, see above Chapter 18. Women should not hold baronies as is said above in Part 7, Chapter 1, but rather their sons, after they have been brought up for ten years in the courts of barons, lest they adopt effeminate ways. The king should govern his subjects mercifully; as someone says, 'may the prince be slow to eat but swift for booty'. And always he should realize that those with him are the future heirs and kings of the heavenly kingdom. He should dispense justice in common and impartially to all. He should be especially severe against the deceitful coming to the aid of the Holy Land and carnal sins must be punished since for that very reason they were removed from the chosen land. Deuteronomy 23, 'there shall be no whore among the daughters of Israel, nor whore-monger among the sons of Israel.'[2] All, however, more than the other nations of unbelievers 'are subject to the king as excelling; or to governors as sent by him for the punishment of evildoers, and for the praise of the good,'[3] and because it is impossible to please God without faith.[4] 'Evil communications corrupt good manners'.[5] The purity of faith and morals must be preserved, after the expulsion, with Divine help, of the foul Saracens. And all others are to be expelled

[1] 1 Timothy 4:7.

[2] Deuteronomy 23:17.

[3] 1 Peter 2.

[4] Hebrew 11.

[5] 1 Corinthians 15:32.

who, having broken the yoke of obedience, they do not obey the most holy Roman See with all reverence and humility. Anyone who by various rites differs from the substances of the faith should return to the flock and the fold of the pious mother. Also all acrobats, magicians and witches are to be removed from the earth; whose words creep like a crab and often harm the innocent. Neither notorious sinners nor bestial men coming from the east are to be admitted without concern. For (as is shown in Part 8 above) all of the aforesaid among others were the cause of the desolation and destruction of the Holy Land. For the complete and perfect observation of all these things prelates of the Church and pastors are to be appointed, who may nourish the Lord's flock with knowledge and doctrine[1] whose life may be a living rule and in all honesty of the clergy they may keep from harm. Regulars too should be selected and tested for sending overseas, some to spread the law of life and discipline in sermons and teachings, as has been said earlier. Inquisitors of depraved heretics are to be appointed with full authority, who having the zeal of God and of the faith, may pursue the above-mentioned heretics and schismatics, sorcerers and evil-doers relentlessly and fearlessly, putting aside all fear. Lest it seem long-lasting to anyone, the schismatics there must be rooted out. For if we give up straight away says the apostle in Galatians 7, 'A little leaven corrupteth the whole lump'.[2] 'You did run well', he says, 'who hath hindered you, that you should not obey the truth?' [3] These things are certain of which Christ speaks in Matthew 5, 'beware of false prophets who come to you in the clothing of sheep.'[4] For nothing destroys the good as falsehood. For under the guise of good, behold there is evil, which is not guarded against so long as it remains unknown. The sheep's clothing is the soft words of the schismatics together with other signs of religion and faith. They are Easterners deviating from the truth of the Gospels, as if in clothes. They are disguised on the outside to deceive the unwary, but within they are ravening wolves, [filled] with implacable hatred and with insatiable desire to harm the purity of the faith of the sheep, seizing truth from the hearts of the faithful. And so that you know that they produce nothing useful it follows 'do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?'[5] So from neither a schismatic nor from any unbeliever will you receive the fruit of life. Occasionally Catholics are drawn to the unspeakable rites from a lack of church services and a desire to hear Divine service and because of riches; they even intermarry with them and contract relationships. For these reasons there is no doubt that many of the people in Cyprus, Crete and the principality of Achaia, even some of the knights, vacillate in the firmness of faith. Nor do they object that it is possible not to die if they shall experience danger; but that it would have been safer had there been no danger in those things **(p. 281)** which are of the faith and are necessary for

1 Jeremias 3.
2 In fact Galatians 5:9.
3 Galatians 5:10.
4 Matthew 7:15.
5 Matthew 7:16. Bongars gives Matthew 7:17 in his marginal note.

salvation, they must choose the safer option. Finally, all the impious must be ejected from the land chosen by God, and Catholics and the faithful must be attracted and enticed from all parts of the world, so that like new shoots made fertile by the watering of grace they may attach themselves to the fruit of life: because God says this in Jeremias 4, 'to the men of Juda and Jerusalem: break up anew your fallow ground, and sow not upon thorns.'[1] To attract new settlers it seems wholesome and useful that for those wishing to stay of whatever age, sex or condition they are to be transported [at the expense of] the most holy Supreme Pontiff, the Vicar of Christ; (during this time the villain and the notorious sinner will not be there, lest the land, as warned above is heedlessly filled and polluted by such men, which seems to the bishop should be left to judgement), he should grant an indulgence with full remission of all sins and this should be made common and public to everyone by criers to the faith. And he should make available a fleet and a competent grant to them, lest poverty should hinder a pious resolve. To those arriving the king and others who possess the land by conquest, should grant land for a house, a garden and a vineyard for a fixed annual rent and it may be owned by them and their heirs in perpetuity. And it may appear that the land is fit for the breeding of animals and other opportunities with the application of support. Thus did the first Baldwin attract many to live in Jerusalem, see Part 6, Chapter 8. Care must be taken, especially in that principality, lest the faithful acquire land by mercenaries or by others arriving there so that they are afflicted by some or burdened with dues or rents; and likewise, whatever they want they should be allowed to have freely. For by this means there will be a greater abundance of things, quickness of commerce and also a concourse of others hurrying to settle the Holy Land. Nonetheless, the settles of the land will be richer in supplies and benefits will follow. Baldwin of le Bourg employed these precautions in the city of Jerusalem; see above Part 6, Chapter 9. In the process of time from these causes and because there is no other tax to take from the community what is secret or goes by the common name of stolen clothes; not without urgent necessity, with great deliberation and with much checking should an import–export tax or other impost be imposed. So I have recapitulated in this short summary what is necessary to avoid hurt, what is useful to keep the secure, peaceful, continued and quiet possession of the Holy Land of Promise which moved by the pious tears of the Christians the Lord Jesus gives to his settlers to his honour and glory; also as a consolation and long-expected joy to his Holy Church: who with the Father and the Holy Spirit is worshipped and accounted One God. Amen.
Here ends Book 3.

[1] Jeremias 4:3.

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